

James 307

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY
OF
M. L' Abbé *FLEURY*.

VOL. II.
Containing the FOURTH CENTURY.

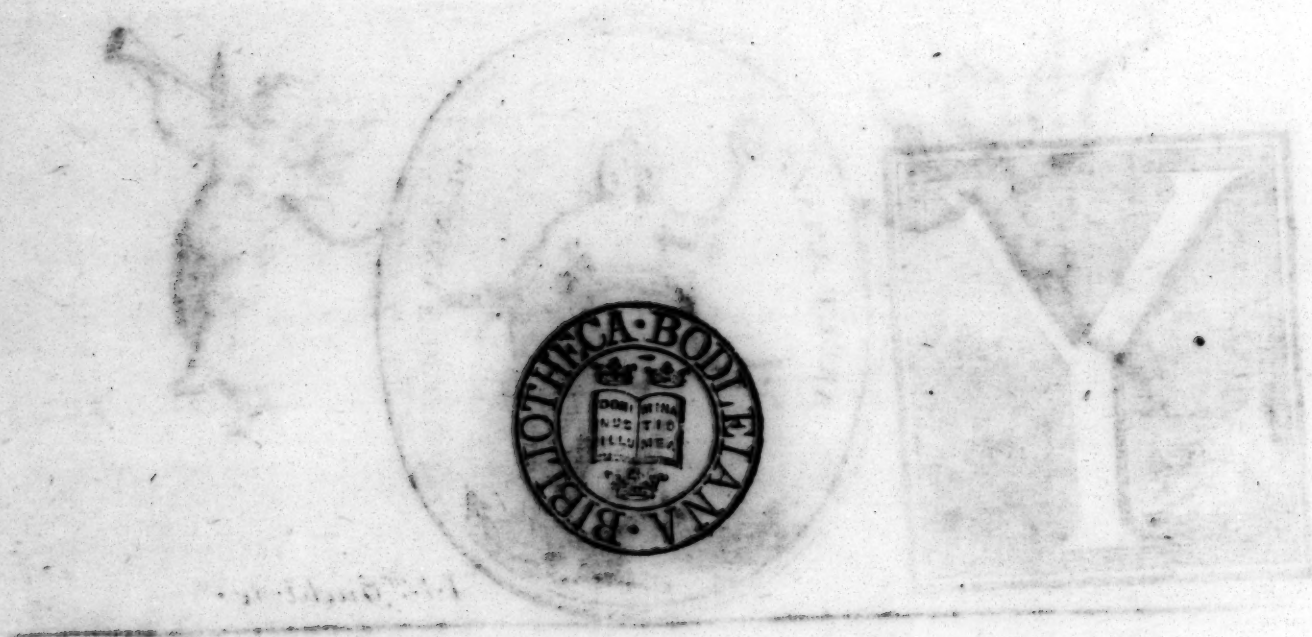


LONDON:
Printed by T. WOOD, for JAMES CROKATT, at the Golden Key,
near the Inner-Temple Gate in Fleet-street.

MDCCXXVIII.

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This Work has already been encouraged
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I cannot possibly with a more powerful re-
commendation, especially to the British Clergy,
whose Corporation has so lately experienced
your Bounty and Goodness, and who are
the chief support of the Church from your Majesty's influence and
Favour.

It would be the utmost presumption in me
to attempt to please Your Royal Virtues and
perfections; I would only beg leave to assure
Your Majesty, that I propose to my self no
greater satisfaction from my labours, than to
contribute to the Good of our most excellent
Church; and thus to approve my self

MADAM,



YOUR Majesty being no less
distinguished by your zeal
to Religion, and esteem for
its Ministers, than by the re-
gard you have always shown
to Learning and its Professors, I presume to
lay this Volume at your feet, as a testimo-
ny of the most profound Respect and Duty.

THIS Work has already been encouraged by His Majesty and your self, and should you now condescend to be its more immediate Patroness, I cannot possibly wish a more powerful recommendation, especially to the British Clergy; whose Corporation has so lately experienced your Bounty and Goodness, and who conceive the highest expectations of Prosperity to the Church from Your Majesty's Influence and Favour.

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May it please Your MAJESTY,

Your MAJESTY's most

humble and obedient

Subject and Servant,

H. HERBERT.



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I*T is necessary to advertise the Publick, that the Chronology of M. TILLMONT is here omitted, because in this and the following Volumes the Dates are placed in the margin by M. FLEURY himself; however, to oblige the Curious, it is intended to be added, with an Abridgement of M. TILLEMONT's Critical notes after the conclusion of the History of the VI CENTURY, where he ends his Ecclesiastical memoirs.*

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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK X.



THE Christians finding themselves at liberty, after the many persecutions which they had suffered, beheld with astonishment the wonders of the Divine power, and an holy joy appeared in their countenances. New churches, larger and more magnificent than those which had been destroyed, were erected in all places. Sumptuous festivals were made on account of their dedications; the Bishops came thither in great numbers; the people flocked to them in crouds; every age and sex bore a part in them: the union of the members of the Church

I.
The liberty of the Church.
Euseb. x. hist. c. 1, 2.
Ibid. 3.

was the more sensibly perceived, by the meeting again of friends and relations, after so long a separation, and they with one voice sung together hymns of gladness. The Prelates applied themselves to the religious performance of the sacred ceremonies, especially the mystical symbols of the passion of our SAVIOUR, that is, the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, or Baptism, according to some. They employed the people in singing of psalms and reading the holy Scriptures; the more eloquent among them spoke Panegyricks, *i. e.* speeches of praise and acts of thanksgiving, in order to entertain the assembly after a manner suitable to their present occasion of rejoicing.

THE Emperor sent letters to all places, ordering the goods and estates of the Christians that had been confiscated to be restored; such of them as were banished to be recalled, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. He paid all possible honour to the Bishops, as men consecrated to GOD, insomuch as to ad-

II.
Constantine's letters in favour of the Christians.

Euf. vita
Constant.
lib. 1. c. 41.
Ibid. c. 42.

Zof. lib. 2.

Euf. x. hist.
c. 6.

A. D. 313.

Ibid. c. 5.

A. D. 313.

Ibid. c. 7.

Zofim. lib. 2.
p. 671.

A. D. 313.

mit them to his table, notwithstanding the meanness of their outward appearance ; and he bore the expence of all their journies. His bounty to the churches was very extraordinary ; he erected stately buildings for them, and adorned the Sanctuaries with magnificent presents. He distributed alms abundantly amongst the poor of all kinds, even among the Pagans. To those who begged publickly he not only gave food but rayment ; those who had fallen from a better condition, he assisted after a more generous manner, allotting land to some, and giving places to others ; he was particularly careful of orphans and widows ; he gave portions to virgins, and married them to rich men who were known to him ; which probably afforded Zosimus the Pagan historian a pretence for complaining that Constantine gave profusely to useless persons.

WE may form a judgment of his generosity from the letter which he wrote particularly to Cecilian Bishop of Carthage in these terms: Being determined to give something for the support of the ministers of the Catholick religion throughout the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, I have written to Urfus, great treasurer of Africa, and given him orders to deliver to you three thousand purses of money. When therefore you have received this sum, cause it to be distributed to all those whom I have mentioned, according to the estimate which Hosius hath sent you. But if something is still wanting to fulfil my intention, you may without difficulty demand it of Heraclides the Overseer of my revenue. For I have given him orders by word of mouth to pay you without delay whatever sum you require of him. We may term that a purse which the *Romans* called at that time *Follis* ; which was a sum of money containing two hundred and fifty of their silver *Denarii*, which amounts to about *7*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* of our money. Thus the three thousand purses amount to above †twenty thousand pounds, *sterling*. Constantine wrote also to *Anulinus* proconsul of Africa, ordering him to restore what goods belonged to the church, in these terms : As soon as you receive this letter, we require you to restore to the churches of the Catholick Christians whatever belongs to them in every city, or in any other place, which is now in the possession of citizens or others ; cause whatever they had to be immediately restored to them, whether gardens or houses, or any thing else which of right belongs to them, if you desire to give us testimonies of your obedience. He directed a letter to the same Anulinus, importing, that in his province all the Ministers of the Catholick Church, over whom, says he, Cecilian presides, and who are commonly called Clerks, should be exempt from all publick offices, that nothing might hinder them from attending upon the service of religion : And there is no question but that he wrote to the same purpose to the other governours of provinces.

CONSTANTINE had not celebrated the *Ludi-seculares*, of which the time had expired the same year that he was Consul with Licinius the third time, viz. in the year of our LORD 313, and the Pagans from thence took occasion to say, that the gods being angry at this omission, had therefore punished the Roman Empire, by all the misfortunes which had since happened. This same year, viz. 313, was the first of the *Indictions* which began September the 24th of the preceeding year 312. The original of them is not very certain ; the word signifies laying on of a tax ; it is most probable, that this was what the provinces were ob-

* The French is 104 livres, 3 sous and 4 deniers de nôtre monoye.
de 300,000 livres.

† The French is plus

liged to furnish the troops for their subsistence; that this imposition was renewed every year a little before the season of winter, as the *Taille* with us, and that they reckoned fifteen one after the other, because the Roman soldiers were obliged to serve fifteen campaigns. It was necessary to take notice here of the beginning of these *Indictions*, because they are still used as an Ecclesiastical term.

Pagi an. 312.
n. 20.

Chr. Pasch.

p. 181.

Baron.

an. 312. n. 106.

AMONG the churches which were rebuilt, when the Church first began to enjoy liberty, we have a particular description of that of Tyre, of which Paulinus was Bishop. It had been destroyed as well as the rest, and the Heathens had used all possible endeavours to efface even the marks of the place where it stood, by heaping up all manner of filth upon it. Although another piece of ground might have been found out without difficulty, Paulinus the Bishop rather chose to have this cleansed to make the victory of the Church the more remarkable. His whole flock contributed freely towards it, with an holy emulation; they all put their hands to the work, and the Bishop first shewed them an example; so that this building was much larger and more magnificent than that which had been destroyed. This Church is the first of which we find a description; but those which we meet with soon after in other countries, are so conformable to it, that they almost seem to have been built upon the same model, which consequently came from a more antient tradition. This is the description of the church of Tyre: A wall enclosure surrounded all the holy place; the entrance to which was by a great gate on the east side: this was raised so high, that it might be seen at a great distance, attracting the eyes of the infidels, and inviting them as it were to the Church. We come first into a large square court, surrounded by four galleries supported by pillars, *i. e.* a *Peristylus*, and between the pillars there was a lettice of wood work, so that the galleries were shut up, but admitted the light. Here they stopped who yet required to be instructed in the first principles of religion. In the midst of the court, and over-against the entrance into the church, there were fountains very plentifully supplied with water, that people might wash themselves before they entered, and they were likewise symbols of spirtual purifications. Having passed through the court, the gate of the church opened likewise towards the east by three doors; that in the midst was much higher and larger than the other two; the folds of the door were copper joined together with iron and adorned with curious sculptures: By this principal door the people entered into the nave or body of the church, and by the other two into the lower sides or galleries, which had a communication with it on both sides, above which there were little windows of wood of admirable workmanship, and embellished by several ornaments; for in hot countries glass is not in use.

III.

The description
of the
Church of
Tyre.

THE church was large and lofty, supported by columns much taller than those of the *Peristylus*. The inside was very light and shone on all sides, being adorned after the richest manner, and with the most exquisite workmanship. It was paved with marble in very beautiful compartments; the roof was cedar, which the neighbourhood of Libanus afforded in abundance. At the end were thrones, *i. e.* seats higher than ordinary for the Priests, and the Bishop in the midst of them: These seats were raised in a semi-circle, which enclosed the back part of the altar; for there was but one: So that the Bishop, at the time of service, faced the people, and looked towards the East. The sanctuary was shut up from the people by rails or lettices of wood, adorned with sculptures exquisitely

wrought; and all the rest of the church was filled with seats ranged in great order. On the two sides without there were great halls and other rooms, for the use of the Catechumens, such as the *Baptisterion* and the places where they were instructed. Amongst these rooms we might likewise reckon that belonging to the Deacons and the Vestry, the hall of audience and such like places, called by the same names in other churches. There were doors to all those offices, by which they had a communication on each side below with the church, which, together with these several offices, was inclosed by a wall, in order to separate it from any prophane places.

Euseb. x. hist.
c. 3.

AT the dedication of this church at Tyre, Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and successor to Agapius, spoke a panegyrick before a great number of people, and in the presence of several Bishops; to whom he addressed himself, particularly to Paulinus Bishop of that city, a very venerable old man, and his intimate friend. He began after this manner: O ye friends of GOD and Priests who wear the holy garment and celestial crown of glory, who enjoy the Divine Unction and the sacerdotal robe of the Holy Spirit. These words seem to import, that at that time the Bishops wore ornaments, at least in the churches, inasmuch as mention is elsewhere frequently made of their crown. He afterwards enlarges upon the wonderful works of GOD, which were known to them, not by the report of their fore-fathers, but by the testimony of their own eyes. He then describes the persecutions, and magnifies the power of JESUS CHRIST, who hath made his Church more flourishing from day to day, notwithstanding the opposition made to it by all the world for so many ages together, who hath subdued the barbarous nations that were most remarkable for their cruelty, and extended his Empire to the utmost parts of the earth. He takes notice, as a most extraordinary miracle, that till this time it had never been known that even Emperors themselves had attained to the knowledge of the true GOD; by which it is probable that this discourse was spoken during the time that there continued a friendly intercourse between Constantine and Licinius: For he here speaks of the same Emperors who had just cleared the world from impious tyrants.

IV.
The Prepara-
tio Evange-
lica of Euseb.
vij hist. c. 32.
Euseb. Præp.
ib. 1. init.

Præp. lib. 15.
init.

ABOUT the same time Eusebius wrote his great work *De Præparatione & Demonstratione Evangelicâ*, which he addressed to Theodotus, who is thought to have been Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, upon whom Eusebius makes an encomium in his history. This is a compleat body of controversy against the Heathens and Jews, in order to shew that the Christians have not received the Gospel through a blind and rash credulity, but that after a serious examination they were persuaded by solid reasons, and determined by a well grounded judgment, to forsake Paganism in which they were educated, to embrace the doctrine of the Hebrews, without subjecting themselves to the Jewish ceremonies. The first part of this is the subject of his Treatise, called the Preparation, which shews why the Christians rejected the doctrine of the Greeks and other Heathens for that of the Hebrews. The Treatise called the Demonstration proves the other part, shewing what are the reasons, that having embraced the doctrine of the Hebrews, we nevertheless observe not the law of Moses; in a word what is the difference between a Jew and a Christian.

ib. 1.

THE Preparation is divided into fifteen books; the first six of which contain a confutation of Paganism; the other nine shew the excellence of the doctrine of the Hebrews. He in the first place lays down the fabulous theology of

of the most famous nations, such as the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans; and that he might not be accused of endeavouring to impose upon them, he cites the very words of their own authors, viz. of Diodorus Siculus, of Sanchoniathon, quoted by Philo Byblius, of Manethon the Egyptian, and of Dionysius Halicarnassius: After shewing the absurdity of these fables Lib. 2. and their consequences, *i. e.* the superstitious ceremonies and abominable mysteries upon which they are founded; he refutes the allegorical theology of certain Philosophers, who in the later ages took upon them to give a mysterious sense to the most absurd fables, and to explain them by the rules of Physicks. Eusebius shews on the contrary, that the real theology of the Pagans was nothing but fables understood in the most literal sense, as the poets had represented them; and that even according to the allegories of the physicians, it was still very gross idolatry, because that under the names of gods and goddesses they adored nothing but the stars and the elements, and at length bodies and matter itself.

THESE mysterious philosophers, of whom Porphyrius was the most celebrated, destroyed idolatry by endeavouring to make it agreeable to reason; for they supposed a sovereign GOD, under whom there were other subaltern deities, next to them demons both good and bad, and at last heroes: That none but wicked demons required bloody sacrifices; and that they were likewise the authors of oracles, divinations and all kinds of magick: That moreover these philosophers taught, that they ought to renounce the worship of demons, in order to serve the sovereign Deity; and so great was this GOD, according to them, that all external worship, even words was unworthy of him; and therefore that no visible marks of religion should remain amongst men. Eusebius applies himself particularly to confute the oracles, as being what more particularly kept the people still in their ancient superstitions. He attacks them and all divination in general, by the arguments of the Greek philosophers, the Epicureans and Peripateticks; and he examines at length all the most celebrated oracles, in order to shew the deceit of them. After all, he destroys the notion of fate, upon which they were founded, shewing by the philosophers themselves, that this opinion is destructive of Free will. Lib. 4. c. 5. &c. 4. n. 10. &c. 4. n. 18. &c. Lib. 4. 1, 2, 3.

HE proceeds afterwards to the Hebrews, and shews the excellence of their doctrine, by comparing it with what he had related of other nations. He distinguishes the Hebrews from the Jews, inasmuch as the Jews are a particular nation, subject to the law of Moses, and to all its grievous ceremonies and observances; whereas the Hebrews, *i. e.* the Faithful who lived from the beginning of the world to the time of Moses, followed no other guide but the law of Nature and the light of Reason, which was common to all nations. Their morality was entirely pure; their doctrine consisted chiefly in acknowledging one GOD the Creator of the Universe, who governs it by his providence; and his Word and Wisdom subsisting, by which he made all things, viz. good and evil spirits, the first entirely subject to his will, but the latter rebellious; and man who was composed of two parts, an earthly body and an immortal soul. Lib. 7. 7. c. 6.

HE proceeds to the law of Moses made for the Jews, *i. e.* for that particular nation which inhabited Judea. He describes the excellency of it by the testimony of Philo, Josephus, and another famous Jew, whose name was Aristobulus. He shews, that the Jews and their Histories were not unknown to the Greeks, by citing passages out of Greek authors who speak of them. He proves Lib. 8. Lib. 9. Lib. 10.

proves by their own confession, that they borrowed all their arts, their learning and sciences from those whom they stiled *Barbarians*, and particularly of the Hebrews: He shews the antiquity of Moses and the Prophets in preference to the Greek authors, by what had been already written by Africanus, Tatian, and Clemens Alexandrinus. In order to shew farther, with what good reason we have preferred the Hebrew to the Greek traditions, he shews the agreeableness of the sentiments of the most famous Philosophers with the Hebrews, beginning with Plato as the most excellent. He even makes use of his authority to shew the impiety of the Mythology of the Poets; and the necessity of supporting truth, even at the hazard of our lives. As to those Philosophers whose doctrine differs from ours, he shews what little agreement there is amongst themselves, and opposes them to each other. In particular, he attacks and refutes Aristotle as the most dangerous; and shews the uselessness of Physicks and all kinds of Philosophy, which the Christians rejected not through ignorance, but a well grounded contempt. This is the scope of the fifteen books *De Preparatione Evangelica*.

Lib. 11.

12, 13, 14

Lib. 15.

V.
The Demon-
stratio Evan-
gelica, &c.

Lib. 1. n. 2.

Lib. 2.

Lib. 3. n. 2.
p. 91. n. 3.
4. &c.

THE Demonstration chiefly contains the controversy against the Jews, shewing the reasons why we did not follow their manner of living, although we have embraced the doctrine of the Hebrews. This work was divided into twenty books, half of which only remain, the ten last being lost. In the first he shews, that the Mosaical law was suited only to a particular nation, who dwelt in a certain country, and were obliged to sacrifice in one particular temple; which could not be done by other nations, though they were inclined to it. Nevertheless, by the very books of the Jews, all other nations are called to the New covenant; and it is the Gospel only which teacheth the law of Nature which was observed before Moses, and brings the written law to perfection. Here he distinguisheth Christians into two sorts; the one more perfect, who renounce marriage, children, the possessions of temporal goods, and the society of men, in order to consecrate themselves entirely to GOD, and continually to offer up their prayers and virtues to him for the rest of the world; who continued in the usual course of life, being married, having the care of their children and family; bearing arms, labouring, trading, and performing all the offices of civil life; but without neglecting their religious duty, having stated times for exercising and instructing themselves in it. We may here plainly see the Ascetick and Monostick state which was then in use, and preferred to the ordinary way of life.

EUSEBIUS afterwards shews that we are not strangers to the promises of GOD, proving it from the prophecies and the calling of the Gentiles, spread throughout the sacred books. This vocation of all nations to the knowledge of the true GOD, is a mark of the coming of the Messia; another mark of which is the reprobation of the Jews, excepting only a small number, and all this foretold in their Scriptures. He makes it evident how much JESUS CHRIST excels Moses; and he applies himself in particular to prove his Divinity, in opposition to those who believe not the holy Scriptures. The purity of his morals, and his miracles prove, that he is neither an impostor nor a mere man. It cannot be questioned whether he wrought miracles, if we consider the simplicity of his disciples, their sincerity, their disinterestedness, their perseverance unto death, and the impossibility of their forming a design of deceiving the world, or of their being able to succeed in it. We cannot ascribe the

the miracles of JESUS CHRIST to magick, if we consider the consequence p. 134. of them, which was no other than the establishing virtue and piety; even the oracles of the false gods, related by Porphyry, acknowledged him for an holy person, whose Soul was happy in heaven. This, perhaps, is the strongest discourse of all the antients relating to the testimony of the Apostles and the sensible proofs of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST.

THE author afterwards enters farther into our doctrine, and treats in a theological manner, of the nature of the Word; shewing that he was before all creatures, the only son of GOD, and infinitely superiour to all created spirits, whose nature he likewise explains. He sets forth our belief of his incarnation; after which he begins to prove all this doctrine by the prophecies, having first shewn how far they surpass the oracles of the demons, and how much the Prophets of the true GOD differ from the diviners of paganism. He then gives both a general and particular account of the Revelations concerning the pre-existence of the divine Word, and his incarnation; concerning the time of his coming, where he explains Daniel's weeks according to Africanus, beginning at the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; and lastly, concerning the circumstances of his birth, his mortal life and passion, concluding with the twenty-first Psalm. This is all that remains. Doubtless the ten last books explained the rest, *i. e.* the Prophecies concerning the burial of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, his Resurrection, his Ascension, the establishment of his Church, and his coming in the last day. Such is the great work of Eusebius, the largest that we have in defence of the Christian religion both against the Pagans and Jews. Lib. 4. Lib. 5. c. 1. 8, 9, 10.

IT was thus that the learned maintained religion, by their doctrine and their eloquence; but there were some holy but ignorant persons who supported it still more by their virtues and their miracles. After the journey which St. Anthony had undertaken to Alexandria, during the persecution, having returned to his monastery, he staid there for some time locked up, refusing to open his door to the importunate entreaties of those who came to be cured of their diseases; but they were healed nevertheless, by sitting without the monastery and praying with faith. At last to enjoy a retreat and fly from vanity, he resolved to go to the upper Thebais, where he was unknown. Thus having taken bread from his disciples, he sat himself down upon the banks of the Nile, to wait for any boat that was going up, that he might get a passage in her. Being fixed in his resolution, he heard a voice from on high, which said to him: Anthony where art thou going? What is thy intention? He, without being surprized at it, because he was often used to hear such voices, answered: These people will not let me be at rest, and require more of me than I am able to perform. The voice said to him, If you go into Thebais, and into places where there is nothing but flocks of cattle, your troubles will be still more increased; but if you would be truly at rest, go into the midst of the desert. And who will shew me the way, replied he? Immediately the voice shewed him certain Saracens who were going that way; he joined them, and desired them to permit him to go in their company into the desert; which they readily granted. Those called Saracens at that time were certain Arabians, who wandered in the deserts on each side of the Red Sea. VI. ††† St. Anthony upon the mountain. Sup. lib. 9. n. 37. vita St. Anton. c. 16. p. 479.

St. ANTHONY having travelled with them three days and three nights, arrived at a very high mountain; at the foot of which ran a pleasant stream of clear and fresh water; around it there was a plain and a few wild palm trees. He was ex-

Vanleb.
relat. d'Eg.
p. 300.

chap. 17.

c. 18.

E. 1.

extremely delighted with this place ; and having taken bread of those who conducted him, he staid there by himself, looking upon it as his abode. The Saracens came back to the same place on purpose, and voluntarily brought him bread ; he also received some small relief from the palm trees. This mountain is a day's journey from the Red Sea, and is called Colzim or Mount St. Anthony. The Brethren having found out the place of his retirement, took care to send him bread ; but he being unwilling that they should give themselves so much trouble, desired them to bring him a hoe, with a hatchet and a little corn. Then having examined the ground about the mountain, he cultivated a small place which was the best watered, and sowed it. Thus he gathered every year sufficient to make his bread, and had the pleasure of being chargeable to no one. But observing that some people came in quest of him, he cultivated also some herbs that he might administer a little refreshment to them after so fatiguing a journey. The Brethren who served him, desired him to give them leave to bring him every month some olives, pulse, and oyl ; for he was now very old, and in the year 315 was sixty-five years of age. He made baskets which he gave to those who came to see him, in return for what they brought him. These people often heard a tumultuous noise of voices and arms, and in the night time saw the mountain full of wild beasts, whilst he was in prayer ; for he underwent prodigious temptations in that desert.

BEING entreated by the Brethren to come down from the mountain to visit them, he departed with them, they carrying their bread and water on a camel ; for all the desert is dry, and there was no good water in it but upon that mountain where his monastery was. They fell short of water in their way by means of the excessive heat ; and after having sought for some on all sides, and being no longer able to travel, they in despair laid themselves down upon the ground, leaving the camel to go where he would. The good old man being moved with grief at the eminent danger he saw them in, withdrawing a little from them, and sighing, he fell on his knees, and he prayed with his arms extended. Immediately the LORD caused water to come out of the place where he was praying ; they all drank, and taking breath, filled the skins which they had, and sought for their camel which they found fastened to a stone which his bridle had accidentally taken hold of ; and thus they happily got to their journey's end. St. Anthony arriving at the monasteries of Pisper, he was there received as a Father, and rejoiced to see the zeal of the Monks and of his sister, who was grown old in a state of virginity, and governed the other virgins. After certain days he returned to the mountain, where several persons went continually to him in order to be instructed by him, or to be healed of their diseases.

AMONGST other important counsels which he gave them, he advised them to observe this rule, in order to avoid sin. Let each of you, said he, observe and write down his actions, and the motions of his soul, as if we were to be accountable for them to each other. Assure your selves that the shame of its being known would make us refrain from sin, and prevent us from having any evil thoughts ; our writing will be to us of the same use as the eyes of our Brethren. He sympathized with the afflicted, and prayed with them ; but as he was not puffed up by his prayers, being often heard effectually, so he did not complain when they were not heard. He always gave thanks unto GOD, and exhorted the sick to be patient, and to acknowledge that the power of curing was

was not in him, or in any other man, but that it is from God alone who giveth it, when and in what manner it seemeth good unto him. An officer of the palace called *Fronto* could not be healed in his presence, but by going into Egypt as he had foretold him; and one of the daughters of *Bufiris* was cured, even without his permitting her to be brought before him. She staid without the mountain with the Confessor *Paphnucius*, where her relations had brought her. St. Anthony, as he was sitting one day upon the mountain, called two Monks, who there met together; and he said to them: 'Take a pitcher of water and run to the road that leads to Egypt; for of two Brethren that are coming thither, the one is just now dead, and the other is at the point of expiring, if you do not make haste; for I was warned of it in prayer. The Monks accordingly found the one dead, whom they buried, and the other lying upon the ground ready to yield up the ghost. They brought him to himself, and conducted him to the good old man: this accident happened at a day's journey from him. He had several other revelations of distant and hidden things, particularly of the state of the soul after this life.

c. 20.

c. 21, 22.

c. 23.

It was against his inclination that he divulged them; but his disciples seeing him a long time in prayer, and afterwards seeming to be astonished, they entreated and urged him so much that he was obliged to speak, as a father who could not conceal any thing from his children, and who thought that the knowledge of these things would be useful to them, by shewing them the fruit of their labour. He was very patient and very humble; for notwithstanding his great reputation he greatly honoured the Ecclesiastical order, and gave place to all Clerks. He bowed himself down before Bishops and Priests; and if any Deacon came to him for instruction, he told him what was needful to him; but yielded to him the honour of praying. So far was he from being ashamed of learning, that he gave ear to every body; and if any one said any useful thing, he confessed that he was improved by it. His countenance was extremely graceful, insomuch that without ever having seen him, it was easy to distinguish him amongst several other Monks. He drew the eyes of every body upon him, not that his form was in any respect extraordinary, but because the purity and tranquillity of his soul appeared always in his countenance, by a sacred joy, without the least symptom of passion. There were three Monks who usually went to see him once a year; two of them asked him questions, and the third never spoke a word. St. Anthony asked him the reason of his silence, apprehending that it was through fear; but he answered: Father it is sufficient for me that I see you.

Coteler.
Monum.
to. 1. p. 349.

In another part of Egypt there dwelt another solitary Hermit, called *Ammon*, who was rather a friend than a disciple of St. Anthony's: this was in the desert of Nitria. *Ammon* was born in Egypt, of a noble and rich family; at the age of twenty two years, his parents obliged him to marry; but he persuaded his wife to live in a state of continence, and they in this manner lived together eighteen years. He afterwards retired to the Mount of Nitria, where he became superiour to several Monks, and wrought several miracles. One day, as he was going to cross a river called *Lycus*, whose banks were overflowed, in company with *Theodorus* his disciple, he desired him to withdraw, that he might not see him as he was swimming naked, he then became very pensive, being ashamed to see himself naked, and immediately he found himself transported on the other side the river. *Theodorus* seeing that he was gone over safe, without being wet, asked him how it came to pass, and pressed him so

VII.
St. Ammon
of Nitria.
Vita Patr.
lib. 2. c. 30.

Vita St. Ant.
p. 486. D.

Coteler.
Monum.
to. 1. p. 352.

earnestly that he confessed the miracle to him, making him promise not to mention it to any one till after his death. He often went to St. Anthony, and in a visit which St. Anthony made him, they together marked out the place of a new monastery, by setting up a cross at the distance of twelve miles or four leagues, which St. Anthony judged would be sufficient. The wife of St. Ammon was also on her part the directress of several virgins, and he visited her twice a year. He died at the age of sixty-two years, and St. Anthony, altho' at the distance of thirteen days journey from him, knew the exact time of his death, by seeing his soul ascend to heaven.

VIII.
The beginning
of St. Paco-
mius.
Vide Gr. ap.
Bell.

IN the upper Thebais lived St. Pacomius, the first who hath prescribed any rules for, and hath entirely modelled the celebiat state. He was born in Thebais, of Heathen parents; but from his infancy he gave signs of his aversion to idolatry. Having tasted of wine offered to idols, he instantly threw it away. Another time his parents carried him to sacrifice to an idol upon the banks of the Nile, and the priest could not perceive the ordinary effect of his prophane ceremonies. He was surprized at it; but the demon gave him to understand, that the child Pacomius was the cause of his silence, and cried out: What does this enemy of the gods do here? Drive him hence immediately. His parents had him carefully instructed in the Egyptian learning; and from his earliest youth he preserved chastity, and lived after an abstemious manner. At twenty years of age he was lifted to serve in the war of Constantine against Maxentius. They embarked him on board a ship with several others, and at night they arrived at a town, the inhabitants of which being moved with pity for these young men, who were led to the war against their inclinations, administered all necessary relief to them. Pacomius asked who these charitable people were. He was answered, that they were Christians. He then asked the meaning of that name. He was told, that they were a sort of people who believed in JESUS CHRIST the only Son of GOD, and made it their endeavour to do good to every body, in hopes of being rewarded for it in another life. Pacomius affected by this discourse, lifted up his hands to Heaven and said: O GOD Almighty who hast created the Heaven and the Earth, if thou deliverest me from this affliction, and makest known unto me the perfect manner of serving thee, I will apply myself to it all the rest of my days. He proceeded on his voyage, and when he found himself allured by sensual pleasure, he repelled the temptations by the remembrance of his promise.

THE war being ended, Pacomius had his discharge and returned to Thebais: he went to the Church of a small town called Chinobosca, where he was made a catechumen, and was soon afterwards baptized. Having afterwards heard, that an old man called Palemon, served GOD in the midst of the desert, he without delay went to seek for him, and knocked at the door of his cave. The old man opened it a little, and said after an angry manner: What would you have? Pacomius replied: GOD hath sent me to live with you in solitude. Palemon answered: You cannot live in that state here. The monastick life is not easy to follow; many have come hither, being displeased with the world, and have not persevered. As to Pacomius he insisted upon it. Palemon added: I have already told you, that you cannot be received into this monastery, go to some other; and when you have done penance for some time, perhaps I may receive you: But consider, my son, I eat nothing but bread and salt; I make no use of oyl; I drink no wine; I watch one half of the night, and employ it

it in singing of psalms, or meditating upon the holy Scripture: Sometimes I spend the whole night without sleeping. Pacomius trembled at these words; but, however, he engaged in it with so much faith, that Palemon opened his door to him, and admitted him to the monastick habit. We here see how ancient this custom was; for the conversion of St. Pacomius could hardly have happened later than the year of our LORD 313.

A. D. 313.

HE continued then with Palemon, spinning of hair, and making sacks of it, that he might earn wherewithal to relieve the poor. On Easter day Palemon desired Pacomius to make ready something to eat for the solemnity of the festival. Pacomius put a little oyl to the salt which they used to eat with wild herbs; but Palemon seeing it, smote his forehead, and with tears cried out: Our LORD was crucified, and shall I eat oyl! and never could be prevailed upon to do it. Sometimes he eat without drinking; sometimes he drank without eating. And when he was entreated to take some refreshment, because of his infirmities, he urged the example of martyrs, who had suffered so much for the sake of JESUS CHRIST; and in truth he had been an eye-witness of the persecutions. St. Pacomius having penetrated pretty far into a canton called Tabenna, as he was in prayer he heard a voice which said to him: Continue here Pacomius and erect a monastery, for many will come to thee in order to forward their salvation, and thou shalt conduct them according to the rule which I shall give thee. Immediately an angel appeared to him and gave him a table whereon this rule was written, which was afterwards observed there. He communicated this revelation to Palemon, and desired him to go with him to this place. They there built a small cell, and took up their abode in it. St. Palemon died some time after in a happy old age. Afterwards John the elder brother of St. Pacomius came in quest of him, and remained with him, performing the same spiritual exercises. They gave to the poor the overplus of what they got by their labour, without laying up any thing for the morrow. They never changed their cloaths, but when they were under a necessity of washing them, and St. Pacomius always wore a shirt of hair cloath. He never lay down for fifteen years together, and never rested but in a sitting posture in the middle of the cell, without even leaning against the wall. He usually prayed standing with his arms stretched out in the form of a cross, and sometimes passed whole nights in that posture. John being dead, Pacomius lived alone for some time and underwent many temptations and illusions of the devil. In the mean time he built a pretty large monastery for the reception of great numbers of people, according to the promise which he had received from Heaven. He was sometimes comforted by the visits of a Monk called Apollo, who died with him in a happy old age, and was buried by his hands. St. Pacomius oftentimes walked upon serpents and scorpions, without being hurt by them; and frequently when he had occasion to cross the river, he made crocodiles carry him over. Such was at that time the monastick life in Egypt, where there were several monasteries in different places of the desert.

BESIDES this, St. Hilarion had settled in Palestine: he was born in a town IX. called Thabatha, five miles to the southward of Gaza; his parents were idolaters, and sent him when he was very young to Alexandria to study grammar. *Beginning of St. Hilarion.* He made a considerable progress in learning and virtue, and believing in JESUS *Hier. vita Hilar.* CHRIST he preferred the Ecclesiastical assemblies to the prophane shews of the Heathens. Having heard of St. Anthony, whose name was famous in Egypt,

Egypt, he went to see him in the desert, and immediately changed his habit, and staid with him two months, observing his manner of life, his fervency in prayer, his humility in receiving the Brethren, his severity in reproofing them; his earnestness in exhorting them, and his perseverance in austerities: But being disturbed by the great number of those who came to be healed of diseases, or delivered from demons, and being desirous to begin like St. Anthony, by a perfect solitude, he returned into his own country with certain Monks. Upon his arrival there, he found his father and mother dead; he gave part of his goods to his Brethren, and the rest to the poor, without reserving any thing for himself. He was as yet but fifteen years of age, and it was about the year 307. He retired into a desert, seven miles from Majuma; his relations and friends forewarned him, that That place was notorious for murders and robberies; but he dreaded nothing but eternal death. They admired his courage, considering his youth and his constitution, which was naturally tender. In the beginning of his retirement, some robbers came to him, and asked him what he would do if robbers came to him? He answered: When a man has nothing to lose, he need not fear them. But, said they, they may kill you. That is true, replied he, but it is for this reason that I am not afraid of them, because I am prepared for death. He suffered great temptations from demons in this desert, and began to be distinguished there by his miracles at the end of twenty two years, that is, when he was about thirty seven years, and about the year 329.

HE was clothed in a sack, a tunick of skin which St. Anthony had given him, and a rustick cloak, and dwelt in that loanesome place between the sea and the marsh, oftentimes changing the place of his abode, because of the robbers, and eating only fifteen figs after sun-set. Being under some temptations to pleasure, he retrenched that diet, and sometimes went three or four days without eating, and tilled the land, besides the baskets which he made in imitation of the Egyptian Monks, to earn his bread. By these labours he reduced his body to mere skin and bones. His bed was no other than a matt laid out upon the ground, and his cell was so small, that it was more like a tomb than a house. He never cut his hair but at Easter, and never washed his cloaths, saying, that it was needless to look for cleanliness in a hair shirt, and he never left off his tunick till it was entirely worn out. From time to time he altered his diet; but for above thirty years his food was six ounces of barley bread, with herbs somewhat dried, and at last a drink made of flower and herbs pounded, to the weight of five ounces. With this he lived eighty years, and died about the year 372.

X.
The disorders
of the Dona-
tists.

Ap. Euf. i.
hist. c. 6.

Sup. n. 2.

Ap. Aug. ep.
88.

THE Emperor Constantine having ordered Anulinus the Proconsul of Africa and Patricius the Vicar of the *Præfetus Pretorii*, to inform himself who those were that disturbed the peace of the Catholick church, and endeavoured to corrupt the people by their errors; these were the Donatists, and writing to Cecilian Bishop of Carthage, at the end of the letter which I have already related, he observed to him, that he must apply himself to the same judges, in order to receive justice of those inconsiderate people. For the execution of this order Anulinus exhorted them to peace; but a few days afterwards, some of the contrary party to Cecilian, having got together some people about them, came and presented to the Proconsul a sealed packet, and a memorial which was open, earnestly desiring him to send them immediately to Court. The title of the

the packet was this : The Memorial of the Catholick church, concerning the crimes of Cecilian, presented by the party of Majorinus. The Memorial which was open and fastened to this packet, contained these words : We beseech you Constantine, most powerful Emperor, You are descended from a just race, whose father was the only person of all the Emperors, that put a stop to persecution ; that forasmuch as Gaul is exempt from this crime, you would assign us judges to decide the differences which we have in Africa with the other Bishops. Given by Lucian, Dignus, Nassutius, Capito, Fidentius, and the rest Bishops of the party of Majorinus.

THE Emperor having received these Memorials, together with the report of Anulinus, wrote to him to send Cecilian and his adversaries, each of them with ten Clerks of their party, that they might be at Rome upon the second of October, and be judged there by Bishops. Anulinus executed this order, and gave notice of it to the Emperor, who wrote also to Miltiades Bishop of Rome, and to the Bishops of Gaul and Italy to meet together at Rome upon the same day ; and he dispatched to them all the memorials and papers which Anulinus had sent to him upon that subject. The letter to the Bishop of Rome is also directed to Marcus, who is thought to have been the same that was Bishop of that See after St. Silvester. The Emperor says in this letter : I have thought proper that Cecilian should go to Rome with ten of those Bishops who accuse him, and ten others whom he shall judge requisite to defend his cause, to the end, that he may be heard before you Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus your colleagues, whom I have ordered to repair to Rome with all diligence upon this account, in such manner as you know is conformable to the most holy law. Reticus and the two others were Bishops of Gaul.

CECILIAN, with the ten Catholick Bishops, and the other ten of the opposite party, the chief of whom was Donatus of Casæ-nigræ, came all to Rome upon the day appointed, and the council assembled in the palace of the Empress Fausta, called *Lateranus*, that same day, being the second of October, in the year 313, which happened upon a Friday. Miltiades Bishop of Rome was President ; next to him were seated the three Bishops from Gaul, viz. Reticus of Autun, Maternus of Cologne, Marinus of Arles ; and after them the fifteen Italian Bishops, viz. Merocles of Milan, Stemnius of Rimini, Felix of Florence, Gaudentius of Pisa, Proterius of Capua, Theophilus of Benevento, Savinus of Terracina, Secundus of Preneste, Maximus of Ostia, and some others, making in all nineteen Bishops, including the Bishop of Rome. The order of this sessions is remarkable, particularly inasmuch as the three Gaulish Bishops hold the first place, and that amongst the Italians the Bishops of Ostia and Preneste, although suffragans of the Bishop of Rome have no particular rank. Reticus of Autun was a Bishop of great authority in his time, and left some writings behind him, which are now lost. They took up three days in the council of Rome, with Notaries, who wrote down at the same time the acts of the council, that is the verbal process. The first day the judges informed themselves who were the accusers of, and the witnesses against Cecilian. The Bishops of the party of Majorinus presented a memorial of accusation exhibited against him by those of their party, and by this they pretended to accuse him in the behalf of all the people of Carthage. But the judges took no notice of this memorial, because it only contained the confused clamours of a multitude, without any certain accuser. They demanded the witnesses and persons

Ap. ep. lib. 1.

Ap. Aug. col.

3. c. 318.

brev. d. 3.

c. 12.

Ap. Euf. 2.

Bi-hist. c. 5.

A. D. 313.

XI.

The council of Rome.

Oprat. lib. 1.

coll. Carth.

Aug. ep. 172.

A. D. 313.

Aug. i. Julian.

c. 3. n. 7.

A. D. 313.

sons to make good the accusation in their names ; but those which Donatus and the other Bishops of Majorinus's party had brought as accusers, and as witnesses, declared that they had nothing to say against Cecilian.

A. D. 313.

THEN Cecilian accused Donatus of being the author of the schism at Carthage, in the life time of Mensurius, of having re-baptized, and of having laid his hands again upon certain Bishops who fell from the faith in the persecution : In short, said he, Donatus and his colleagues have withdrawn the accusers and witnesses which they themselves had brought from Africa against me ; so apparent was their calumnious intention. Donatus confessed that he had rebaptized, and laid his hands upon the lapsed Bishops, and promised to produce again the necessary persons for this cause, whom he was accused of having withdrawn. But after having promised it twice, he retired, and durst not present himself any more before the council, fearing lest the crimes which he had confessed should draw immediate condemnation upon himself, though he had come so far to cause Cecilian to be condemned. The second day, certain people gave in a libel of information against Cecilian ; they examined the persons who delivered it in, and the heads of the accusation which it contained ; but nothing could be proved.

A. D. 313.

THE third day they examined the council held at Carthage by seventy Bishops who had condemned Cecilian and those who ordained him. This was the great argument of his adversaries ; they boasted much of this great number of Bishops, and that being all of that country, they judged with a thorough knowledge of the cause, and were perfectly well acquainted with it : But Miltiades and the other Bishops of the council of Rome laid no stress upon the council of Carthage, because Cecilian was condemned in it when he was absent, and without being heard. Besides, he gave good reasons for not presenting himself before them : He knew that these Bishops had been called to Carthage by his adversaries, that they lodged at their houses, and concerted every thing with them. He knew the threats of Purpurius the Bishop of Limata, the violence of whose temper was well known. The Bishops of the council of Rome judged then, that all that had been transacted in the council of Carthage as yet, amounted only to this, viz. Whether Felix of Aptonga was a *traditor*, or any other of those who had ordained Cecilian ; but they found this question difficult and useless. It was difficult, because there were witnesses to be examined, and records to be searched, and because Cecilian accused his opponents of the same crime, that is, of having delivered up the holy Scriptures, referring himself to the council of Cirtha, where they had confessed it. Moreover, it was to no purpose to examine whether Felix was a *traditor* or not, since if he had been guilty of treachery, it did not follow that the ordination of Cecilian was thereby void ; for it was a certain maxim, that a Bishop as long as he is in office, without being condemned or degraded by an Ecclesiastical sentence, may lawfully ordain and perform all other offices of a Bishop.

A. D. 313.

Sup. lib. 9.
B. 13.

THE Bishops of the council of Rome judged then, that they ought not to touch upon that question, for fear of raising fresh disorders in the Church of Africa, instead of restoring peace. They declared Cecilian innocent and approved of his ordination ; but they did not excommunicate those Bishops who had condemned Cecilian, nor those who had been sent to accuse him. Donatus

Aug. ep. 30. of *Casæ-nigræ* was the only person whom they condemned as the author of all
the

the mischief, and as being convicted of very great crimes by his own confession. The rest they left at liberty to continue in their Sees, although they were ordained by Majorinus when out of the Church, provided they renounced their schism; so that in every place where they found Bishops together, the one ordained by Cecilian and the other by Majorinus, they should keep him who was the senior in ordination, and provide another church for the other.

THIS was the determination of the council of Rome, wherein we see the greatest discretion, and a remarkable instance of dispensing with the rigour of the Church laws for the sake of peace. In this council each Bishop gave his opinion according to custom, and Miltiades Bishop of Rome concluded the whole, by delivering his in these words: Forasmuch as it is certain, that Cecilian has not been accused by those who came with Donatus as they had promised, and that he has not been convicted by Donatus upon one article, I am of opinion that he ought to be continued in all his rights, and in the communion of the Church. We have lost the rest of the sentence upon the other articles. Miltiades and the other Bishops gave the Emperor Constantine an account of the judgment which they had passed, sending him the acts of the council; and acquainted him that the accusers of Cecilian returned immediately to Africa. Miltiades or Melchiades Bishop of Rome died three months afterwards, upon the tenth of January, in the year 314, having held the holy See two years and an half, and Silvester succeeded him upon the thirty first day of the same month. A. D. 313.
Const. ep. ad
Blas.
Chr. Damas.
Pagi, an. 313.
n. 13.
A. D. 314.

DONATUS of Casæ-nigræ desired leave to return into Africa, promising not to go to Carthage. A certain person called Philumenus who solicited the Emperor in his behalf, desired also that in order to preserve peace, Cecilian might be detained at Bresse in Italy, which was accordingly done. In the mean time they sent two Bishops Eunomius and Olympius into Africa, who staid forty days at Carthage to declare wherein consisted the Catholick church; but the party of Donatus endeavoured to prevent it, and every day there arose fresh clamours. At length Eunomius and Olympius pronounced that the Catholick Church was that which was spread throughout the world, and that the judgment passed at Rome by the nineteen Bishops could not be annulled; so they communicated with Cecilian's clergy, and returned from thence after having copied the records of all their proceedings. In the mean time Donatus came to Carthage contrary to his promise, which Cecilian hearing of, returned also in haste to his flock. Thus the division was again revived between the two parties. Optat. lib. 1.

THE Donatists waited again upon the Emperor, still persisting in their assertion, that Cecilian was unworthy of the Sacerdotal office. He represented to them, that the cause had been determined at Rome by unquestionable judges; but they complained that it had not been fully heard; and that the Bishops who were but few in number, had shut themselves up in a certain place, and had passed their sentence in a hurry, according to their own pleasure. The pretence for saying, that the cause had not been fully heard, was founded upon the affair of Felix of Aptonga, which the council of Rome refused to examine. A. D. 314.
Const. epist.
ad Blas. &
ad Chrest.

To give them satisfaction in this matter, Constantine wrote to Verus or Verinus the Vicar of the *Præfectus Prætorii* in Africa, to take cognizance of it. Verinus being sick, Ælian the *Proconsul* of Africa executed this order, and examined XII.
The justification
of Felix
of Aptonga.

Aug. Post.
Coll. c. 33.
Miscel. Baluz.
to. 2.
A. D. 314.

mined all those who could have had any knowledge of the matter in dispute ; which was, whether Felix the Bishop of Aptonga had delivered up the holy Scripture in the time of persecution, or nor. He sent for Claudius Saturianus, who was *Curator* of the Republick of Aptonga in the year of the persecution, that is, in 303, Alfius Cecilianus who had been the magistrate, that is, one of the *Duumviri* in the same year ; Callidius Gratianus who was *Curator* in the year 314 ; Superius a *stationary* soldier ; Ingentius the register who was accused of having forged a letter from Alfius Cecilianus to Felix ; Solon a publick servant and some others. *Ælian* the *Proconsul* examined them upon the fifteenth of the calends of March, Volusianus and Annianus being consuls, that is, upon the fifteenth of February, in the year 314. We have a great part of his trial remaining, wherein, after the reading of certain records, an officer belonging to the *Proconsul* called Agefilaus, who seems to be one of those which were called *Exceptors* or Clerks of the court, speaks thus.

THERE are other letters necessary in this affair, it is very proper that they should be read. The *Proconsul* *Ælian* said : Read them in the presence of Cecilian, that he may know whether he dictated them or not. Agefilaus read a record made at Carthage in these terms : In judgment before Aurelius Didymus Speretius, Priest of Jupiter and *Duumvir* of Carthage, Maximus says : I speak in the name of the Christian people of the Catholick law, these, however were the Donatists. He continues : We should prosecute Cecilian and Felix before the Emperors, who endeavour to usurp the government of religion. Proofs of their crimes are sought for ; for orders being given for the persecution against the Christians, viz. that they should sacrifice or give up all the writings which they had, to be burnt, Alfius Cecilianus whom you see here present, was magistrate at that time. His office obliged him to execute the order of the *Proconsul*, to force every body to sacrifice and give up the Scriptures. You see that he is old, and cannot go up to court ; I intreat you, that he may declare before you, if he wrote any letters concerning the agreement which he made upon that head, and if the contents of his letters are true ; that we may be able to discover the truth before the Emperor. Cecilian being present, the *Duumvir* Speretius said to him, Have you heard this request ?

A. D. 314. ALFIUS CECILIANUS said : I went to Zama to buy flax, with Saturninus. When we arrived there the Christians themselves sent to me at the *Prætorium*, to ask me if I had received the Emperor's order. No, said I, but I have already seen copies of it ; both at Zama and at Furnæ I saw Churches demolished and writings burnt. Deliver therefore what writings you have, in obedience to the Emperor's order. Then they sent to the house of Felix the Bishop to take from thence the Scriptures and burn them. Galatius went with us to the place where they used to celebrate their service. We from thence carried off the pulpit, the letters, and the doors, and all were burnt according to the Emperor's order : And as we had sent to the house of the Bishop Felix, the publick officers brought us word, that he was abroad. It is true, that since that time Ingentius, with whom I was *Ædile*, came to me, and I dictated a letter to Augustus for the same Bishop Felix.

MAXIMUS said : Let the letter be given to him, that he may see if it is the same. Cecilian answered : It is the same. Maximus said : Since he has acknowledged his letter, I will read it, and I desire that it may be recorded at length. He read thus : Cecilian to his father Felix, greeting. Ingentius coming

coming to my colleague Augentius his friend, to ask him if in the year of my *Duumvirate*, they had burned certain writings of your law, according to an order from the Emperor; I said that I knew no more of it, than that Galatius one of your own people, took away publicly some letters out of the church. I wish you, my dear father, a long continuance of good health.

THIS was the end of the letter; but they had added what follows, making A. D. 314. Cecilian still speak to Felix: You said to me, Take the key and carry away the books which you will find upon the pulpit and upon the stone, by which the altar is probably meant; but take care that the officers carry not away the oil and the corn. I tell you: Do not you know that they demolish the house wherein writings are found? You said to me, What shall we do then? I will tell you, said I: Let some of you carry them to the place where you pray, and I will come with the officers, and take them away. We went there, we carried off every thing according to the agreement, and we burned them according to the Emperor's order. By this letter of Cecilian the Donatists pretended to prove, that Felix the Bishop of Aptonga was a *traditor*. Maximus having read it, said: Since the letter has been read, and since he acknowledges that he sent it, I desire that what he has said may be recorded. Speretius the *Duumvir* said: What you have said is written down.

AFTER the reading of this record made at Carthage before Speretius, Agefilaus said before the *Proconsul* Ælian: Cecilian has just now acknowledged his letter, and says, that what was read at the end is false. Cecilian said: My Lord, I dictated as far as those words, *I wish you, my dear father, a long continuance of health*. This, in short, was the common conclusion of letters. Apronian, who spoke in behalf of the Catholicks, said: It is thus that those who are unwilling to unite themselves to the Catholick Church have always acted by falsehood and impiety, by terrifying people and deceiving them. Whilst Paulinus was *Vicar* of Africa, they suborned a certain man who ran up and down the country, and came to the Catholicks in order to frighten them; the cheat was discovered: They endeavoured to blast the reputation of the holy Bishop Felix, by saying, that he had delivered up and burned the Scriptures. Ingentius also seeking only to defame the holy Bishop Cecilian, has been suborned to come with forged letters from the Bishop Felix to the *Duumvir* Cecilian, pretending to be sent to him by Felix; I will rehearse the very words that he has made use of in this forgery. The *Proconsul* said, Repeat them. A. D. 314.

APRONIAN says: He has supposed Felix to speak thus: Tell my friend Cecilian, that I have received eleven volumes of sacred books of great value; and because they would now make me deliver them up, say, that you burnt them when you was in office. It is therefore upon this that Ingentius must be examined, in order to know how all this was forged and devised, and how he endeavoured to impose upon the magistrate and make him guilty of a lye; to cast a blot upon the character of Felix, and consequently upon the honovr of Cecilian and his ordination. Let him declare who sent him; for he is as it were a deputy from our adversaries throughout Mauritania and Numidia.

INGENTIUS being present, the *proconsul* Ælian said to him: By whose order hast thou taken upon thee to do what thou art accused of? Where? said Ingentius: The *proconsul* said: Since thou pretendest not to understand what is asked of thee, I will expreis my self more plainly. Who sent thee to

the magistrate Cecilian? Ingentius replied: No body sent me. The proconsul said: Upon what account then didst thou go to him. Ingentius answered: They were treating about the affair of Maurus Bishop of Utica, who had purchased the Episcopal dignity. Felix the Bishop of Aptonga came to the city and said: Let no one communicate with him because he has been guilty of falsehood. I replied: Neither with him nor with thee who art a *traditor*; for I was concerned upon the account of Maurus, who was my host, and with whom I communicated in a strange country, when I fled from the persecution. Since when I brought three Elders into Felix's country, that they might see whether he was really a *traditor* or not. Apronian said: It is not thus that he came to Cecilian to get information of him. The *Proconsul* said to Cecilian: In what manner did Ingentius come to you? Cecilian made answer: He came to my house; I was then at dinner with my workmen. He stopped at the door, saying, Where is Cecilian? I answered, he is here. What is the matter; does all go well? Yes, said he. I then said to him, Will you dine with us? He replied, I will return immediately. He came back alone, and began to say to me, I am desired to inform my self whether there were any Scriptures burnt in the year of your *Duumvirate*. I told him, You disturb me, you are a spy, be gone. He returned with my colleague, with whom I was *Ædile*, this was Augentius, who said to me, Felix our Bishop has sent this man, that you might write to him; it is because he has received some books of value which he is unwilling to give up. Write word to him, that they were burnt in the year of your *Duumvirate*. I said to him: Is this the upright dealing of Christians?

XIII.
Ingentius
convicted of
falsehood.
A.D. 314.

INGENTIUS finding himself closely urged, said to the Proconsul: My lord, Let Augentius come hither also; my honour is concerned, and we have his letters. The Proconsul then said to Ingentius: Thou art nevertheless convicted. Then he said to his officers: Bind him, and let him then be tied up; this was to force him to a confession. Then he said to Cecilian: In what manner did Ingentius come to you? Cecilian made answer; He said to me: Our Bishop Felix has sent me hither, that you might write to him. There is, continued he, a certain poor man, who has some very valuable books at my house, which I will not restore to him: Write down for me, that they were burnt, that I may keep them. Then, said I, Is this the upright dealing of Christians? and then began to reprove him. My colleague said to me: Write to our Bishop Felix. I then dictated the letter, and it is evident how far I did dictate it. It seems from hence, that Cecilian could not write.

THE Proconsul said: Harken, without being afraid, to the reading of your letter. Agefilaus read it, as it is above inserted in the record of Speretius the *Duumvir* of Carthage. When he had read these words, I wish you, my dear father, a continuance of good health, the Proconsul said to Cecilian: You dictated so far. Yes, answered he; the rest is forged. Agefilaus went on with reading the rest as above; and Cecilian said again, That is false, my letter reaches no further than these words: *I wish you, my dear father, a continuance of health.* The Proconsul said, Who do you believe it was that made an addition to your letter? Cecilian answered, It is Ingentius. The Proconsul said: Your declaration is upon record.

A.D. 314.

THEN he said to Ingentius: Thou art going to be tortured; speak the truth. Ingentius replied: I am guilty, it was I who added to this letter; I was

was angry upon the account of my friend Maurus. The Proconsul said: The Emperors Constantine the Great and Licinius are pleased to favour the Christians; but it is not with intention to have their discipline corrupted, but on the contrary, that this religion may be observed. Do not flatter thyself then upon being a *Decurio*, and that you ought not to be tortured to a confession; thou shalt be tortured to prevent thee from lying, which is no ways suitable to Christians, as is well known. Speak out then plainly, to avoid being tormented. Ingentius said; I have already confessed without being tortured. Then Apronian said to the Proconsul: Be so good as to ask him by what authority, by what artifice, with what fury he ran over all Mauritania, and even Numidia? by what means he raised a sedition in the Catholick Church? The Proconsul said to Ingentius; Hast thou been in Numidia? He made answer, No, my lord, let them prove it. The Proconsul added: Nor in Mauritania? Ingentius replied: I have been there to traffick. Apronian said: Helyeth even in that, my lord, by saying that he has been in Mauritania without going into Numidia; for there is no other way to go into Mauritania than through Numidia. The proconsul asked Ingentius: Of what rank art thou? Ingentius answered: I am a *Decurio* of *Zica*. The proconsul said to the officers, Take him down: Then he said to Cecilian, to try him, What you have said is false. Cecilian answered; No, my lord; let him come who wrote the letter, who is his friend; he will tell how far I dictated it. The proconsul said; Who is he that you would have sent for? Cecilian replied: Augentius with whom I was *Ædile*; it is he who wrote the letter; it is by him only that I can prove how far I dictated it: he can tell it. The proconsul said; It is then certain, that the letter is false? Cecilian answered: Yes, my lord, I speak the truth as I live. The proconsul said; Forasmuch as you have been *Duumvir* in your city, we must give credit to your words. Apronian said; This is no new thing with them; they have added what they pleased to the records; they make a trade of it.

A. D. 314.

THE proconsul then said: The declaration of Cecilian, who says, that the records have been forged, and that much has been added to his letter, makes it plainly appear with what design Ingentius did it: Let him be carried to prison; for he must be examined in a more severe manner. As for the holy Bishop Felix, it is manifest, that he is innocent of having burnt the Scriptures, since no body has been able to prove, that he so much as delivered them up; for it appears by all the questions that have been asked, that there has not been any sacred writings found, burnt, or spoiled; that the holy Bishop was absent, and caused nothing of this kind to be done, and had not even any knowledge of it. Agefilaus said; What would your lordship be pleased to have done with the other witnesses? The proconsul Ælian said: Let them return home. He sent the Emperor an account of all that he had done in this matter, together with the records; and Constantine wrote afterwards to Probianus proconsul of Africa, Ælian's successor, to send Ingentius the counterfeit up to his court, under a strong guard, to stop the mouths of the accusers of the Bishop Cecilian.

Aug. Coll. d. 3. c. 559.

A. D. 314. Epist. Const. ad Prob.

IN the mean time, being tired out with the complaints of the Donatists, who insisted, that the council of Rome did not consist of a sufficient number, and being desirous to deprive them of all pretences for the disturbance which they made, he resolved to assemble a greater council, and that too in Gaul, as

XIV. The council of Arles.

they had requested, that is, in the city of Arles. He wrote then to Ablavius or Elafius the Vicar of Africa, who was a Christian, commanding him to send Cecilian, together with certain persons whom he should pitch upon, and other Bishops from all provinces of Africa; that is within the proconsul's jurisdiction, from Byzacena, from that of Tripoli, both parts of Numidia and Mauritania, with those whom each of them chose, and some also of the contrary party to Cecilian; and to give to each of these Bishops letters of credit to travel at the publick expence, ordering it so that they should travel by land as much as possible, that is, through Mauritania and Spain. The Emperour wrote also to the Bishops, and we have the letter directed to Chrestus the Bishop of Syracusa in Sicily, which runs thus: Forasmuch as we have ordered a great many Bishops of several places to assemble in the city of Arles, upon the first day of August, we have also thought proper to write to you; that you may take a publick carriage, by the order of Latronian the *Correktor* of Sicily, with two persons of the second order, whom you shall chuse, and three servants to wait on you upon the way, and repair to this same place upon the day appointed. In these letters the number of persons was expressed, because in their journey they were furnished at the publick expence with carriage, lodging, and provision. Chrestus instead of two Priests, brought only one Deacon with him called Florus. By this letter we may form a judgment of those that were sent to the other Bishops; for it was probably a circular letter, wherein there was no other alteration but the names of Bishops and Governours. It is thought, that the Bishop of Rome was invited to this council, because he sent his deputies thither.

A. D. 314.

Subscr. Conc.
Arel.Valef. de
Schism. c. 9.

THE Bishops assembled together in the city of Arles, upon the appointed day, the first of August, in the year 314. The Gauls were the most in number; we find sixteen of them in the subscriptions; amongst which are the three who were present at the council of Rome. There was at least thirty three Bishops at this council, and some that were absent sent Priests in their stead. Several Churches of Gaul are there taken notice of; amongst others, Arles, Marseilles, Vienne, Lyons, Austun, Rheims, Treves, Cologne, Roan, and Bourdeaux. In Britain, York and London; there are amongst them some Italians, several Spaniards and Africans. Marinus the Bishop of Arles was accompanied by one Priest and four Deacons; the deputies whom St. Silvester the Bishop of Rome sent were two Priests, Claudian and Vitus, and two Deacons, Eugenius and Cyriacus.

A. D. 314.

Aug. brev.
coll. 3.
Acta S. i. Da-
tivi, &c.

Epist. Synod.

THEY in the first place examined into the cause of Cecilian Bishop of Carthage. The Donatists brought two articles of accusation against him; the one personal, viz. that whilst yet a Deacon during the persecution, he went by the order of the Bishop Mensurius, to the gate of the prison, with scourges and a company of armed people, to prevent any from carrying relief to the martyrs who were imprisoned. The other article of accusation was, that the Bishop who ordained Cecilian had delivered up the Scriptures, and amongst the rest Felix of Aptonga. The Bishops of the council of Arles could not, any more than those of the council of Rome, find proofs of these accusations: Thus Cecilian was again acquitted, and his accusers condemned. But before they broke up the assembly, the Bishops of the council of Arles composed canons of discipline, which they addressed to St. Silvester Bishop of Rome, together with a synodical epistle.

AT the head of it appear the names of the thirty three Bishops, of which Marinus the Bishop of Arles is the first, whence it is believed that he presided in this council. The Bishops say, that they were brought hither by the will and pleasure of the Emperor; and after having acquainted him that they had condemned the Donatists, they add: Would to GOD, our dear brother, that you had been present at this extraordinary sight, your presence would have made their condemnation more severe and our joy more perfect; but you cannot be absent from those places where the Apostles presided, and where their blood gives continual glory to GOD: However, we have not thought ourselves obliged to treat merely of the subject which was the chief cause of our meeting: but we have formed several regulations in the presence of the Holy Ghost and his Angels, according to their motions. And we were of opinion, that according to the ancient custom, it was your province to notify them to others; forasmuch as you have the greatest share of the government of the Church. The regulations of this council are comprehended in twenty two canons.

THE first imports, that Easter shall be observed throughout the world upon the same day, and that the Bishop of Rome shall notify it by his letters according to custom. This regulation was necessary, because of those who yet celebrated it upon the fourteenth day of the moon; and the Bishops looked upon it as a great evil, that there should be the least difference or division in the celebration of that mystery, which is a fundamental point of our salvation. It is said, that all the ministers of the Church shall continue in those places where they were ordained; and that if they leave them to go elsewhere, they shall be deposed. Such Clerks as are Usurers, shall be excommunicated according to the law of GOD. Deacons are forbidden to offer, as it was usual for them to do in several places. The Deacons of the Episcopal city ought not to take upon them any office belonging to the Priests, nor to do it without their assistance. When a strange Bishop comes into a city he ought to have the privilege of offering the holy sacrifice. No Bishop ought to take upon him to ordain Bishops alone, or by himself; he must act in conjunction with seven others, or three at least. Those who have been excommunicated cannot enter again into communion, but at the same place where they were deprived of it; to the end, that no Bishop may invade the authority of his brother.

THOSE who lay down their arms during the peace of the Church shall be cut off from the communion. Under the Christian Emperors, the faithful had no cause to avoid the military profession as formerly, by reason of the peril of idolatry. The faithful who drive the chariots in the circus, and those belonging to the theatre, shall be in a state of excommunication as long as they follow those professions. We may see the reasons of these canons in the treatise of Tertullian, concerning publick shews; wherein he demonstrates that they were all founded upon idolatry, and apt to corrupt our manners. The Governors of provinces who are promoted to these posts, being Christians, ought, as well as others, to bring letters of communion from their Bishop; and the Bishop of the place where they reside ought to have care of them, and may excommunicate them if they do any thing contrary to discipline. Thus was it with regard to all those who have publick offices. The Christians who went from one province to another, took letters from their Bishop to shew that they were in the communion of the Church; and it was a maxim amongst the Romans

A. D. 314.

XV. Canons of the council of Arles.

Sup. lib. 3.

n. 43. lib. 6.

n. 43.

can. 2.

c. 21.

c. 12.

c. 15.

c. 18.

c. 19.

c. 20.

c. 6.

c. 17.

c. 3. v. An-

bisp.

A. D. 314.

can. 4. 5.

Sup. lib. 5.

n. 21.

c. 7.

v. Aubespine.

mans to bestow no offices upon the natives of any country. In Africa, it being still the custom to re-baptize, it is ordained, that if any Heretick comes over to the Church, they shall require of him the symbol or creed. If they find that he has been baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they shall only lay their hands upon him, that he may receive the Holy Ghost: If he does not answer conformable to the faith of the Trinity, let him be baptized. As the accusing of the Catholicks with entertaining traditors was the pretence for the schism of the Donatists, the council ordains, that those who shall be guilty of delivering up the Scriptures, or any sacred vessels, or of giving up their brethren, shall be degraded from the order of the clergy, provided they be convicted of it by publick acts, not by bare words: That if they have ordained any one who has been approved elsewhere, that That ordination shall be no way prejudicial to him. This manifestly relates to Cecilian. The council adds: And because there are many who set themselves in opposition to the rule of the Church, and pretend to a liberty of accusing with witnesses corrupted by money; let them not be received except they bring proofs from publick records as aforesaid. This related to the calumnies of the Donatists. And again: Those who accuse their brethren falsely, shall not receive the sacrament but at death.

THOSE who after having fallen into Apostacy, do not present themselves before the Church, even to ask for penance, if they require the communion in sickness, it ought not to be administered to them, except they recover their health, and bring forth worthy fruits of penance. They did not then trust to those conversions which proceeded from no other motive than the fear of death. Young women who are Christians, if they marry Heathens shall be for some time separated from the communion. Young married men being Christians, who discover their wives in adultery, and who are consequently forbidden to marry again; shall be exhorted by all possible motives to take no other wife during the life-time of their first, although they be adulteresses. They speak here only by way of exhortation, because the Civil laws permitted them to marry again after a divorce, and although the Church did not observe them in any thing that was contrary to the Gospel, she condescended so far as not to contradict them openly. These are the canons of the council of Arles.

XVI. To the same time is referred the council of Ancyra, and likewise that of Neocæsarea, both of which were famous for their canons; and it is certain, that councils were frequently held in these beginnings of the liberty of the Church. Ancyra was the metropolis of Galatia, and Marcellus was then Bishop of it: there is mention made of seventeen who were joined with him in this council; amongst others, Vitalius of Antioch, Agricola of Cæsarea in Palestine, successor of the martyr Agapius, and predecessor of Eusebius the historian, Leontius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Longinus of Neocæsarea in Pontus; Narcissus of Neronia in Cilicia, Lupus of Tarsus, Peter of Iconium in Lycania, Basil of Amasea upon the Hellespont, who was afterwards a martyr, Eustolius of Nicomedia, successor of the martyr Anthimus. This council composed twenty five canons; the first of which related to those who had fallen from the Faith during the persecution; the heat of which was but just then extinguished in the East.

THOSE Priests who had sacrificed to idols, and had returned sincerely and without dissimulation to the combat of the true faith, were to be preserved in the

Cod. ut nulli.
par. lib. 1.
lib. 41. c. 8.

A. D. 314.

c. 13.

c. 14.

c. 22.
V. Conc.
Elib.
c. 46.

Cypr. epist.
ad Anton.
c. 11.
c. 10.

A. D. 314.

XVI.
The council of
Ancyra.
Euseb. 10.

Subscript.
conc. Ancyr.
Sup. n. 3.

can. 1.

the honour and right of being seated in the church near the Bishop ; but they are forbidden to officiate, to preach, or to perform any sacerdotal function. The same is ordered with regard to the Deacons ; but the Bishops are left to their liberty to add to, or diminish this sentence, in proportion to the earnestness of their repentance. The words which this council makes use of to distinguish the functions of Priests and Deacons are remarkable. With regard to the Priests, it says : Offer and preach, or read the Homily. With regard to the Deacons, it says, Present the offering, and make proclamation ; because they did in the church what the publick criers performed in prophane assemblies. Those who have fled, and have been taken or betrayed by their servants ; who have had their goods confiscated, suffered torments or imprisonment ; who were forcibly obliged to take incense in their hands, or sacrificed meats in their mouths ; they still openly declaring that they were Christians, and who have since given evident tokens of sorrow by their habit, and their manner of living : these being free from sin, ought not to be deprived of the communion ; and if any have been deprived of it through ignorance, or too rigid an exactness, let them be received without delay. This is to be equally observed, both with regard to the clergy and the laity ; even such laymen as are found to be in this circumstance, may be promoted to orders, if the preceeding part of their lives be irreproachable or blameless. Such catechumens also as have sacrificed before their baptism may be admitted into orders.

THOSE who after having sacrificed by force, have again been sharers in the festival of idols ; if they went thither in habits wore upon such occasions, and betrayed signs of Joy, they shall be *auditors* for one year, and prostrate themselves during three years ; for two years they shall partake only of the prayers, c. s. and shall afterwards be received into perfect communion : But if they were present at this festival in a mourning habit, and even though they eat, if they continued crying during the feast, after they have prostrated themselves for three years, they shall be admitted to the prayers without being allowed to offer : But if they did not eat, they shall prostrate themselves but two years ; shall be one year without offering ; and at the end of three years shall be received into perfect communion. But the Bishops shall have power to prolong or shorten this term, and of using indulgence according to the behaviour of the penitents during the time of penance, before and after. Those who have sacrificed, yielding because of their being threatened with punishment, or of the loss of goods or banishment, and who having as yet done no penance, come over only upon account of the assembling of the council, protesting a desire of conversion, they shall be received as auditors till Easter day ; after which, they shall prostrate themselves for three years : after two years they shall communicate without offering, and their whole penance shall be for six years. Those who shall have been received to penance before this council, their six years shall commence from that time. Those who shall have been in danger of death, shall be received according to the accustomed rule. Those who at a prophane feast have eaten in the place appointed for the Heathens, but only of such meats as they had brought thither themselves, shall be received after having been prostrating themselves two years. Those who have been forced to sacrifice two or three times, shall prostrate themselves four years, shall be two years without offering, and they shall be received the seventh. Those who have not only apostatized, but also obliged the Brethren to do the same, or were accessory in obliging

liging them to it, shall be three years auditors, shall prostrate themselves six years, shall be one year without offering; and the whole course of their penance shall be for ten years.

- THE other canons of the council of Ancyra relate to other points of discipline. Those Deacons who at their ordination protested that they designed to marry; if they do it afterwards, shall remain in the ministry, forasmuch as they had liberty from the Bishop. If they said nothing at their ordination, and marry afterwards, they shall be deprived of the ministry. Amongst us, at this time, the Clerks do only tacitly make the vow of continence, by making no answer to the Bishop's declaration, when they are made Sub-deacons. It is not lawful for the *Choriepiscopi* to ordain Priests and Deacons; nor for the Priests of any city to do any thing in a Diocese without the leave of the Bishop in writing. It is thought, that the *Choriepiscopi* were only Priests, to whom the Bishop gave almost all his authority in the country. The Priests or Deacons who abstain from eating flesh, shall be at least obliged to taste of it, and may not refuse herbs dressed with grease, upon pain of being degraded. This was on account of those hereticks who abstained from flesh as a thing that was evil.
- If the Priests, during the vacancy of a See, have sold any of the goods belonging to the Church, it ought to be restored; but it is left to the Bishop to judge, whether it be more for his advantage to receive the price, or what was alienated. Those who, being ordained Bishops, have not been received by the people over whom they were appointed, and endeavoured to get possession of another Diocese, and to raise seditions against the established Bishop, shall be cut off from the communion. If they are desirous of keeping their seat amongst the Priests where they were before, they shall be allowed that honour; but if they there excite seditions against the Bishops, they shall be even deprived of the Priesthood, and be excommunicated.
- SUCH young women as shall have been forcibly taken away, after having been promised in marriage, must be restored to those with whom they were engaged, notwithstanding the ravishers may have abused them. Those who break their vow of virginity, shall be treated like those who marry twice. Virgins are forbidden to live with men under the name of sisters. He who hath committed adultery, or suffered his wife to be guilty of it, shall undergo seven years penance. Those who have committed unnatural sins, if it be done before the age of twenty years, shall prostrate themselves fifteen years, and continue five years without offering. If they fell into the same sins after the age of twenty years, and being married, they shall prostrate themselves twenty-five years, and shall be five years without offering. If they have sinned after the age of twenty five years, being married, they shall not receive the communion till the hour of death. Those women who, to destroy the fruit of their debauchery, procure abortion, ought not to communicate till they are dying, according to the ancient rule; but it seemed to us more humane to reduce their penance to ten years. They began from that time to soften the rigour of the ancient discipline. Those who have been voluntarily guilty of murder, shall always continue to prostrate themselves, and shall not receive the communion but when they are dying. Involuntary homicides are to perform seven years penance, according to the ancient rule, and five years according to the new. Those who follow the superstitions of the heathens, and consult diviners and sorcerers, or bring people to their houses to discover or avert charms or enchantments; shall undergo five years

years penance : shall prostrate themselves three years, and continue two years without offering. These are the canons of the council of Ancyra.

THE council of Neocæsarea must have been held some time afterwards ; some of the same Bishops were present at it ; and we again see Vitalius of Antioch at the head of them, who seems to have presided in both of these councils. With him were joined Basil of Amasea, Leontius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Lupus of Tarsus, Narcissus of Neronias, and Longinus of Neocæsarea in Pontus, where the council was held. This Church was already famous upon the account of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who had governed it fifty years before. We have the canons of this Council to the number of fifteen.

XVII.

The council of Neocæsarea.

IF a Priest marries he shall be degraded ; if he commits fornication or adultery, he shall be subject to penance : A layman cannot be ordained, whose wife shall be convicted of adultery. If she commits it after the ordination of her husband, and he does not forsake her, he shall be deprived of his ministerial office. This may be understood of any Clerks whatsoever that may happen to be married. If a Priest confesses, that he has committed a carnal sin before his ordination ; he shall offer no more, but he shall keep the rest of his privileges ; because of his other good qualities. If he does not confess it, and is not otherwise convicted of it, he is left to his own discretion as to that point. The Deacon who happens to be in the same case shall be placed in the rank of inferior ministers. A Priest ought not to be ordained under the age of thirty years, how worthy however he may be ; forasmuch as our LORD JESUS CHRIST did not begin to teach till he was of that age, after his baptism. He who hath been baptized in time of sickness cannot be ordained a Priest, because he does not seem to have embraced the Faith in perfect liberty : however, he may be ordained upon the score of his merit, and because it is what seldom happens. These are the causes of dispensation. The Priests of the country may not offer in the church of a city, in the presence of the Bishop or the Priests of the city, nor give the bread or the cup in the service ; but in their absence, he who happens to be there alone, may do it ; the *Chorepiscopi* having preference. As there was but one sacrifice, it was necessary to regulate who ought to offer it ; that is, preside at the action ; and the preference of the Priests of the cities is remarkable. There must be but seven Deacons in each city, of what extent soever it may be, according to the first institution. This has always been observed at Rome.

c. 11.

c. 8.

c. 9.

c. 10.

c. 11.

Lu. iij. c. 3.

c. 12.

c. 13.

c. 14.

c. 15.

A. D. 321.

A woman with child, must be baptized if she requires it, and the child shall be baptized separately ; for each is answerable for themselves in baptism. Perhaps they were afraid, lest the child should be thought to be baptized twice. If a catechumen commits sin after he is admitted to pray upon his knees in the church ; let him be reduced to the rank of simple auditors ; if he is guilty of sin again in that state, let him be driven out of the Church. We here see two orders of Catechumens ; of which the first was only admitted to hear the lectures and instructions, like the heathens : the other being advanced higher, were admitted to pray with the Faithful ; but upon their knees, and before the time of service. He who hath lusted after a woman, without fulfilling his evil inclination, seems to have been preserved through grace ; that is, that no canonical penance was to be inflicted for the sin of thought. A woman who marries two brothers, shall not receive the communion but at the time of death,

c. 6.

c. 3.

c. 4.

c. 2.

c. 7. and even then upon condition that she leave this husband and do penance, if she recovers her health. Those who married several times, were to do penance for a certain time : Priests were therefore forbidden to be present at the feasts of second marriages; for though they be lawful they were looked upon as a weakness. These are the fifteen Canons of the council of Neocæsarea.

XVIII. *The Appeal of the Donatists to the Emperor.* THE Fathers of the council of Arles wrote to Constantine the Emperor, to give him an account of all that had passed there; of the judgment which they had given, and of the obstinacy of some of the Donatists. For there were many who renounced the schism, that they might be united again to Cecilian; but perverse and litigious men appealed from the judgment of the Bishops to the Emperor. He was extremely enraged at it, and sent tribunes and soldiers from his palace to bring those seditious people to his court, threatening them with severe usage, if they did not immediately submit. He wrote also to the Vicar of Africa to send all those rebels to his palace, under a strong guard. In the mean time, he wrote also to the Bishops assembled at Arles, to have patience a little longer, and to leave the schismatics still at liberty to return; but if they found them to persist in their obstinacy, that then they should repair to their several habitations. This conduct gave just reason for blaming the excessive indulgence of Constantine, towards those wicked men, who by no means deserved it, and who thereby only grew more insolent.

Epist. Const. ad Cels.
Epist. Const. ad Episcop. Cathol.
Euf. j. vitæ.
c. 45. iv.
c. 54.

THE Donatists, whom Constantine had ordered to be brought to his Court, far from being punished, as he had threatened them, for the rashness of their appeal, laboured so successfully by themselves, that they persuaded the Emperor to judge them himself, after the judgment which had been passed by the Bishops; how great soever his aversion was formerly to such proceeding, which was as it were, opposing Ecclesiastical authority. But he was so far from doing it, as supreme over the Bishops, that he himself declares, that he ought to be judged by them, and that he looks upon their judgment, as upon that of God himself. He did it then only to give way to the importunity of the Donatists, to put an end to their clamours for ever, and that he might not omit any means of pacifying the disturbances of the Church: add to this, that he was not yet well acquainted with the laws, being neither baptised, nor even a catechumen. He at first resolved to send for Cecilian from Africa; afterwards he changed his opinion, and sent away the Bishops that were Donatists to Africa, to the end, that according to their desire, all the dispute between them and Cecilian, might be there examined and decided, by the judges whom the Emperor should chuse. A few days afterwards he changed his mind a second time, and thought it better to send for Cecilian from Africa, that he might judge the cause in person, apprehending, that the obstinate Donatists would not submit themselves to the judgment of any others: He therefore wrote to Cecilian, ordering him to be at Rome upon a certain day to defend his cause. He ordered his adversaries to repair thither also; promising them, that if they could convict Cecilian when he was present, of so much as one crime, that he should look upon him as guilty of every thing else that they laid to his charge. In the mean time, that he might have wherewithal to convict the Donatists of their calumny, he wrote to Petronius Probianus the Proconsul of Africa, to send Ingentius to court, who was in prison, having been convicted of forgery by Ælian his predecessor. This was under the fourth consulship of Constantine and Licinius, that is, in the year 315.

Epist. ad Episcop. Cathol.
Aug. ep. 41. ad Glor. &c.
A. D. 315.
A. D. 315.

CECILIAN

CECILIAN not appearing at Rome upon the day appointed, for what reason Aug. ep. 43. is not known, his adversaries took the advantage of it, and pressed the Emperor al. 162. to condemn him for contumacy, as refusing to submit himself to the judgment ad Glorium, &c. of his prince: But Constantine passed it over, and commanded the parties to meet at Milan: whereupon some of the Donatists looking upon him as prejudiced against them, in favour of Cecilian, stole away from the court; which the Emperor perceiving, sent the rest under a guard to Milan: But those who went away privately, being arrived in Africa, raised fresh disturbances there, and gave abundance of trouble to Domitius Celsus the Vicar of Africa, whom the Emperor had appointed to appease these disorders. The chief of them was A. D. 315. Menalius a Bishop in Numidia, who being formerly called to the council of Optat. lib. i. Cirtha, pretended that he had sore eyes, that he might be excused from going, Ep. Constant. ad Celsus. being afraid, lest he should be convicted of having offered incense to idols. Celsus made his report to the Emperor, accusing this Menalius as the principal author of the sedition. The Emperor in his answer, ordered him not to meddle with these seditious people for this time, but to overlook at present their insolence; and to give notice to Cecilian and his adversaries, that he himself would shortly come into Africa, and that he would take cognizance of their differences, with select judges, and punish with the utmost severity the authors of this disturbance, whoever they were.

CELSUS having received this answer, sent for Cecilian and his adversaries, XIX. and read the Emperor's Letter to them, in pursuance to the order which he had Constantine received from him. Cecilian, upon this, fearing the indignation of the prince condemns the which evidently appeared in this letter, went with all speed to the court which Donatists at he found at Milan; and the Emperor being informed of his arrival, resolved to put an end to this affair at that place. He therefore sent for Cecilian and his adversaries to appear before him in his consistory; for it was thus they called the council where the Emperor treated of the most important affairs, and where he judged in person. But this judgment was passed in private, none but the necessary persons being present; and this was done out of respect to religion, that Brev. coll. 3. c. 19. the heathens might not know the differences that arose between the Bishops. The Emperor heard every thing that each party had to say: he very carefully examined the whole affair, having all the records, as well Ecclesiastical as secular; for they were all sent to him. At length, he pronounced his sentence, by col. 3. c. 516. which he declared Cecilian to be innocent, and the Bishops of the party of Aug. ep. 162. Donatus to be calumniators and false accusers. He wrote concerning what he A. D. 316. had done in this judgment to Eumalius the Vicar of Africa, by a letter dated Aug. ad the fourth of the Ides of November, Sabinus and Rufinus being consuls, that Donat. post. col. is, upon the tenth of November in the year 316.

THE Donatists submitted to the judgment of the Emperor no more than Aug. epist. 61; they did to that of the Bishops. They complained, that he had suffered him- nunc. 88. self to be won over by Hosius the Bishop, who favoured Cecilian, and preju- cler. Hipp. diced him against them: Therefore, Constantine was obliged, notwithstanding Januario. ep. all his mildness, to banish the most troublesome of them, which he did in the 165. nunc. 53. same month of November, in the year of our LORD 316; but, however, he Generos. 11. wrote to the Catholick Bishops and people, to wait for a remedy to this evil cont. Petil. from GOD, and to defend themselves with no other weapon than patience; c. 92. n. 206. considering that those who should be ill used by these disturbers of the peace post collat. c. of the Church, would have the glory of martyrdom. After this, the Bishops ult. Epist. Const. ad Episc. Afr. alia ad Zeuz. Gall. Of &c.

of Africa wrote him word, that the Donatists had got possession of the Church which he himself had caused to be built for the Catholics, in the city of Cirtha, the metropolis of Numidia, at that time called Constantina, from the Emperor's name; and that having received frequent orders to restore it, both from the Emperor and from his judges by his command, they nevertheless refused to give it up. Whereupon the Bishops imitating the patience of God, had left this building to their possession, and intreated the Emperor to give them another place in his domain: this he very readily granted, and gave the necessary orders for building a new Church for them: And as the Donatists had stirred up the Magistrates to oblige the Clerks of the Catholick Church to serve in the publick offices, and municipal functions, contrary to the exemption which the Emperor had granted them; he ordered, that they should be freed from that duty. At length, perceiving that mildness only served to heighten their insolence, he made a very severe law against them, by which he took from them all their royal building, and confiscated all the places where they used to assemble together.

A. D. 316.

Vide Cod.
Theodof.
lib. 16. tit. 2.
1. 2.

XX.
Laws of
Constantine
in favour of
the Church.
Cod. Theod.
de Jud.

Cod. de his
qui in Eccl.
tit. 13. lib. 1.

WE find some other laws made by him in favour of the Church, about the same time. One on the sixteenth of November, in the year of our LORD 315, which was made upon the account of certain Jews who had thrown stones at, and insulted some other Jews who were converted: By this the Emperor declares to them, their Patriarchs, and other Chiefs, that if for the future any one was guilty of the like assault, that he should be burned together with all his accomplices. He made two other laws, in order to introduce two new methods of freeing slaves, in favour of religion. The first, of the seventh of June, in the year 316, directed to Protogenes Bishop of Sardica, importing, that it had long since been ordained, that masters might give their slaves their freedom in the Catholick Church, provided that they did it in the presence of the people and Bishops, and that there was some kind of writing concerning it. Therefore he allowed the Bishops liberty to give freedom as they pleased, provided that there was a positive proof of their inclination. The second law which is of the first of May, in the year 321, extends this privilege to all Clerks, and enjoins, that those freed by them should enjoy perfect liberty in what manner soever they received it; contrary to what was allowed to the laity who could not grant freedom to any but before the congregation of the Church and in the presence of the Bishop.

XXI.
The persecu-
tion of Lici-
nius.

Pagi, an. 316.
n. 5.

Euf. Chron.

an. Excerpta

Anonymi ap.

Ammian.

Valesii.

Zosim. lib. 2.

A. D. 314.

WHILST Constantine thus favoured the Church, Licinius began to persecute it. The union between them did not last long. A little after Licinius had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, and divided the Empire with him: Constantine proposed to him to make Bassianus *Cæsar*, who had married his other sister Anastasia; but Licinius defeated this project, and corrupted Bassianus so far, that he took up arms against Constantine himself, by the means of Sinicius the brother of Bassianus. Constantine having convicted and chastised Bassianus, he demanded Sinicius to be delivered up to him to be punished likewise; but Licinius refusing to comply with this request, therefore war was declared, and there was a considerable battle fought near Cibalis in Pannonia, wherein Licinius was defeated upon the eighth of October, in the year 314. After having sued for peace to Constantine several times, he at length obtained it, and they divided the Empire again: the two sons of Constantine, Crispus and Constantine the younger, and Licinius or Licinianus the son of Licinius were all three

three created *Cæsars*, their fathers were consuls together in the year 315. A. D. 315.

BUT Licinius soon began to put affairs again into confusion, and to ill treat the Christians, out of hatred to Constantine. First of all, that he might have a pretence for calumniating the Bishops, he prohibited them from going into the houses of heathens, lest they should convert them; or from having any communion with one another; and from visiting the neighbouring Churches or holding councils; so that he laid them under a necessity of exposing themselves to danger if they broke his law, or of violating the canons, if they obeyed him; for it is not possible to regulate the weighty affairs of the Church any other way than by councils. These are the words of Eusebius. After this, Licinius of a sudden, drove all the Christians out of his palace, sending his most faithful servants into banishment, and giving away as slaves those whom he had honoured for their great services; confiscating every thing that belonged to them, and even threatening them with death. This happened in the year 319. Constantine being consul for the fifth time, with the younger Licinius Cæsar. Licinius the Emperor made a second law, by which, under the pretence of modesty, he forbade women to appear amongst the men at the common prayers, or at the instructions in the churches, and forbade the Bishops to instruct them; he would have them instructed by other women: but as every body made a jest of this, he thought of another project to destroy the churches, viz. ordering the assemblies to be held without the cities in the open fields, alledging, that the air was better.

WHEN he found that this order was not better observed than the former, he began to persecute openly, and commanded, that in every city the Apparitors and other officers belonging to governours should be warned out of their office if they did not sacrifice to idols, by which means several lost their posts. The persecution was chiefly levelled against the Bishops, whom he looked upon as his greatest enemies, because of the great affection which Constantine had for them. Amongst others, there is reckoned St. Basil Bishop of Amasea in Pontus; and it was in that city and the rest of the same province, that they exercised the greatest cruelties. Some churches they entirely demolished, and others they shut up. Several Bishops were put to death; some of whose bodies were mangled like meat in a slaughter-house, and then thrown into the sea as food for fish. The faithful began again to fly as in the preceeding persecutions, and to retire into the mountains and solitary places. In the mean time Licinius would hear no mention made of a persecution, and disowned it in words, whilst he so barbarously carried it on in effect. St. Blasius the Bishop of Sebasta in Armenia, suffered martyrdom at that time upon the third of February, probably in the year 320, under the government of Agricola. After having his sides torn with iron combs, and undergoing several other torments, he was beheaded, and two young children with him. They also put to death seven women, who were known to be Christians, by their gathering up the drops of his blood.

IN the same city of Sebasta there suffered forty Christian soldiers of different countries: they were all young, comely, brave, and were become considerable for their services. Agricola the governour, having published the Emperour's orders, they went boldly up to him, and said that they were Christians. He endeavoured to persuade them by mildness, to incite them on account of their honour, and to tempt them by promises: At length he had recourse to threats: but the martyrs bravely answered, What can you give us that is equal to what

Socr. lib. 1. c. 3.

Euseb. i. vit. c. 51. x. hist. c. 8.

A. D. 319.

A. D. 316.

Euf. vitæ.

c. 52.

Amm. Valef.

A. D. 319.

Li. c. 53.

c. 54.

Euseb. Chr.

an. Pagi. 316.

n. Martyrol.

26 Apr.

Euf. ij. vit.

c. 1. 1d. x.

hist. c. 8.

Socr. 1. c. 3.

Martyrol.

XXII.

The forty

Martyrs.

Acta Sinc.

p. 513. ex

Basil. hom.

20.

A. D. 320.

you would deprive us of? Your power extends only over our bodies, you would have dominion over our souls, and look upon it as a great affront, if we do not prefer you to our GOD. You have not now to do with men who are either faint-hearted or fond of life. Upon this the governour thought of a new kind of punishment. Armenia is a cold country, and this happened in the winter, upon the ninth of March; the North wind blew, and it was a very great frost. He caused them to be laid a whole night together upon a pond that stood in the middle of the city, which was then so frozen, that it would bear walking upon with safety. He commanded that they should be there exposed quite naked; and in order to tempt them more strongly by the easiness of the remedy, he caused a hot bath to be prepared in a Gymnasium which was hard by.

THE martyrs undressed themselves cheerfully, and encouraged one another in the same manner, as is usual in military factions, saying, that one bad night would purchase them eternity. They all used the same prayer, *viz.* LORD, we are forty who are engaged in this combat, suffer not one of us to fail: However, they had the misfortune to see one of their company lose courage, and go off from the pond, in order to throw himself into the hot bath. A centinel was warming himself, who waited there to observe if any of the martyrs were inclined to submit. This man was surprized with the sight of angels who descended from Heaven, and who distributed rewards to all those generous soldiers except one only, who was their faint-hearted companion, who submitted to the force of his torments. But he gained nothing by it; for as soon as he touched the hot water he died. When the centinel saw him come, being struck with the celestial vision, he threw off his cloaths and placed himself in his stead amongst the martyrs, who were by this means comforted for the loss of their unfortunate companion.

THE day being come, they being yet alive, were put upon chariots and thrown into a fire, which made their torments still more cruel, by making them pass from one extremity to another. There was one of them whom the executioners let alone, who seemed to be more vigorous than the rest, and whom they hoped to pervert; but his mother who was there present, put him with her own hands into the chariot with the rest, saying, Go my son, proceed to the end of this happy journey with thy companions, that thou mayst not be the last of them that shall present themselves before GOD. After they were burnt their ashes were thrown into the river; nevertheless their relicks were preserved and carried into several provinces, where churches have been since erected in honour of them, and where their memory was celebrated with great solemnity.

XXIII.
Information
against Silvanus,
Bishop of
Circha.

THE church in Africa underwent another persecution from the Donatists, particularly at Constantina, the capital of Numidia, where Silvanus was Bishop, and at the head of the sedition; but he was then punished. He had degraded a certain person called Nondinarius, his Deacon, and whom he had educated, pretending to be offended at him. He thereupon endeavoured to appease him, by means of other Bishops who were intimate with Silvanus, but it proved ineffectual in regaining his favour. Enraged at this, he turned informer against him, and gave the Catholics proofs of his crimes; such as of having delivered up the sacred vessels in the persecution, and of having procured himself to be made a Bishop clandestinely and by simony. Information of this was judicially made by Zenophilus of Numidia, a person of consular dignity; and we still have the verbal process which begins thus: Under the consulship of
Constantine

Constantine the Great *Augustus*, with Constantine the younger most noble *Cæsar*, upon the day of the ides of December, that is, upon the thirteenth of December, in the year of our LORD 320. Sextus of Thamugada coming in to the court, together with Victor the grammarian, in the presence of the Deacon Nondinarius, Zenophilus the president, they said: What is thy name? He answered, Victor. Zenophilus said: Of what station art thou? Victor replied: I am a professor of the Roman literature, a grammarian, who teacheth latin. Zenophilus said: What is thy quality? Victor made answer: My father was a *Decurio* to Constantine, my grand-father was a soldier; he served at court: we are descended from the blood of the Moors. Zenophilus then said: Your honour being at stake, come explain to us sincerely what was the cause of the division amongst the Christians. Victor said: I know not the cause of the division; I am but a private man. Being at Carthage, the Bishop Secundus at length coming thither, it was said that they found I know not what defect in the ordination of the Bishop Cecilian, and they ordained another. This was the beginning of the division at Carthage; and it is for this reason that I cannot be well acquainted with the rise of it; for our city of Constantina has never had but one Church; and if there has been any division we know nothing of it. Secundus whom he here mentions, is the Bishop of Tigisi, who was president of the council of Cirtha in the year 305.

ZENOPHILUS asked him: Dost thou communicate with Silvanus? This was the Bishop of Constantina. Yes, replied Victor. Zenophilus said: Why then, setting aside him whose innocence is evident ——— And he went on: It is moreover affirmed, that thou certainly knowest another particular, which is, that Silvanus is a *Traditor*; confess it. Victor said: I know nothing of that. Zenophilus then said to the Deacon Nondinarius; Victor says, that he knoweth not that Silvanus is a *Traditor*. Nondinarius replied: He knoweth whether or no Silvanus delivered up any Scriptures. Victor answered: I fled from that tempest; and let me perish if I speak untruth. The persecution breaking out on a sudden, we made our escape to the mountain of Bellona. I was sitting with the Deacon Mars and the Priest Victor. They demanded all the books from Mars. He said, that he had them not. Victor gave them the names of all the Readers. They came to my house: But I being absent, the magistrates went up, and carried away my books. When I returned home, I found that my books were gone. Nondinarius said: Thou hast nevertheless answered in the records, that thou gavest the books; why should you deny a thing that can be proved? Zenophilus said: Come own it ingenuously, or you are in danger of being examined in a stricter manner. Nondinarius then said: Let the records be read. Zenophilus said: Let them be read. Nondinarius delivered them in, and they were accordingly read by a register. These were the records of Munatius Felix the Curator of Cirtha, upon the seventeenth of May, in the year 303, which have been before related.

AFTER the record was read, Zenophilus said to Victor the grammarian: Make an ingenuous confession. Victor replied: I was not there. Nondinarius the Deacon then said, we will now read the letters from the Bishops, and he accordingly read out the copy of the memorial, which he himself had presented to the Bishops. JESUS CHRIST and his angels can witness, that those with whom you have communicated are *Traditors*. That is to say, Silvanus the Bishop of Cirtha, who is a *Traditor* and a spoiler of the poor, you all know, as you

A. D. 320. you are Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Elders, the whole affair of the four hundred purses of Lucilla, and your plot, in order to make Majorinus a Bishop, from whence the schism arose. Victor the Fuller gave also twenty purses in the presence of you and of the people, to be made a Priest; JESUS CHRIST and his angels know it. They read also the copy of a letter from Purpurius the Bishop of Limata to Silvanus the Bishop of Cirtha, in which he exhorts him to be reconciled with his Deacon Nondinarius, whom he had degraded; recommending to him in the strongest terms the secret which was between them, and acknowledging the truth of what Nondinarius advanced in his memorial against Silvanus. Another letter from the same Bishop Purpurius to the Clerks and Elders of the Church of Cirtha upon the same subject, that is, to exhort them to reconcile their Bishop with his Deacon. Another letter from the Bishop Fortis to Silvanus concerning the same matter, wherein he seems to be afraid lest the affair should become publick, and should be scandalously carried to be judged by the Gentiles. Another letter from Fortis to the Clergy and Elders, to the same purpose: He therein desires, that this reconciliation may be brought about before Easter, that they might celebrate the Festival in peace. Another letter from Sabinus Bishop of Numidia to Silvanus, concerning the same matter; wherein he says to him: I admire, that a man of your sense and gravity, should behave in such a manner towards his son whom he has brought up and ordained. It is thus that they looked upon a Deacon, with regard to his Bishop. Another letter from Sabinus to Fortis, wherein he intreats him to do his utmost to procure this peace, as he was Silvanus's particular friend. All these letters are filled with passages from the Scriptures, and their stile is very Ecclesiastical; even those of the murderer Purpurius.

XXIV.
Proofs that
Silvanus was
a Traditor
and a Simo-
niack.

AFTER all these things were read over, Zenophilus said: By these records and letters which have been read, it is certain that Silvanus is a *Traditor*; and speaking to Victor: Confess plainly and at once, said he to him, if thou knowest that he delivered up any thing. Victor said: He did deliver up some things; but I was not an eye-witness of it. Zenophilus said: What office had Silvanus at that time among the Clergy? Victor replied: The persecution began when Paul was Bishop, and Silvanus was then Sub-deacon. Nondinarius the Deacon said: When he was going to be made a Bishop, the people said, Let some other be made; hear us, O GOD. Zenophilus then said to Victor: Did the people say, that Silvanus was a *Traditor*? Victor said: I myself endeavoured to hinder him from being made a Bishop. Zenophilus said to him: Thou knewest then that he was a *Traditor*; confess it. Victor made answer: Yes, he was a *Traditor*. Nondinarius then said: Ye who were Elders cried out, Hear us, O GOD; let us have one of our fellow-citizens, this man is a *Traditor*. The citizen they would have had was Donatus. Zenophilus said to Victor: Thou then didst cry out with the people, that Silvanus was a *Traditor*, and that he ought not to be made a Bishop? Victor made answer: I cried out, and so did the rest of the people; for we desired to have one of our own citizens, a man of a blameless reputation. I knew very well, that the affair would come to this, and that it would be carried to the Emperours.

VICTOR of Samfuric and Saturninus, two grave-diggers, were also called in. Zenophilus having asked the latter of them his name and quality, said to him: Dost thou know whether Silvanus is a *Traditor*? Saturninus answered: I know hat he delivered up a silver lamp. Zenophilus said: And what besides? Saturninus

ninus replied ; I know nothing further than that he took it from behind a vessel of oyl. Saturninus was then ordered to withdraw ; and Zenophilus having also asked Victor of Samfuric his name and quality, said to him, Who was it that delivered up the silver chapter ? Victor answered ; I did not see any thing of it ; I tell you what I know. Zenophilus then said, Although it be already sufficiently proved by former examinations, tell us nevertheless whether or no Silvanus is a *Traditor* ? Victor replied ; As they were carrying us to Carthage, I heard these words from the Bishop's own mouth : I had a silver lamp and a silver chapter given to me, and I delivered them up. Zenophilus again said : From whom did you hear it ? Victor replied, From the Bishop Silvanus. Zenophilus said ; Thou heardest it from himself, that he had delivered them up ? Victor again made answer ; I heard him himself say, that he had delivered them up with his own hands. Zenophilus said ; Where didst thou hear it ? Victor said, In the church. Zenophilus said ; What, at Constantina ? Victor replied, He began to speak to the people, saying, Wherefore is it reported, that I am a *Traditor*, with respect to a lamp and a chapter ?

ZENOPHILUS then said to Nondinarius : Upon what do you think it further necessary to examine these men ? Nondinarius said ; As to what was done concerning the tubs belonging to the publick ; that is, Who it was that carried them away. Zenophilus then said ; What tubs ? Nondinarius replied, They were in the temple of Serapis ; the Bishop Purpurius carried them away from thence, and the Bishop Silvanus, together with the Priest Dontius, and the Deacon Lucian took away the vinegar that was in them. Zenophilus said to Nondinarius : Do these people who are here present know any thing of that fact ? Nondinarius answered ; Yes, they know it. Saturninus the Deacon then said : Our Elders reported, that they were carried away. By whom, said Zenophilus ? Saturninus said, By the Bishop Purpurius, and the vinegar by the Bishop Silvanus, together with Dontius and Superius, two Priests, and Lucian a Deacon. Nondinarius said : Victor gave twenty purses, and they made him a Priest. Zenophilus then said ; To whom did he give them ? Saturninus replied ; To the Bishop Silvanus. Zenophilus said to Saturninus ; He then gave twenty purses to Silvanus the Bishop, by way of a reward for making him a Priest. Saturninus replied ; He gave them. Zenophilus again said, Was this money laid before Silvanus ? Saturninus answered ; It was put before the Bishops seat. Then Zenophilus said to Nondinarius : Who took away the money ? Nondinarius replied ; The Bishops shared it amongst themselves. I all along mean by a purse, that which is called *follis* in latin, being somewhat more † than eight pounds sterling.

ZENOPHILUS then said to Nondinarius ; Will you have Donatus sent for ? Nondinarius said : Yes, let him come. It was upon his account that the people cried out : O God hear us, we desire one of our fellow-citizens. Zenophilus said to Nondinarius ; Is it true that the people cried out in this manner ? Yes, said Nondinarius. Zenophilus then said to Saturninus, Did they cry out, Silvanus is a *Traditor* ? Saturninus answered, Yes. Nondinarius added ; When he was made a Bishop, we refused to communicate with him, because he was reported to be a *Traditor*. Saturninus said ; What he says is true. Nondinarius said ; I saw Mutus the gladiator carry him upon his shoulders. Zenophilus said to Saturninus ; Is this true ? Yes, replied Saturninus.

VOL. II.

E

Zenophi-

† The French is Valant plus de cent de nos livres.

A. D. 320.

Zenophilus then said ; Is all that Nondinarius says true, with regard to his being made a Bishop by gladiators ? Yes, said Saturninus, certain infamous persons were also there. Zenophilus then said ; What was carried by gladiators ? that is, they placed him in the Episcopal chair. Saturninus answered ; They carried him with the mobb ; for the citizens were shut up in the court of the martyrs. Nondinarius then said ; Were the people of God there ? Saturninus replied ; They were shut up in the *casa major*. This was the name of the church, otherwise called, The Court of the Martyrs. Zenophilus then added, So all that Nondinarius says is true ? Yes, said Saturninus. Zenophilus said to Victor ; What sayest thou to it ? Victor answered : It is all true, my lord. Nondinarius then said ; The Bishop Purpurius carried off a hundred purses. Zenophilus said to Nondinarius ; Whom dost thou think it would be proper to examine, concerning the four hundred purses ? Nondinarius answered : Let the Deacon Lucian be sent for, for he knows all that affair. Zenophilus said : Do these who are present know any thing of it ? No, said Nondinarius. Zenophilus then said ; Send for Lucian. Nondinarius said : These who are present know, that four hundred purses were received ; but they do not know that the Bishops shared them amongst themselves. Zenophilus said to Saturninus, and to Victor ; Do you know that Lucilla gave purses ? Saturninus and Victor said, Yes, we know it. Zenophilus said, Were they not distributed amongst the poor ? They answered, No body received any part of them. Zenophilus said to them, Was nothing taken away from the Temple of Serapis ? They replied, Purpurius took away the tubs ; the Bishop Silvanus and the Priests Dontius and Superius, together with the Deacon Lucian, took away the vinegar. Zenophilus then said, By the deposition of Victor the grammarian, of Victor of Samsuric, and of Saturninus, it appears, that Nondinarius has advanced nothing but what is true. Let them withdraw.

XXV.
Other evidences of the same facts.

THEN speaking to Nondinarius, he said, What others dost thou think it is necessary to examine. Nondinarius answered, Castus the Deacon, that he may likewise say whether or no Silvanus is a *Traditor*. It was he who made him a Deacon. Castus being come into the court, Zenophilus asked him his name and rank ; and afterwards, whether or no Silvanus was a *Traditor* ? He made answer like the rest, concerning the lamp which was given up, and the tubs and vinegar which were taken away. Then Zenophilus said to him, Confess how many purses Victor gave to be made a Priest. Castus replied, My lord, he brought a bag ; but I know not what was in it. Zenophilus said, Who was the bag given to ? Castus answered, It was brought into the Church. Zenophilus said, The money was not distributed among the people ? Castus replied, No, not that I saw. Zenophilus said, Did the meaner sort of the people receive no part of the purses given by Lucilla ? Castus said, I saw no body receive any part. Zenophilus then said to him ; What became of them ? Castus answered, I know nothing of it. Nondinarius said : You certainly either saw or heard, whether it was said to the poor, It is Lucilla who bestows a part of her wealth upon you ? Castus said : I saw no body receive any of it. Zenophilus then said : It is evident by the confession of Castus, that he knows not whether the purses given by Lucilla were distributed among the people ; therefore let him withdraw.

THEN the Sub-deacon Crescentianus was ordered to come in, and Zenophilus having asked him his name, said to him : Confess ingenuously like the rest,

rest, if thou knowst that Silvanus is *Traditor*? Crescentianus said; Those A. D. 320. Clerks who are my seniors, have related the whole matter. Zenophilus said; What have they said? Crescentianus answered; They have said he was a *Traditor*. Then Zenophilus said to him, Wast thou present when he was made a Bishop? Crescentianus said, I was shut up with the rest of the people in the *casa major*. The Deacon Nondinarius said, He was made a Bishop by gladiators. Zenophilus then said to Crescentianus, Is it true that Mutus the gladiator carried him? He answered, Most certainly. Zenophilus said to him again: Dost thou know that they took away any tubs out of the temple of Serapis? Crescentianus answered: Several people said, that the Bishop Purpurius had carried off the tubs, and that our old Bishop Silvanus had the vinegar. The children of *Elion* reported this likewise. Zenophilus again asked him, if the people had received any part of the four hundred purses of Lucilla. Crescentianus said: No body received any of it; I do not even know who gave them. Nondinarius said: Did the widows ever receive any of it? No, said Crescentianus. Zenophilus said: When any thing is thus given, is it not publickly distributed amongst the people? Crescentianus replied: I neither heard nor saw, that any body had any thing given to them; if there had, we should have had some small share. Zenophilus said: Whither then were these purses carried? I know not, answered Crescentianus; no body received any part of them. Nondinarius said: How many purses did Victor give to be made a Priest? Crescentianus said: I saw some baskets of money brought. Zenophilus said: To whom were those baskets given? Crescentianus answered: To the Bishop Silvanus. Zenophilus again asked: There was none of it given to the people? Nothing, replied he. We also should have partaken of it, if they had distributed it in the ordinary manner. Zenophilus then said to Nondinarius: Dost thou know of any thing further, upon which it is necessary to examine Crescentianus? Nondinarius answered: No, this is all. Zenophilus then said: Forasmuch as the Sub-deacon Crescentianus has made a plain confession of every thing, let him withdraw. Afterwards the Subdeacon Januarius came in, who was also examined; but we have not the rest of this verbal process.

SILVANUS being thus convicted of having delivered up the sacred vessels in the time of the persecution, and of having been made a Bishop clandestinely and by simony, Zenophilus sent a report of it to the Emperor Constantine; adding to it, that Silvanus was the chief author of the schism in Numidia; that he there fomented the sedition, and had usurped the possession of the cathedral of Constantine from the Catholics. The Emperor being sensibly moved by these considerations, sent him into banishment, with some others of his faction. A little while afterwards the Donatist Bishops presented a petition to Constantine, praying him to leave them to their liberty, without obliging them to communicate with Cecilian; because they would rather suffer any thing than comply with that injunction. They also intreated him to recall Silvanus and the rest, from banishment. This request the Emperor was so good as to grant them, without taking notice of their allegations against Cecilian, from which he was fully justified. He wrote to Verinus the Vicar of Africa, to acquaint him, that he had recalled the Donatists from their banishment, and that he should leave the punishment of their rage to God alone. This letter was dated on the third of the Nones of May, under the second consulship of Crispus and Constantine the younger; that is, on the fifth of May, in the year

XXVI.
The Emperor's
indulgence to-
wards the
Donatists.

A. D. 321.
Coll. Chart.
3. c. 544.
Breviar. c. 21.

Aug. ep. 151.

Aug. Post.
Coll. c. 334.
of

A. D. 321. of our LORD 321. This happened four years and six months after their being first sent into exile in the month of November, in the year of our LORD 316. Thus the Donatists had liberty of conscience granted them, which they employed to no better purpose than formerly.

Optat. lib. 2. THEIR schism extended as far as Rome; and as there were some of them who had settled there, they desired, that they might have a Bishop to preside over them, and Victor of Garba was sent to them from Africa; perhaps he was the same who had assisted at the council of Cirrha, which was made up of Traditors, in the year of our LORD 305. Although there was upwards of forty churches in Rome, they could not obtain one of them, and were obliged to assemble without the city in a cave, which they shut up with hurdles; and this cave being in a mountain, they were called *Montenses*, that is, Mountaineers; but we know not the exact time when they began.

XXVII. THE Emperor Constantine still continued to protect the Christian religion. Upon the sixth of March, in the same year 321, he ordained, that the *Dies Solis*, or Sunday, should be celebrated in such a manner, that all the judges and inhabitants of cities should observe the sabbath or rest; but he allowed of working in the country, when occasion required. He appointed also the observance of Friday, in commemoration of the passion of our LORD. These were commonly the days upon which the Christians used to assemble. Upon the first day of July, in the same year, he ordained that every one should be at liberty to bequeath, at their death, any part of their estate to the Catholick church; that is, that he took off certain prohibitions that had been formerly made against it. He abrogated also the ancient Roman laws, which inflicted punishments upon those who lived in a state of celibacy, and upon those who had no lawful children, rendering them incapable of receiving legacies or donations; because the single state amongst the Heathens generally proceeded from libertinism and debauchery. It was therefore reasonable to change these laws in favour of the Christians, whose chastity on the contrary deserved to be rewarded. He also by a law forbade crucifixion, which was before in use amongst the Romans. By another, he permitted contending parties to decline the jurisdiction of secular magistrates, and refer themselves to the judgment of Bishops, giving the same authority to their determination, as if they proceeded immediately from himself; and he ordered the magistrates and their officers to put them in execution. Thus he authorized the arbitrations of the Bishops, which were already established amongst the Christians.

XXVIII. THE Church was in this state, when she was attacked within by the greatest temptation which she had ever struggled with till that time. This was the heresy of Arius a Priest of Alexandria. He was a native of Libya, and had for some time followed the schism of Meletius. Having forsaken that, he was reconciled with St. Peter Bishop of Alexandria, who even ordained him a Deacon; but he afterwards drove him out of the Church, because Arius blamed him for excommunicating the followers of Meletius. St. Peter having suffered martyrdom in the year of our LORD 311, the see of Alexandria was vacant for a whole year; after which they chose Achilles who was already a Priest from the time of St. Theonas, and had then the care of the Christian school at Alexandria. He was a man of singular gravity, a great generosity of soul, and unsporting life; piety and wisdom were conspicuous in all his actions: however he

he received Arius, who came to intreat his pardon ; he admitted him to communion with him ; permitted him to exercise his functions as a Deacon, and at V. Pagi. last promoted him to the Priesthood. St. Achillas governed the Church of Alexandria only a few months ; and after his death they chose Alexander, about the year of our LORD 313. His life was blameless, and his doctrine apostolical ; he was eloquent, beloved both by the Clergy and Laity, being meek, affable, liberal and charitable to the poor. An. 311. n. 19. Theod. 1. hist. c. 1.

AT that time, Arius was not only a Priest, but had also the care of preaching and governing a Church ; for there were several at Alexandria, where the faithful met together. They reckoned nine in all ; in each of which a Priest resided, and explained the holy Scriptures ; so that they were like our parishes at this time. The Church of Arius was called Baucalis : he had aimed at the Episcopal dignity, and could not endure that Alexander should be preferred before him. Finding nothing that he could blame in his conduct, he sought to cavil at his doctrine, and an opportunity thus offered for it. Alexander, speaking of the holy Trinity in the presence of the Priests and others of the Clergy, maintained, that there was a Unity in the Trinity. Arius pretended, that this assertion was introducing the heresy of Sabellius, and ran into the contrary extreme ; and disputing with too much warmth he said, That if the Father begot the Son, he who is begotten must have a beginning of his being ; from whence it follows, that there was a time when the Son was not, and consequently that he is derived from nothing. He added, that the Son of GOD is his creature and his work, capable of virtue and vice by his own free will, and several other consequences of the erroneous principle which he laid down. This doctrine was new and unheard of till then. On the other side, St. Alexander taught with the whole Church, that the Son of GOD is the same in dignity and substance with the Father. Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 2. Sozom. 1. c. 15. Theod. 1. hist. c. 2. Socra. 1. hist. c. 5. Sozom. 1. c. 15. Theod. 1. 1. c. 2.

ARIUS at first only broached his doctrine in private conversation ; so that the evil remained concealed for some time ; but when he found that he was attended to, and supported by a great number of followers, he preached it publicly. The other Priests who had the government of the Churches in Alexandria, took upon them also to preach different doctrines, and the people sided with them, according as they were led by their inclinations. The most noted of these were Colluthus, Carponas, and Sarmates ; but these two last went over to Arius, who drew after him a great number of holy virgins, twelve Deacons, seven Priests, and even some Bishops. He was by nature extremely well qualified for a seducer ; he was already well advanced in years, and seemed a master both of zeal and virtue : his appearance was sedate ; his stature of an uncommon height ; his countenance was serious and dejected, as through mortification, and his garb austere ; for he wore only a tunick without sleeves, and a strait cloak, which was almost like the monastick habit. Besides this, his conversation was mild and agreeable, and well adapted for captivating the mind ; he was skilled in Logick and the prophane sciences. St. Alexander at first, endeavoured to bring him to the true faith by charitable admonitions ; and so great was his patience in this matter, that it was complained of by some. Colluthus made this a pretence for withdrawing himself, and for holding separate assemblies, and even for ordaining Priests, as if he had been a Bishop, pretending that he had need of this authority to oppose Arius. It is even said, that he added heresy to schism, by teaching, that GOD is not the author of those Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 3. & Petav. p. 284. Athan. Apol. p. 732.

those evils which trouble mankind, as if they were not the paternal corrections of his justice. But the sect of Colluthus soon came to nothing.

Aug. Hær. 65. As the doctrine of Arius still continued to gain strength, St. Alexander assembled his Clergy together, and gave Arius leave to maintain his opinion. Ruf. 1. c. 1. They had two conferences, in which they could agree upon nothing. At Soz. 1. c. 15. length, the holy Bishop perceiving that this error began to spread into other cities, as well as Alexandria, he assembled a council, wherein with one voice they excommunicated the Priest Arius, the Deacons Achilles, Euzoius, Aithales, Lucius, Sarmates, Julius, Menas, another Arius, and Helladius, in all nine Deacons. Ath. or. 1. in Ar. p. 305. This fell out about the year of our LORD 320. He wrote a synodical epistle to all the Bishops, who maintained the apostolick doctrine; amongst others to Philogonus of Antioch, Eustathius of Berea, and to the Bishop of Byzantium, whether he were as yet Metrophanes or Alexander. We Theod. 1. c. 3. have the epistle which Alexander of Alexandria sent to him; where, entering upon the subject, he speaks thus:

* * *
CXXIX. Arius and Achilles have lately formed a conspiracy against the Church; they are continually holding assemblies, and making it their business night and day to invent calumnies against JESUS CHRIST and against us: They censure the holy and apostolical doctrine, and after the example of the *Jews*, they deny the Divinity of our SAVIOUR, daily stirring up seditions and persecutions against us, either by falsely accusing us before the tribunals by the interest of certain silly women whom they have seduced, or by dishonouring the Christian profession by the insolence of the young women of their sect, whom we see running up and down the streets. He adds: That they have written to several Bishops, under pretence of desiring peace and union, but in reality that they may get long letters them to read to their followers. He complains, that some Bishops had received them to communion, contrary to the apostolical canon, which, indeed, was an ancient regulation, that no Bishop should receive those which had been excommunicated by another; and we find them amongst the canons that are ascribed to the Apostles.

Canon
Apost. 6.

Isa. i. 2.
Sect. 70.

Psal. 45. 7.

He afterwards thus relates their false doctrine: They alledge, that there was a time when the Son of GOD was not; that he was made, having before had no existence; and that he was made such as other men naturally are; for they say that GOD has made all things out of nothing, and include the Son of GOD in the creation of what is made; and consequently they affirm, that he is by nature liable to change, and susceptible of vice and virtue. We also, say those wretches, may become sons of GOD as well as he; for it is written, I have nourished and brought up children. And when we object to them the words following: And they have despised me; they are so impious as to answer, that GOD having foreseen that his Son would not despise him, chose him from amongst all others; not that he partakes of his nature, so as to distinguish him from other sons: For, say they, there is none who is naturally the Son of GOD, or who properly appertains to him; but this person being by nature subject to change, was chosen, because he so earnestly exercised himself in virtue, that he did not change for the worse: So that if St. Paul or St. Peter had used the same endeavours, their sonship would have been in nothing different from his. And to this sense they wrested the words of the Psalmist: Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore GOD, even thine own GOD hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows.

AFTER

AFTER having thus related the blasphemies of Arius, he explains the doctrine of the Church. And in the first place he insists upon these words of St. John: The only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father; ^{John i. 18.} to shew that they are inseparable: And to shew that he is not ranked amongst those things which are made out of nothing, he examines these words: In the ^{Joh. i. 1.} beginning was the word, &c. If all things, says he, were made by him, he must needs have always existed, as having given Being to all creatures? For it is not conceivable by reason, that the thing formed, and he that formed it, can be of the same nature; besides, having been from the beginning, and to have begun to be, are things contrary to, and widely distant from each other; whereas we see no distance between the Father and the Son, not even so much as is conceivable by thought. St. John, therefore, considering a far off, that the Word of GOD had a Being, and that he was above the reach of humane ideas, would not speak of his generation and production, as not presuming to use the same words in speaking of creatures and their Creator; not that the Word is not begotten, since it is the Father only who is not; but that the ineffable production of the only Son of GOD surpasseth the thoughts of the evangelists, and perhaps too, even that of angels: however, that it is a wild imagination, that the Son was made out of nothing, and that his production was in time: For when it is said, that he was not, that must refer to some space of time or ages; but if it is certain, that all things were made by him, it is evident, that all ages, all times, and all space are his workmanship; and is it not therefore absurd, that there should be a time in which he was not in Being, by whom all time was made, that is to say, that the cause is posterior to the effect?

TO this purpose he applies these words of St. Paul: Who is the first born ^{Col. i. 15.} of every creature; whom GOD hath appointed heir of all things, by whom ^{Heb. i. 2.} also he made the worlds. And again: By him were all things created that are ^{Colos. i. 16.} in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers, &c. and he is before all things. The Father, therefore, was always Father, because the Son always existed with him. It is impious to affirm, that the Wisdom of GOD, or his Power, has not always existed; that his Word was heretofore imperfect, or to deny the eternity of any thing else by which the Father and the Son are specified. Our SAVIOUR'S sonship hath nothing in common with that of others, being conformable to the Divine nature of the Father; it is infinitely above those who by him are become children of adoption.

HE is of an immutable Nature, being perfect and in want of nothing; others being subject to change from good to evil, have need of his assistance. For, what progress could the Wisdom of GOD make? What might truth it self teach? How perfect could the true Light make our lives? But, how much more contrary is it to nature, that the Wisdom of GOD should ever become susceptible of folly, or his power of weakness: That Reason should become unreasonable, or the true Light be mixt with darkness? Those who are his creatures, as men and angels, have received blessings to improve, by exercising themselves in the virtues and precepts of the law, that they may avoid sin: Wherefore our LORD JESUS CHRIST being by nature the Son of the ^{Rom. viij. 15.} Father, is adored by all things: others quitting the spirit of bondage, and receiving the spirit of adoption, by their progress in good works, become, thro' grace,

grace, children of adoption. St. Paul declares, that his sonship is free, proper, natural, and excellent; when he is speaking of GOD he says: He spared not his own Son, but hath delivered him unto death for us all; for he calls him his own son, by way of distinction from us, who are such neither properly nor by nature. He alledges also this passage of the Gospel: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; and also these two Psalms: The LORD said unto me, Thou art my Son, This day have I begotten thee; all which is to shew that he is really and by nature his son.

XXX.
The continuation of St. Alexander's letter.

St. ALEXANDER adds: I omit several things, my dear Brethren; which I might relate, fearing lest I should be troublesome if I used more words in speaking to Doctors of the Church, who are of the same opinion with myself. It is plain from hence and several other places, that St. Alexander addresses his discourse to several Bishops, which gives reason to believe that this is a circular letter. He proceeds: You are instructed by GOD himself, and are not ignorant that this is the doctrine of Ebion and Artemas, and an imitation of Paul of Samosata, who has been cast out of the Church by a council, and by the sentence of all the Bishops in the world. To him Lucian succeeded, and continued separated from the Church several years, under three Bishops; and these were tainted with the same impiety. There is no other Lucian to whom these words of St. Alexander are applicable, but the famous Priest and Martyr of Antioch, whose disciple Arius indeed pretended to have been. It might happen that his notions, for want of being understood, were suspected for some time; but, however, it is certain, that at the time of his martyrdom, he was in the communion of the Church: Besides, St. Alexander only says, that he was separated, not that he continued so excluded from the Church. He adds: They became more violent by the approbation of three Bishops of Syria, ordained we know not how, who are reserved to be judged by you. These three Bishops whom he forbears to name, through modesty, were Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, Paulinus of Tyre, and Patrophilus Scythopolis.

THEY had learned by heart, continues he, those passages of Scripture which relate to the passion of the Son of GOD, his humiliation, his poverty, his dejected state, and all the rest of the characters borrowed from us, and opposed them to his Divinity. But they forgot those passages which express his natural glory, his greatness, and his resting in the bosom of the Father, as particularly this: The Father and I are one; which our SAVIOUR mentions, not to shew that he is the Father, or that the two Persons are but one; but to shew, that the Son naturally retains the exact resemblance of the Father, and that he is a perfect image agreeable to the original.

HE adds, speaking of the Arians: They think that none of the ancients, or of those who taught us in our youth, are comparable to them; nor that any of the Bishops now alive have obtained an equal degree of wisdom: they are the only wise men, the only discoverers of the true doctrine; to them alone hath been revealed what never entered into the thoughts of any other under the sun. And afterwards: They accuse us of teaching, that there are two Beings *unbegotten*; and maintain, that we must affirm it, or say with them, that the Son sprang out of nothing, not perceiving the difference that there is between the Father unbegotten and creatures which he made out of nothing; between which two extremes is the only Son the Word of GOD, by whom the Father hath made all things out of nothing, and whom the Father hath begotten of himself.

St. ALEX-

St. ALEXANDER afterwards explains his Faith in these terms: We believe with the apostolical Church in one Father unbegotten, who hath no principle of Being; who is immutable and unalterable; always of himself and incapable of increase or diminution; who hath given the Law and the Prophets, and the Gospels; who is the God of the patriarchs, apostles, and all the saints: And in one LORD JESUS CHRIST the only begotten Son of GOD, begotten, not proceeding from nothing, but from the Father, who is, not after the manner of bodies, by diminution or emanation, as Sabellius and Valentinus assert, but after such a manner as is not to be expressed or related; as it is said, *Who* Isa. liij. 9. *shall declare his generation?* and as he himself hath said: *No man knoweth* Luc. x. 22. *who the Son is but the Father, and who the Father is but the Son.* We have been taught that he is immutable and unalterable as the Father; that he wanteth nothing; that he is perfect and like unto the Father, and that all the difference between them is, that he was begotten of him: in this sense it is, that he himself hath said: *The Father is greater than I.* We believe, likewise, Jo. xiv. 28. that the Son proceeds continually from the Father; but let us not therefore be supposed to deny that he is begotten. For these words: *He was, Always, And before all worlds,* do not signify the same thing as *unbegotten*: they seem to signify, as it were, an extension of time; but they cannot properly express the Divinity; and, if we may so speak, the antiquity of the only Son. We must therefore reserve to the Father this peculiar dignity of *not being begotten*, by saying, that there is no principle of his Being; but we must likewise render to the Son the honour which is due to him, attributing to him a Being *begotten* of the Father without beginning, and acknowledging it as the peculiar property of the Father that he is *not begotten*.

WE moreover acknowledge one holy Spirit, who hath, in like manner, sanctified both the saints of the Old Testament and the Divine Teachers of the New; One Catholick and Apostolick Church; always invincible, though the whole world should conspire together against it, and victorious over all the impious enterprizes of hereticks; through the confidence which is given by the Master of the Family, saying: *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* After this Jo. xvi. 33. we acknowledge the resurrection of the dead; of which our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST was the first fruits, having taken from Mary the mother of GOD a real body, and not one in appearance only. The term *Μήτηρ*, or mother of GOD is here very remarkable, in respect to its consequences. St. Alexander continues: In the end of the world he dwelt with mankind, in order to destroy sin: he was crucified, he died, without injuring his Divinity; he rose again; he ascended into heaven; and he sitteth on the right hand of majesty. This is what we teach, and what we preach; these are the apostolical tenets of the Church; for which we are ready to suffer both death and torments.

ARIUS and the rest who with him oppose these truths, have been cast out of the Church, according to the saying of St. Paul: If any man declare any other Gospel unto you than that which you have received, let him be accursed: let none of you, therefore, receive those which our Brethren have excommunicated; let no man attend to their discourses, nor read their writings: they are impostors who never speak the truth. Condemn them as we do, after the example of our Brethren, who have written unto me, and who have subscribed the memorial which I send with their letters, by my son Apion the Deacon. There are some from all parts of Egypt and Thebais; from Libya and Penta-

polis; from Syria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and the neighbouring provinces. I expect to receive the like epistles from you; for after making use of several other remedies, I thought that this consent of the Bishops would perfectly cure those whom they have deceived. Such is the letter of St. Alexander; at the end of which, are the names of those who were excommunicated, viz. the Priest Arius, and the nine Deacons, whom I have already mentioned; of whom Achillas was the chief.

XXXI.
St. Alexander's second
epistle.
Socr. lib. 1.
c. 6. Vales.
Theod. hist. i.
c. 4.

THIS evil continually increased, and extended as far as Egypt and the upper Thebais and Libya, insomuch that two Bishops had already declared for Arius, viz. Secundus of Ptolemais in Pentapolis and Theonas of Marmarica, and Eusebius of Nicomedia openly embraced his party. Alexander perceiving all this, assembled a second council at Alexandria of the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, near one hundred in number; in which he again excommunicated Arius and his followers, and gave an account thereof in an epistle addressed to all the Bishops throughout the world, wherein he says, That he was willing to keep silence, that he might suppress the mischief in the person of the apostates, and not offend the ears of simple people. But, continues he, since Eusebius, (who thinks the affairs of the Church are at his disposal, because he hath quitted the Church of Berythus to usurp that of Nicomedia without being brought to justice) hath also placed himself at the head of these apostates, and writes to all parts in their favour, I am forced to break silence, in order to give you all an account, both of the persons of the apostates and the mischievous consequences of their heresy, that you may not have regard to what Eusebius shall write unto you. The persons that have separated from us are Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carpones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoïus, Lucius, Julian, Menas, Helladius, and Gaius; and with these Secundus and Theonas formerly Bishops. Here follows what they assert and what they have invented contrary to the authority of the Scripture.

GOD has not always been the Father, but there has been a time when he was not so. The Word of GOD has not always existed; he was made out of nothing: this son is a creature and a work: he is not like the Father in substance, neither is he his true Word, nor true Wisdom. He is improperly stiled *Word* and *Wisdom*, having himself been made by the *very Word* of GOD and by the Wisdom which is in GOD, by whom GOD made all things: Wherefore he is by nature subject to change and vary like all other reasonable creatures; he is alien to and different and separated from the substance of GOD. The Father is ineffable in respect to the Son, who knoweth him not perfectly; for the Son does not so much as know what his own substance is. He was made for our sakes, that he might be the instrument by which GOD created us; and he would never have existed, had not GOD been disposed to create us. They being asked, if the Word of GOD could change as the Devil had done, they were not afraid to say, Yes, he might, for he is of a changeable nature, inasmuch as he was capable of being begotten and created. Arius and his followers asserting all this with the greatest confidence, we have pronounced anathema's against them, being assembled with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya. Eusebius and his party have received them, endeavouring to mix truth with falsehood; but they did not succeed: for truth still continues victorious.

V. Vales.

FOR, who hath ever heard any thing like this; or, who can now hear it without being surprized at it, and without stopping their ears, lest they should be

be defiled? Who can hear St. John say, *In the beginning was the Word*, without condemning those who alledge, that there was a time when he was not? Who can hear read in the Gospel, *the only Son*, and *all things were made by him*, without abhorring those who assert that the Son is a creature? How can he be one of those things which were made by him; or, how is he the *only Son*, if he is ranked amongst all others? How can he have sprung out of no-
Psalm 45.
 thing? since the Father saith, * *My heart has produced a good Word*, and † *I have begotten thee of my womb before the morning*.
Psalm 110. 3.
 How can he be unlike the Father in substance, he who is *the express image and brightness of his Father*; Heb. 1. 3.
 and who says: *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father*. If he is the Word, John xiv. 9.
 that is, the Reason and Wisdom of the Father, how is it possible but that he must have always existed? They may as well say, that GOD hath been without Reason and Wisdom. How can he be subject to change, he who saith, *I am in the Father and the Father in me*. And again: *I and the Father are one*.
Joan. xiv. 10.
 And according to the Apostle: JESUS CHRIST *is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever*. What reason have they to alledge, that he was made for us, when — x. 30.
 St. Paul saith: *That all things are for him and by him*? As for this blasphemy, Heb. xiii. 8.
 that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it overthroweth this saying of the LORD: *As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father*. If there-
Joan. x. 15.
 fore the Son knoweth not the Father but imperfectly, the Father knoweth the Son in like manner; which it is not lawful to say.

AFTER this manner we have often refuted them by the holy Scriptures; but they change like the Cameleon, they are the worst of all hereticks; since by endeavouring to destroy the Divinity of the Word, they come nearest to Anti-christ. We ourselves therefore having heard with our ears their impiety, have pronounced anathema's against them, and declared them aliens to the Faith and to the Catholick Church; and we give notice thereof to your piety, our dear and venerable Brethren, that if any of them has the confidence to come before you, you may not receive them; and that you may not give credit to what Eusebius or any other shall write to you in their behalf. In some
Galat. Syr. lib. 2. c. 3.
 copies of this letter, there are found the subscriptions of seventeen Priests and thirteen Deacons of Alexandria; of sixteen Priests and sixteen Deacons of Marëotis; but those of the hundred Bishops are not to be found.

AFTER this letter, St. Alexander repeated the deposition of Arius, by an act written in these terms: Alexander, to the Priests and Deacons of Alexandria and Marëotis, our dear brethren in CHRIST our SAVIOUR, sendeth greeting in their presence. Though you have already subscribed to the letters
XXXII. The act of the deposition of Arius. Codex. not. in lib. 8. Const. apost. P. 317.
 which I sent to the followers of Arius, exhorting them to forsake their impiety and follow the Catholick Faith; and though you have declared your sentiments to be really agreeable to the doctrine of the Catholick Church, yet, as I have written to all our brethren concerning the Arians, I thought it necessary to call together you that are the Clergy of the city, and to give notice thereof to you the Clergy of Marëotis; chiefly, because some of

* In our version, My heart is inditing a good matter. In the Septuagint, ἐκ καρδίας μου λέγων ἀγαθόν. The French is Mon coeur a produit une bonne parole, which is, indeed, most agreeable to the purpose for which St. Alexander quotes the passage, though not to the original Hebrew.

† In the Septuagint, 'Εκ γαστρὸς πρὸς ἑωσπρὺ ἐγένετο σὺ; to which the French is agreeable, viz. Je l'ai engendré de mon sein devant l'aurore. In our version, From the womb of the morning thou hast thy youth: which as well as the former verse, is most agreeable to the Hebrew, and approved by the critics.

you have followed the Arians, and were desirous of being deposed with them; namely Charez and Pistus, Priests; Serapion, Parammon, Zosimus and Irenaeus Deacons. I was willing therefore that you should know what I have now written, that you may testify your consent to it, and that you may give your suffrage for the deposition of Arius, Pistus, and their adherents; for it is necessary that you should know what we write, and that each of you have it in his heart, as if he had written it himself.

Epiphan.

Hær. 69. n. 4.

ARIUS finding himself thus condemned, left Alexandria and retired into Palestine, where he met with protection from certain Bishops. The most powerful of these was Eusebius of Nicomedia, who at that time was of an advanced age, and had great interest at the court, which usually resided in that city. To him Arius wrote this letter, wherein he himself explains his doctrine.

XXXIII.

Arius's letter

to Eusebius of

Nicomedia.

Epiph. ibid.

n. 5.

Theod. i. c. 5.

To my most dearly beloved lord, the man of GOD, the orthodox believer; Arius, unjustly persecuted by the Pope Alexander for the truth, which overcometh all things, and which you yourself defend, sendeth greeting in our LORD. My father Ammonius coming to Nicomedia, I thought it my duty to take this opportunity of saluting you, and at the same time to inform your goodness how much we are persecuted by the Bishop, who stirs up every one against us, and hath gone so far as to drive us out of the city as impious wretches, because we do not agree to what he hath publickly asserted, viz. GOD hath always existed, the Son hath always existed, the Father and the Son are together: the Son is with GOD without being begotten: he is begotten from all eternity; he is begotten, and he is not begotten. The Father is not prior to the Son one moment, not even in thought GOD from eternity, the Son from eternity: the Son proceeds from GOD himself. And because Eusebius of Cæsarea your brother, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, Aëtius, and all those of the East assert, that GOD was before his Son without any beginning, they have all been anathematized, excepting only Philogonus, Hellanicus, and Macarius, three ignorant heretics: some of whom alledge, that the Son is a kind of breathing from; others a projection; and others, that he is unbegotten as well as the Father. We are not able so much as to understand these impieties, though these heretics threaten us with death in various shapes: But what do we say, what do we think, what have we taught, what do we still teach? That the Son is neither unbegotten, nor a part of the unbegotten in any respect, nor taken from any subject; but that by the will and counsel of the Father, he hath existed before all time, and before all ages, being perfect GOD, the only Son and unalterable; and that before he was begotten, or created, or terminated, or founded, he was not; for he was not when unbegotten. We are persecuted for having said: The Son had a beginning and GOD hath none. It is for this cause that we are persecuted, and for having said, that he is derived out of nothing; which we alledged, inasmuch as he is neither a part of GOD, nor derived from any subject. It is for this that we are persecuted. You know the rest. I hope that you are in good health in our LORD, and that you remember my affection, pious Eusebius, Collucianist. This was the letter of Arius. He calls Eusebius Collucianist, because they had been disciples together to the martyr St. Lucian a Priest of Antioch.

XXXIV.

The Bishops of

both parties

THE Bishops whom Arius mentions in this letter are Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, (and his calling him the brother to the other Eusebius, gives us reason to believe that they were really relations) Theodotus Bishop of Laodicea

in

in Syria, in whose praise Eusebius hath written, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius Theod. 8. of Anazarba in Cilicia, Gregory of Berytus, Aëtius of Lydda, otherwise cal- c. 5. led Diospolis. These are those whom Arius pretended to have favoured his par- vii. Hist. c. 3. ty. The three whom he acknowledges to be against him are Philogonus of Chryso- st. Antioch, Hellanicus of Tripoli in Phoenicia, and Macarius of Jerusalem. Phi- hom. in Phi- log. c. 6. logonus was at first engaged in temporal affairs, and pleaded before the tribu- nals, he was married, and had a daughter. His merit procured him to be e- Sup. lib. ix. lected Bishop of Antioch, about the year 318, after Vital the successor of Ty- n. 24. rannus, who had held that apostolical see from the year 299 to 312. Philogo- nus governed the Church of Antioch 5 years, in very bad times. The perse- cution had but just then ceased; the evil consequences of it continued, and there were several abuses to be remedied; and it required abundance of wisdom to stop the progress of the heresy which then began to appear. Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem had succeeded Hermon in 314, and St. Athanasius reckons him a- mongst the greatest Bishops of his time.

Eusebius of Nicomedia having received Arius's letter, wrote to Paulinus of Tyre, commending the zeal of Eusebius of Cæsarea, for the defence of the truth, i. e. according to his opinion for the doctrine of Arius; and blaming the silence of Paulinus, whom he exhorts to write in defence of it. He himself ex- plains that doctrine in these terms: We have never heard that there are two Be- ings *unbegotten*, or divided into two, after the manner of bodies: We have never been taught any thing like this; but we believe that there is an *unbegotten* Being, and a Being which he hath really produced; but without taking him from his substance, or imparting to him in any wise the *unbegotten* nature; al- together different both in nature and power, but however produced in the perfect likeness of the nature and power of him who made him. We believe that his beginning is not to be expressed by words, or even compre- hended by thought, not only that of men, but of whatever is superior to them. And when we speak thus, we ground what we say not upon our own reason- ing, but upon the Scripture, which teacheth us, that he is created, founded and begotten in his substance; unalterable by his own nature, and on account of his likeness to him that formed him; as the LORD himself says: GOD XXXV. The letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre. * created me in the beginning of his ways, and founded me before the world; Prov. viii. c. 22. Sec. 70. and begat me before all the mountains. If he was taken from him as a part, or an emanation of his substance, it would no longer be said that he was created or founded; he would have been unbegotten from the beginning, like him from whom he proceeded. But if, under pretence of his being begotten, it is said that he was produced of the substance of the Father; and consequently that he hath the same identity of nature; we know that it is not of him alone that the Scriptures saith, he is begotten, but likewise of those things which are by nature altogether unlike; for it saith of men: I have † begotten and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. And again; Thou hast for- gotten GOD that * begat thee. And in another place: Who hath begotten the drops of dew? Not as saying that one substance was derived from the o- ther, but that every thing was produced by his will; for nothing is taken from his substance. He is GOD, all things else were made according to

* The Septuagint ἐκτρέψε με. But in our version, possessed me, from the Hebrew.

† This agrees with the words ὁ θεὸς ἐξέτερε in the Septuagint, tho' we translate it from the Hebrew nourished.

* In our version formed, ut sup.

to his good pleasure, by his Word, in order to become like him; GOD made all things by him, but every thing cometh from GOD. Take this and put it in practice, according to the Grace which GOD hath given thee, and write with all speed to our Lord Alexander; for I am confident that you will persuade him. Such was the letter of Eusebius to Paulinus.

XXXVI.
Arius's letter
to St. Alex-
ander.
Athanas.
de Synod.
p. 375.
Epiph. Hær.
69. n. 7.
1 Tim. vi.
16.
2 Tim. i. 9.
Heb. i. 2.

ARIUS himself wrote from Nicomedia to St. Alexander, in these terms: To the blessed Pope Alexander our Bishop, the Priests and Deacons send greeting in our LORD. The Faith which we received from our forefathers, and have been taught by you, blessed Pope, is this: We believe in one GOD, who only is unbegotten, eternal, without beginning; who only is true, who only possesseth immortality, who only is wise, good, powerful, and the only judge of all things; and the guide and governour of all things; being immutable, unalterable, just and good; the same GOD of the Law, the Prophets and the New Testament, who hath begotten his only Son before the beginning of ages, by whom he made time it self, and every thing else. He begat him, not in appearance, but in reality; he gave him being by his will, and made him immutable and unalterable, the creature of the perfect GOD, not like one of the other creatures; being the Son not as others are his sons. He did not come forth from the Father, as Valentinus hath asserted; he is not as Manes imagined, a consubstantial part of the Father; nor such as Sabellius makes him, who dividing the Unity, says, that he is both Father and Son at the same time; nor according to Hieracas, a lamp lighted of a lamp, or a torch divided into two parts. However it is not that he who was before, hath since been begotten or made the Son. You your self, blessed Pope, have often in the midst of the Church, and in the assembly of the Priests, condemned those who introduce these errors.

BUT we assert that he was created by the will of GOD, before time, and before the world; and that he received from the Father, his life, his being, and the glory which he conferred on him at the same time. For the Father, by giving him the possession of all things, did not deprive himself of that which he himself hath as unbegotten. He is the source of all things; so that there are three hypostases. GOD being the cause of all things, is without beginning, and altogether of himself. The Son begotten before all time by the Father, created and founded before the worlds, was not before he was begotten; but he subsists by the Father, being the *only begotten* before time and before all things. For he is not eternal nor co-eternal with the Father, nor *unbegotten* like him; and he had not his beginning at the same time as his Father, as some assert of relative things, introducing two unbegotten principles. But as unity is the first principle of all things; thus GOD is before all things. For which reason he is also before the Son, as you have taught us in your discourse in the midst of the Church. In as much therefore as he holds from GOD his being, his glory and his Life; and hath received all things from him; GOD is his beginning; for he preceeds him as being his GOD and prior to him. But if any understand these expressions: *He is of him and of his bosom; and I came forth of my Father, and I now come*, as if he was a consubstantial part or projection; the Father would be a compound, divisible and mutable, and a body according to them, and liable to all the consequences of corporeal nature, he who is GOD incorporeal. Such was the letter of Arius wherein may be seen the foundation of his heresy. We cannot but be surprized at the impudence with which he affirms to his Bishop, that he had taught this doctrine;

doctrine; though in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, he complains of his Bishop's teaching, that the Son is co-eternal with the Father.

IT was about this time, according to some, that Arius composed his *Thalia*. It was a kind of hymn composed in the same measure, and to the same tune, as certain infamous songs, which Sotades had formerly composed, for feasts and for dances; which was sufficient to make this hymn detestable, besides the errors which it contained; for Arius had therein inserted the substance of his doctrine. He composed several other hymns in order to spread it, and insinuate it agreeably into the minds of people, even the most unpolished; there were some for travellers, for taylors, and for those who turned mills.

EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, and those of his party, thought it an offence to them, that Alexander of Alexandria, had not yielded to their repeated intreaties for receiving Arius, and they became the more zealous for establishing his doctrine. From that time they conceived an implacable hatred against Athanasius Deacon of the Church of Alexandria; for upon a strict inquiry, they found that he was continually with the Bishop, and that he was particularly esteemed by him. They assembled a council at Bithynia, and wrote to all the Bishops throughout the world to communicate with the Arians, as being orthodox in their belief, and to induce Alexander to communicate with them. As they could not in the least prevail upon Alexander, who still continued steadfast, Arius sent to Paulinus of Tyre, to Eusebius of Cæsarea, and to Patrophilus of Scythopolis, beseeching them, that he and his friends might have leave to assemble the people that were with them, as being already ordained Priests; because it was the custom in Alexandria, for the Priests to assemble the people of the particular Churches, without injury to the Bishop, who presided over all. For at that time there was commonly but one ecclesiastical assembly in every city, over which the Bishop presided; and it was probably on account of the large extent of Alexandria, that they were obliged to hold several. These three Bishops being assembled with other Bishops of Palestine, granted Arius what he desired; and permitted him and the other Priests of Alexandria, that were of his party, to assemble their followers as formerly; but upon condition that they submitted to Alexander, and still besought him to grant them his peace and communion. Thus there appeared in Palestine private assemblies under these Arian Priests, who, in spite of the Bishop of Alexandria, pretended to be part of his Church.

The interest of Eusebius of Nicomedia became very considerable, by means of Constantine's residing in that city, after having entirely defeated Licinius; for Constantine could not long endure to see the Christians persecuted by his colleague, and Licinius exasperated him upon other accounts. Constantine was at Thessalonica, when the Goths, or rather the Sarmatæ, observing that the frontiers were not well guarded, entered into Thrace and Mœsia, and pillaged the flat country. Constantine put a stop to them by his power, and by the dread of his name, and obliged them to restore the captives. Licinius complained that he had undertaken to defend these territories contrary to the faith of treaties; and therefore making use sometimes of intreaties, and sometimes of threatenings, he excited them to declare war against him. Licinius had moreover made himself odious, by his covetousness, his cruelty and his licentiousness; he caused several to be put to death, that he might have their riches, or debauch their wives.

A. D. 321.

Sup. n.

xxxiii.

Athan. in

Ar. or. 2. p.

308. 310. &c.

de Syn. p. 883.

Sup. l. iii.

c. 5.

Philast. l. ii.

c. 2.

XXXVII.

The council

of Bithynia in

favour of A-

rius.

Sozom.

lib. i. c. 15.

Conc. Alex.

Ap. Athan.

9. Apol. p.

725. D.

XXXVIII.

The second

war of Li-

cinius.

Socrat. hist.

6. Euseb. ix.

vit. c. 3.

Anon. Vales.

post. Amm.

Marc. V.

Pagi 318.

n. 3.

Zosim. lib. 2.

p. 689.

A. D. 324.
Cod. Theod.
lib. xvi. l. 5.
Tit. 2. de e-
pi. vid. ib.
Gosol.
Pagi. an. 323.
n. 3.

Zosim. ib.

ON account of this war, the Romans performed certain sacrifices, which they called *Lustra*, as it were to purify themselves, and obtain the favour of the Gods. But some endeavouring to force the Christians, and even the Clergy to observe them; Constantine made a law, by which he forbade their being forced to it, under penalty of being beaten with rods, or considerably fined, according to the quality of the persons. This law was made at Sirmium on the 8th of the calends of June, when Severus and Rufinus were Consuls; *i. e.* on the 25th of May, in the year 323, at which time this war began.

THERE were very great preparations made for this war both by sea and land. Constantine had 200 galleys of 30 oars, and above 2000 vessels; 120 thousand foot, and 10 thousand men on board his ships and as many horse. His fleet was at the port of Pyraeus, near Athens, under the command of his son Crispus, whom he had created *Cæsar* that same year. Licinius had 350 galleys of Egyptians, Phenicians, Africans, and Asiatick Greeks; 150 thousand foot, and 15 thousand horse; and his fleet was in the Hellespont, under the command of Armandus. Constantine, to shew that he expected the victory from God, carried Bishops with him, and caused the ensign in which was the cross, that is the *Labarum* to be carried before his army. It was guarded in a tent at some distance from the camp; and on the eve before the days of battle the Emperour retired thither to pray with but few attendants, observing an extraordinary purity, and practising fasting and mortification.

Euseb. vit. ii.
c. 3, 4. c. 2.
14.

Ibid. c. 5.

LICINIUS made a jest of this, and carried with him Egyptian diviners, magicians, poysoners, and prophets of the false gods, to whom he sacrificed: enquiring of them concerning the success of the war. They promised him certain victory, by long predictions delivered in pompous verses. The interpreters of dreams, soothsayers, and Aruspices made him the same promises, which filled him with confidence. He assembled the most faithful of his guards and friends in a wood, which they esteemed sacred, there being abundance of idols in it; and after he had caused them to light wax tapers, and had performed the usual sacrifices; he said to those that accompanied him: Behold, my friends, the gods of our fathers, whom we honour, as we have been taught by them; our adversary hath forsaken them, for I know not what strange god, whose infamous banner profanes his army; this opportunity will shew which of us is in an error. If this strange God of Constantine, which we now scoff at, giveth him the victory, notwithstanding our being superior in number, we ought to acknowledge him; but if our gods gain it, as we must not doubt of having obtained the victory, we will make war upon those impious wretches who reject them. Eusebius of Cæsarea says, that he was informed of this discourse from those who heard it with their ears.

Zos. p. 68.
Aponym.

Idar. in fast.

LICINIUS was encamped advantageously upon an hill near Adrianople; but Constantine, who was the better soldier, surprized his forces, and put them in such disorder. that there remained almost 34 thousand dead upon the spot; his camp was taken, and Licinius himself obliged to fly, and to shut himself up in Byzantium. This happened on the 5th of the nones of July, when Priscus and Constantine the younger were Consuls the 3d time, *i. e.* on the 3d of July, in the year 324. Constantine pursued Licinius, besieged him in Byzantium; and in the mean time his fleet commanded by Crispus arrived at Gallipoli, where so compleat a victory was gained over that of Licinius, that Armandus who commanded, with much difficulty escaped. Licinius perceiving that

he

he was going to be besieged by sea, as he already was by land, fled with his treasure to Chalcedon; Constantine pursued him, and made himself master of the coasts of Bithynia; upon which Licinius presented himself again before him, and there was fought a second battle near Chalcedon, in which he was so entirely defeated, that of 130 thousand men which he had with him, hardly 3 thousand escaped. Byzantium and Chalcedon immediately opened their gates to Constantine; and Licinius retired to Nicomedia, where Constantine besieged him again. Then thinking his affairs desperate, he came out in a suppliant manner, presenting him the imperial robe, acknowledging him for his Emperour and master, intreating pardon for what was passed, and only desiring him to save his life, on account of his wife Constantia, the sister of Constantine. The conqueror granted him this request, and sent him to Thessalonica, where not being able to live at quiet, he was put to death the year following.

CONSTANTINE in this war received several marks of the divine protection. In the cities, which were under the obedience of Licinius, people imagined that they saw Constantine's army march by them as already victorious, though they were as yet at a great distance. In the battles where-ever the *Labarum* appeared the enemies fled, and its presence revived the courage of those troops who were giving way. Fifty men, chosen from amongst the *protectores*, or body guard, were appointed to guard this standard, and they carried it upon their shoulders by turns: One of them being afraid in a battle, gave it to another, that he might be more at liberty to fly, and he was immediately killed by an arrow shot into his Belly; the person who had taken the *Labarum* was shot at several times, but never hurt, all the arrows lighting upon the staff of the ensign. Eusebius was informed of this from the Emperour's own mouth. Licinius perceiving the virtue of this ensign, ordered his men to avoid it as much as possible.

When Constantine entred Byzantium, certain philosophers came to him and complained; that he introduced a new religion in contempt of the ancient customs of the Greeks and Romans observed by his ancestors. They desired to dispute about this doctrine with Alexander, who was Bishop of Byzantium; and he accepted the challenge by the Emperour's order, though he was not well versed in Logick, but however he was a man of extraordinary virtue. The philosophers being assembled, every one of them was for speaking; but St. Alexander desired them to chuse one for speaker; which they having done, St. Alexander said to him who was appointed to speak; In the name of JESUS CHRIST, I command thee to be silent; whereupon he immediately became mute, as if his mouth had been stopped; and it was looked upon as no inconsiderable miracle to make a philosopher hold his peace.

By this victory of Constantine, the peace and outward security of the Church was compleated, and in order to confirm it, Constantine made several laws. He ordered that all who had been banished for the faith should be recalled; that those who had been made liable to publick offices, should be discharged from them, being placed for that end at the table of the council of the cities, where they were not before; and that their goods should be restored to those who had been deprived of them. He set those again at liberty who had been banished to the isles, or condemned to the mines, or other publick works; amongst the rest, those who had been employed as confiscated slaves in the manufactures of linnen and stuff. Those who had been degraded from the

A. D. 314.

Zof.

XXXIX.

The divine protection over Constantine.

Euseb. vit. ii.

c. 6.

c. 7.

c. 8.

c. 9.

c. 10.

Sonom. i. hist. c. 18.

XL.

Constantine's new edicts in favour of the Church.

Euseb. ii. vit. c. 30.

c. 34.

c. 33.

sol-

c. 35. soldiers as Christians, he left to their choice, either to return to the service, or to retire with an honourable dismissal. This was in respect to their persons : As for their estates, he restored to their relations the inheritances of the Martyrs, Confessors, and such as were banished for the faith, who had been deprived of them by losing their parents ; he gave these goods to the churches of the places where they lived, and confirmed the donations of the Martyrs and Confessors. He condemned all those who possessed any of these inheritances to restore them, but without restitution of the profits, provided they surrendered them of their own accord. He ordered the same restitution to be made to the publick treasury, and that they should restore to the churches all their immoveables, houses, lands, and gardens, and particularly those places that were honoured by the bodies of the Martyrs which were buried there. He promised to indemnify such as should have received from the treasury, any of these inheritances by way of purchase, donation, or otherwise.

c. 36.

c. 37.

c. 39.

c. 40.

c. 41.

c. 44.

c. 45.

c. 46.

c. 47, 48.

c. 60.

c. 61.

c. 62.

c. 63.

c. 64.

c. 65.

c. 66.

c. 67.

c. 68.

c. 69.

c. 70.

c. 71.

c. 72.

c. 73.

c. 74.

c. 75.

c. 76.

c. 77.

c. 78.

c. 79.

c. 80.

c. 81.

c. 82.

c. 83.

c. 84.

c. 85.

c. 86.

c. 87.

c. 88.

c. 89.

c. 90.

c. 91.

c. 92.

c. 93.

c. 94.

c. 95.

c. 96.

c. 97.

c. 98.

c. 99.

c. 100.

XLI. CONSTANTINE was thus employed for the good of the Church, when he heard of the division which began in Egypt and the neighbouring provinces on account of the opinions of Arius. The dispute was not only amongst the Bishops and Priests, but the whole body of the people was divided ; and the disorder came to such a height, that the Pagans made a jest of Christianity in their theatres : even the statues of the Emperors were abused ; and it is thought to be at this time that the only vengeance which he took for these affronts was by a jest ; for certain people telling him with a great deal of heat, that stones had been thrown at one of his statues, he put his hand up to his face and said, that he did not feel any hurt. There were already abundance of letters

ters written by the Bishops on both sides. Arius collected all those that favoured him; and St. Alexander of Alexandria collected all those which maintained the Catholick doctrine, and his letters alone amounted to the number of seventy. These letters served afterwards as a foundation for those disputes, which happened amongst the Catholicks and the several sects of Arians. The news of this division sensibly afflicted Constantine; but as he was not as yet baptized nor sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of the religion, Eusebius of Nicomedia easily made what impression he pleased on him. The Emperor had a great respect for Bishops, and Eusebius easily had access to him; for after he had vanquished Licinius, he resided at Nicomedia, which, ever since the time of Dioclesian was the place where the Emperors usually resided in the East. Eusebius intimated to Constantine, that this division of the Churches was founded upon nothing but disputes about words and vain subtilties, which did not concern the essentials of religion; that the greatest evil was people's minds being exasperated, and particularly the aversion which the Bishop Alexander bore to the Priest Arius; and that it was a matter of piety in the Emperor to enjoin him to silence by his authority.

HE therefore sent to Alexandria Hosius Bishop of Corduba in Spain, in whom he had a particular confidence, as we have already seen. He was an old man about sixty seven years old, who had been a Bishop thirty years, as also a Confessor in the persecution of Maximian, and was famous throughout the Church. The Emperor gave him a letter addressed jointly to Alexander, and to Arius, wherein he thus expresseth the notion which he had received of their dispute. I am informed that the ground of your dispute was this: You, Alexander, asked the Priests what each of them thought of a certain passage in the Law; or rather about a vain question: And for your part Arius, you inconsiderately advanced what you ought never to have thought of, or to have buried in silence. Such a question either ought not to have been asked, or not replied to. These questions which are not essential, and which proceed only from an impertinent idleness, may be asked in order to exercise the understanding; but they ought not to reach the ears of the people. Who is able rightly to understand such great and difficult matters, or worthily to explain them? Which of the people can you persuade to embrace them? In such matters we ought to suppress our eager desire of speaking, lest the people should fall into blasphemy or schism.

Do you therefore mutually pardon, in each other, the inadvertency of the question, and the inconsiderateness of the answer; for this does not relate to the essentials of the Law: You pretend not to introduce a new religion; you are of the same opinion at bottom, and you may without difficulty be reconciled. Since you are at variance about so trifling a subject, it is not fitting that you should govern so great a number of the people of God according to your own fancies. This conduct is base and childish, unworthy of Priests and men of understanding. Since you have the same faith, and the Law obliges you to unity of opinions, that which has raised this inconsiderable dispute amongst you, ought not to divide you. I do not say this in order to force you to an intire agreement about this trifling dispute, whatever it is; you may preserve unity notwithstanding your differing in private, provided that these different opinions and subtilties are kept secret in the bottom of your mind. He concludes

cludes thus : To shew you how much I have been afflicted on account of this difference : When I came last to Nicomedia, I had determined to go into the East, that is to say, towards Syria and Egypt ; but this news made me change my resolution, that I might not see what I thought I could not even endure to hear. Open for me therefore the way to the East by your re-union, which you have blocked up by your disputes. Thus spake the Emperor Constantine, or rather the secretary who drew up this letter by his order, and perhaps it was composed by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Besides, the question which they here treat as trifling was nothing less than to determine whether JESUS CHRIST was GOD or a creature, and consequently whether all those martyrs and other saints who had adored him ever since the publication of the Gospel, were idolaters, by adoring a creature ; or whether they had adored two Gods, that is, supposing that being GOD he was not the same GOD as the Father.

XLIII.
The council
held at A-
lexandria by
Hosius.

Ap. Athan.
Apol. 2. 794.
D. 731. E.

Euseb. ii. vit.
c. ult.

Socr. iii. hist.
c. 7.

Sozom. 1.
hist. c. 16.

Euseb. iii. vit.
c. 5.

HOSIUS being come to Alexandria with the Emperor's letter, assembled there a very great council, in which the Priest Colluthus, who had made a schism, and who assuming the office of a Bishop, had ordained Priests ; returned again to his former condition of a Priest only ; his ordinations were declared null, and those whom he had ordained became simple laicks again. Thus that schism was removed, of which however some remains afterwards appeared ; and this is all the effect as far as we know of the council of Hosius ; for he could not appease the dispute which Arius had put in agitation : We only find that he treated of the terms *Substance* and *Hypostasis*, in order to exclude the error of Sabellius. Neither was Hosius able to put an end to the dispute concerning Easter, for which he had been sent thither : For several in the East were still accustomed to celebrate it on the fourteenth day of the moon, as the Jews kept the Passover ; and this division occasioned a very sensible difference inasmuch as one part were feasting and making merry, whilst the other was still fasting and in affliction.

XLIV.
Audius the
schismatick.
Theodor.
Fabul. iv.
c. 10.
Epiph. Hær.
79.

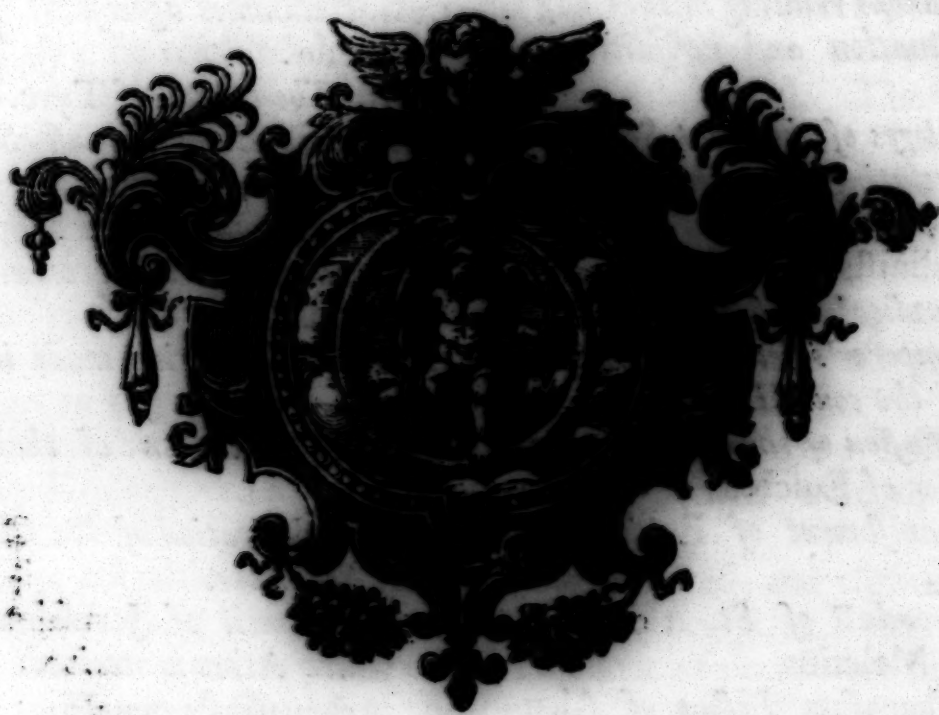
THERE was at that time in Macedonia a sect of Schismaticks, whose most notorious error was their obstinacy in celebrating Easter after the manner of the Jews : They were called Audians or Odians from the name of Audius the chief of them, who appeared at the same time that the council assembled to depose Arius. Audius was of Mesopotamia, and famous in his country for his zeal, and the regularity of his conduct. He professed speaking the truth boldly, without having any respect to persons : he opposed to their face the Bishops and Priests, when they did any thing contrary to the canons, and could not forbear speaking, especially if he observed any Ecclesiastical person, who was self-interested, or who lived in pleasure and luxury. Having therefore become troublesome to those whose lives were not entirely regular ; he was contradicted, hated, and ill treated. He a long time suffered their contempt and insults, and still continued to frequent the Ecclesiastical assemblies ; and though his enemies had driven him away, he forbore not to speak the truth without breaking the bonds of unity, or separating from the Catholick Church. At length they proceeded so far as to strike him and his friends several times, and they drove him to that extremity, that he separated himself from the Catholick Church, and was followed by several. This went no farther at first than a schism only ; and they professed a very rigid system of morality, without erring from the faith. They all subsisted by the labour of their own hands, the Priests

Priests and Bishops as well as the Laicks; for Audius himself was ordained a Bishop by a Bishop, who had separated from the Church, on account of the like disputes.

Epiph. ibid.
n. 9. 10.

HOWEVER, they soon became *Quartodecimani* and *Anthropomorphite*. They celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, after the example of the Jews, alldging that it was the ancient custom of the Church; and in order to prove it, they cited the book of the Apostolical Constitutions; but not the same which we have under that name. They were Anthropomorphites, inasmuch as they understood in too literal a sense what is said of man's being made after the image of GOD, not distinguishing whether that image was according to the soul, or according to the body, and joining together these passages which seem to ascribe to GOD a face, eyes, hands, &c. they represented him to themselves as corporeal and under a human form. In other respects, their lives were very upright and innocent, at least in the beginning of their separation: They had several monasteries; but they would neither pray nor communicate with any body who was not of their sect, though he led ever so good a life.

V. Petar. hic
Epiph. n. 2.
s. &c.



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Eccle.



Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XL.

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THE Emperour Constantine being informed, at the return of Hosius, that his letter had had very little success, and that the great evils which afflicted the Church, required a more powerful remedy; he resolved, by the advice of the Bishops, to call an Ecumenical council, *i. e.* of all the inhabitable world. There was as yet no example of any thing of this kind; the Church not having been at liberty to compose numerous assemblies under the heathen Emperours; and Constantine having but lately united the whole empire in his own person, by the victory which he gained over Licinius. For assembling this council, he made choice of the city of Nice, one of the chief cities of Bithynia, in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, where he resided; and he sent into all parts very respectful letters to the Bishops, inviting them to come thither with all speed, and he furnished them with a sufficient number of carriages; both by horses, and what the Romans called the *cursus publicus*, which were to accomodate such as travelled by the Emperour's order.

A. D. 325.

I.
The assembly
of the council
of Nice.

Euf. iii.
vit. c. 6.
Ruf. 1. hist.
c. 1. Sozom.
1. c. 17.

Sup. 1. v.
n. 56.

The Bishops assembled at Nice, about one hundred and eighteen in number, without reckoning the Priests, Deacons and Acolyths, both the Bishops and their attendants were supplied with all manner of necessaries by the Emperour's order. The most famous of these was Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, attended by the Deacon Athanasius, a native of Alexandria; and though he was yet but a young man, he was greatly esteemed by him, and was very useful to him. There were moreover two famous Bishops amongst those who came from Egypt, *viz.* Polammo of Heraclea upon the Nile, and Paphnutius of the higher Thebais, who, during the persecution, had his right eye put out, and his left cheek cut off, as well as several other confessors who were condemned to the mines. He had been a Monk at Pisper, and one of St. Anthony's disciples; he cast out devils by his word, and cured diseases by his prayers; and it is also said

II.

St. Paphnu-
tius & St.
Spiridion,
Ruf. i. c. 5.
sacr. i. c. 8.
Ath. apol. 2.
p. 770. A.
Ruf. 1. c. 4.
Sozom. 1.
c. 10.

A. D. 325. said that he restored their sight to the blind. During the council the Emperor often sent for him to his palace, and embraced him, and kissed the eye which he had lost for the faith.

Ruf. i. c. 8.
Sozom. i.
c. 11.

SPIRIDION Bishop of Trimithonta, in the isle of Cyprus, was no less extraordinary. He kept sheep notwithstanding his being a Bishop, and certain robbers coming into his fold in the night, were bound by invisible cords: The good old man coming in in the morning to lead his sheep to pasture, found them still fastned, and having asked the reason, he unbound them by his word, and said to them: Take a ram that you may not lose your labour; but you had done better to have asked it. He had a daughter named Irene, who attended him, and continued a virgin until the time of her death. A certain person coming to demand some treasure, with which she had been entrusted, unknown to her father; he sought all over the House, but could find nothing; the party persisting in the having delivered it to her, with tears, entreaties, and threatening to kill himself, Spiridion went to his daughter's tomb, and called her by name Irene. What is your pleasure, father, answered she? Where, says he, have you laid the treasure which such a person entrusted with you? she replied, you will find it buried in such a place; where he found it, and restored it to the owner. There are several other miracles related of Spyridion.

Sozom.
ibid.

Jo. v.

His exactness in ecclesiastical tradition was likewise much admired. On a certain day the Bishops of Cyprus being assembled, Triplyllus Bishop of Lendra was appointed to preach to the people at the time of divine service, who was very eloquent, and a man of great learning. Being obliged to cite this passage of the Gospel: Take up thy *bed* and walk, he made use of another Greek word to signify a bed, instead of *yeibedron*. At which St. Spyridion was enraged, and said: Art thou better than he who said *yeibedron*, that you are ashamed to make use of his words? and then he rose from his seat before all the people. Such was his gravity, and the authority which he had acquired by his virtue and great age. We have here an instance of his hospitality; during the season of lent, when it was usual for him and his family to pass several days together without eating, that is probably in the holy week, there came a traveller to him who was very much fatigued. He said to his daughter, who was then alive: Wash his feet, and get him something to eat. She replied: There is neither bread nor meal; we having no occasion for it because of the Fast. Spyridion having prayed to God, and excused himself to his guest, ordered his daughter to dress some salt pork which he had in the house; when it was dressed he sat down to it with his guest, eating of it first, and inviting him to do the like. The traveller excused himself, saying that he was a Christian. For that reason, says he, you ought to make the less difficulty of it, because the word of God says: that to the pure all things are pure. Shewing both by his discourse and example how far Christians should be from following the Jewish scruples.

Tit. i. 15.

III.
St. James of
Nisibis.
Theod. i.
hist. c. 7.
Idum Philoth. c. 1.

St. James, Bishop of Nisibus in Mesopotamia, was likewise famous for his miracles. He was of the city of Nisibis it self, which in Greek they called Antioch of Mygdonia. He at first led a solitary life, and lived upon the highest mountains; and in winter he shelter'd himself in a cave; during the three other seasons he lived in a wood in the open air. His food was nothing but wild fruit, which he gathered from the trees, and such herbs as he found not unfit

unfit to be eaten; but he made no use of fire. His tunick and cloak were made of nothing but goat's hair very coarse. God endued him with the gift of Prophecy, and working of miracles; and he wrought several in a journey which he took into Persia, to visit the new Churches which were erected there; and indeed we meet with a Persian Bishop, whose name was John, at the council of Nice. The merit and reputation of James caused him to be chosen Bishop of Nisibis, the place of his nativity; but he lived in the city after the same manner as he had alone upon the mountains; adding to his fasting and austerities, the care of the poor, the correction of sinners, and the rest of the duties incumbent on a Bishop. One day as he was going to a certain place, some poor people came to him, desiring something toward burying one of their companions, who was laid out for dead. Accordingly he gave to them, and at the same time besought God in behalf of the dead person, viz. that he would pardon his sins, and admit him amongst the saints; whereupon the wretch who pretended to be dead, died in reality. When the Saint was gone, his companions going to bid him rise, were extremely surprized to find him dead; they ran to the Saint, threw themselves at his feet, acknowledging the cheat, and excusing themselves on account of their poverty. He hearkened unto them, and by his prayers restored life to him whom he had deprived of it. Such was the celebrated James of Nisibis.

A. D. 325.
Gelas lib. 11.
c. 27. 35.

PAUL, Bishop of Neocæsarea upon the Euphrates, had lost the use of both his hands, the sinews of them having been burnt with an hot iron in the persecution of Licinius. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch came likewise to the council; he was of Sudus in Pamphylia; and having been for some time Bishop of Bercea in Syria, he was called to the see of Antioch after the death of St. Philogonus. Eustathius was a Confessor, and esteemed no less for the sanctity of his life, than for his learning. He composed several pieces against the Arians which are lost; but there remains his treatise of the Pythoness, wherein he shews in opposition to the opinion of Origen, that she did not cause Samuel himself to appear; but only that the devil wrought upon the imagination of that woman and Saul.

IV.
Other famous
Bishops.
Theod. 1. c. 7.
Hier. in Ca-
tal. & Epist.
126. ad Eua-
gr.
Socrus. 1. c. 2.

THERE was also at Nice, Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem; Leontius of Cæsarea the capital of Cappadocia, who had before assisted at the councils of Ancyra and Neocæsarea; as well as Amphion Bishop of Ephiphania in Cilicia. From the same province came also Macedonius of Mopsuesta, at that time a Catholick, but since an Arian. Leontius had undergone great hardships for the faith, and had strengthened several martyrs, amongst the rest St. Gregory of Armenia. In his way to the council he instructed in the faith Gregory, afterwards Bishop of Nazianzen, father of St. Gregory the Divine. From the same province came Euphycus of Tyana; and from the neighbouring provinces Longinus of Neocæsarea, Basil of Amasea, Meletius of Sebastopolis, Hypatius of Gangres in Paphlagonia, who, as it is reported, was killed by the Novatians with stones in his return from the council. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra the metropolis of Galatia, famous afterwards for the errors of which he was accused, but always very averse to the Arians, was looked upon as entirely orthodox in this council.

Sup. lib. 2.
n. 16, 17.

Greg. Naz.
orat. 19.
Philostorg.
lib. 1. c. 7.
Martyrol.
Rom. 14.
Nov. ex Me-
nol.
Epist. Jul. a-
pud Athan.
apol. 2. p.
750.

THERE were also reckoned Theonas of Cyzicus, Marinus of Troas, Eutychus of Smyrna, and Nunechius of Laodicea in Phrygia. From Thracia in Phedria, Pedoras or Pederotus Bishop of Heraclea, of which it was the me-

Gelas lib. 11.
cap. 35.

A. D. 335. tropolis; who is reckoned by St. Athanasius amongst such as were Apostolical; and Metrophanes Bishop of Byzantium not being able to come by reason of his great age, sent some Priests to represent him; amongst whom was Alexander who succeeded him soon after. From Macedonia, Alexander Bishop of Thessalonica, who called St. Athanasius his son, even after that saint was Bishop of Alexandria, which is an evidence of his great authority. From Greece Pistus Bishop of Athens, Aristæus of another city; another Pistus Bishop of Marcianopolis in Mysia. From Dacia, Protagenes Bishop of Sardica, very famous at that time; Silvester Bishop of another city, and Theophilus Bishop of the Goths: From Sicily, Capito; from Africa Cecilian Bishop of Carthage. We find no body there from the Donatists. They had taken occasion from the war of Licinius to excite fresh disorders in Africa, whilst Constantine was employed so far off: And after his victory he had determined to send thither certain people from the East, in order to unite them, finding that those of the West had not succeeded. But the news which he received at the same time of the dispute of Arianism, let him see that those of the East themselves stood in greater need of being united.

V. St. SILVESTER Bishop of Rome, not being able to assist at the council, by reason of his great age, sent thither two Priests, Vitus and Vincentius, with orders to consent to what was there transacted. Vitus is likewise called Vito and Victor. Hosius Bishop of Corduba is thought to have been appointed to represent the Bishop of Rome in this council. He seems to have presided in it, because his name is the first of all the subscriptions. St. Athanasius says, that he governed all the councils; and it is certain, that he presided in the council of Sardica twenty-two years after. Besides, we do not conceive how one that was only Bishop of Corduba should preside on his own account over all the Bishops of the world, even those of Alexandria and Antioch, who were present in person. * Gelasius of Cizicus says expressly, that Hosius held the place of Silvester Bishop of Great Rome, with the Priests Vito and Vincentius; and he ought not to be suspected in this particular, since he was not only a Greek, but wrote from the acts and memorials of the Greeks. In short, the practice afterwards is agreeable to it; for in the Ecumenical councils whose acts remain, we find the deputies of the Bishop of Rome first; and they were commonly one Bishop and two Priests. These are the most famous Bishops who assisted at this council.

VI. THERE are reckoned to the number of twenty-two of Arius's party, of whom the most noted are, The two Eusebii of Nicomedia and Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarba, Gregory of Berytus, Aëtius of Lydda. Arius himself reckoned these seven for him. To these we ought to join seven others, viz. Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Menepphantus of Ephesus, Narcissus of Mezonia in Cilicia, Patrophilus of Scythopolis in Palestine, Secundus of Ptolemais in Libya, and Theonas of Marmarica. These two last had been deposed at the second council held at Alexandria by St. Alexander. The number of the Arians was very inconsiderable, in respect to the Catholics who were near three hundred; besides, most of the rest very carefully concealed their errors. There were also at the council several Laicks well practised in Logick, that they might assist the Bishops

* See Tillemont. Tom. VI. Part III. §. 2. Conc. de Nice, &c. et Wot. 4.

of both parties, who were generally better skilled in holy writ than humane sciences. A. D. 325.
Soz. 1. c. 17.

CERTAIN Pagan philosophers came to this assembly, and entered into conversation with the Bishops; some were desirous of knowing what our doctrine was; others being exasperated at seeing paganism tending to its destruction, endeavoured to raise disputes amongst the Christians, and to set them at variance. It is reported, that an old man, one of the Confessors, who was a laick and an illiterate person, not being able to endure the pride of one of these philosophers, attempted to speak to him; which raised laughter in the more inconsiderate part of those who knew him, and concern in the wiser; however, respect obliged them to let him proceed. Accordingly he spake thus: Hear, O philosopher, in the name of JESUS CHRIST. There is but one GOD the Creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible, who hath made all things by the power of his Word, and established all things by the holiness of his Spirit. This Word whom we stile the Son of GOD, having compassion upon mankind, and their brutal manner of living, condescended to be born of a woman, to converse with men and to die for them; and he shall come again to judge how every one hath lived. This is what we believe without being curious. Do not therefore tire your self in vain, by seeking out reasons against the truths of Faith, or in examining whether this can be done or not; but answer me whether thou dost believe it? this is what I require of you. I do believe it, replied the philosopher in a surprize! Then having returned thanks to the good old man, for having convinced him, he became a Christian; and addressed the rest of them to do the like, affirming by an oath, that he had been urged by some divine power to his conversion. VII.
The conversion of a philosopher.
Ibid. c. 18.
Ruf. 1. c. 2.
Soz. 1. c. 8.

THE Emperor was at Nice on the twenty-third of May, and several Bishops endeavoured to make use of this opportunity for their own interest; for which reason they delivered memorials to him against their brethren. This is thought to have been done chiefly by the Arians against the Catholics: however, the Emperor received them, and caused them to be tied up together and carefully sealed, ordering them to be kept until a certain day which he mentioned. In the mean time he made it his business to reconcile those who complained of each other; and the day appointed being come, he caused the bundle to be brought out, and said to the Bishops: You ought not to be judged by man, because GOD hath given you power to judge even us; refer your differences to him, and unite together, that you may apply yourselves to determine what concerns the faith. Then he burned all these memorials in their presence, affirming by an oath, that he had not read one of them, because the faults of Bishops ought not to be made publick, for fear of giving offence to the people. It is even said, that he added, that if he saw with his eyes a Bishop committing adultery, he would cover him with his imperial robe. VIII.
Memorials against the Bishops.
L. 1. Cod.
Theod. de div. rest.
V. Pagi.
A. D. 325. n.
Sozom. 1. c. 17.
Theod. 1. c. 11.

THE Bishops, before the day of their publick session, held private conferences, to which they summoned Arius. He explained all his errors, as we have related them in his letters, viz. that GOD hath not always been the Father, and that there has been a time when his Son was not: That he was taken out of nothing, being a creature and a work like others: he is in his own nature mutable; and it is by his free will that he continued good; and whenever he pleaseth he can change like other creatures. For which reason GOD foreseeing that he would be good, gave him by way of anticipation that glory IX.
The conferences of the Bishops.
Sozom. 1. c. 17.
Athan. or. in Ar. p. 294.

A. D. 325.

glory which he had ever since his virtue ; so that he is become by his works what GOD foresaw he would be. This was saying, that JESUS CHRIST was not true GOD, but GOD only by participation, like all those to whom that name is attributed. He added, that he was not the Word substantial of the Father and his very Wisdom, by which he made all things ; but that he himself was made by the eternal Wisdom ; that in every respect he is a stranger to the Father's substance ; that we were not made for him, but he for us ; when GOD who was before by himself had a mind to create us. That he was made by the will of GOD, like others, having no existence before : For he is not a proper and natural production of the Father, but an effect of his grace ; he is not the natural and real virtue of GOD ; but the Scripture ascribes virtue to him in the same manner as to cater-pillars and other insects. He saith, moreover, that the Father is invisible to the Son, and that he has not a perfect knowledge of him, but only according to the measure of his Being, which had a beginning ; in short, that he is ignorant of his own proper substance. Such were the blasphemies of Arius, abominable even to mention.

Ibid. p. 295.

D.

Sozom. 1.

c. 12.

THE Bishops who were assembled from so many countries, stopped their ears, and rejected this doctrine as foreign and widely differing from the faith of the Church. Some of them were for condemning whatever was novel, without examination, in order to keep the faith which they had received by tradition from the beginning : these were chiefly such as by their simplicity of manners were made averse to all manner of curiosity in religion. Others maintained, that the ancient opinions were not to be followed without examination. These conferences gave an opportunity to several of the Bishops and Clergy who attended them, to shew how skilful they were in the art of reasoning, and how well versed in disputations, and they began to be taken notice of by the Emperor and his court, particularly the Deacon Athanasius of Alexandria.

X.

The publick session of the council.

Socr. lib. 1.

c. 13.

V. Pagi.

A. D. 325.

n 3. 5.

Euf. iii. vit.

c. 10.

THE day appointed for the publick session of the council, according to the Roman account, was the thirteenth of the calends of July, when Paulinus and Julian were consuls : according to the Macedonian reckoning, the nineteenth of the month *Dafios*, in the year of Alexander 636 ; and by our account, on the nineteenth of June, in the year of CHRIST 325. This day being come, all those who were to assist at the council assembled in an hall which stood in the midst of the palace, and was larger than any of the other rooms, and filled with benches ranged on each side, where they sat down and waited in silence. Then some of the Emperor's retinue came in, not his usual guard, nor people armed, but some of his friends, and those only Christians. They all rose up at the signal of the Emperor's coming, and he appeared in the midst of the assembly dressed in purple and adorned with gold and precious stones, which cast a wonderful lustre. His countenance seemed to express both religion and respect ; he blushed, he looked downwards, and walked with a modest gate : Besides, he was a comely person, being of a robust constitution, and taller than any of those who surrounded him ; all which were an addition to his modesty and piety. Being come into the hall, he continued standing in the midst of the upper part of the room, before a little seat of gold, which was prepared for him ; and he did not sit down till the Bishops had entreated him by signs, and they all sat down after him.

Ibid. c. 11.

Theod. 8.

c. 7.

THEN the Bishop who sat uppermost on the right side, who is thought to have been Eustathius of Antioch, rose up, and addressing himself to the Emperor,

peror, returned thanks to GOD for him; then he sat down again, and they all continued silent, with their eyes fixed upon the Emperor. He beheld them with a serene countenance, and after having recollected himself a little, he spoke in a soft and mild tone, expressing abundance of joy at seeing them assembled, and a very great desire to see them perfectly united in opinion. He spoke in Latin, which was his native language, and that of the empire; but what he said was interpreted in Greek, because most of the Fathers understood it best, being extended throughout the East. Afterwards the Emperor desired those to speak who presided in the council, and left the Bishops at full liberty to examine what related to doctrine.

THEY first examined that of Arius, hearing him himself; and he advanced the same blasphemies in the Emperor's presence. The Eusebians being desirous to defend him, strove to dispute, and uttered nothing but impieties; the other Bishops, who without comparison were the greater number, desired them mildly to assign a reason for their doctrine, and to bring such proofs as were agreeable to religion. But as soon as they endeavoured to speak, they disagreed amongst themselves, and they continued at a stand, perceiving the absurdity of their heresy, and by their silence confessed the shame which their vanity had drawn upon them. The Bishops having confounded the speech which they had invented, explained the holy doctrine of the Church to their disadvantage. The Emperor heard this dispute patiently, which at first was very hot. He was very intent in observing the propositions on both sides, and by making them recollect themselves in their turns; he endeavoured to come by degrees to those who disputed with the greatest vehemence. He spoke to every one with mildness, making use of the Greek language, with which he was acquainted, and having recourse to arguments, intreaties and commendations, to bring them all to a union.

THERE was read in the council a letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia, which was plainly heretical, and discovered the cabal of the party. It caused so great an indignation, that they openly tore it, and Eusebius was greatly confounded. Amongst other particulars, he therein asserted, that if the Son of GOD was allowed to be uncreated, he must also be acknowledged *Consubstantial* with the Father; by which it seems to have been the letter to Paulinus of Tyre, in which this thought is found expressed in other words. The Arians likewise presented to the assembly a confession of faith which they had drawn up; but as soon as it was read, they tore it, alledging, that it was false and illegal; and a great clamour was raised against them, every body accusing them of betraying the truth.

THE council, in order to destroy the terms made use of by the Arians, and employ words that were authorized by Scripture, declared, that the Son is GOD. But the Eusebians would have it, that That term was common to us with him, because it is written: * *There is but one GOD the Father, of whom are all things.* And again: † *Behold all things are become new; and all things are of GOD.* The Fathers perceiving their malice, were obliged to explain more clearly how the Son is GOD, and to say that he is of the substance of GOD; for we say true in saying, that all creatures are of GOD, because he is

* This and what follows agrees both with the Vulgate and Septuagint; the French is, Il n'y a qu'un Dieu de qui est tout.

† The French is, Je fais tout choses nouvelles.

A. D. 325. the author of them ; and that expression is necessary to shew that they exist not by chance, in opposition to the philosophers, who assert, that the world was formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms ; and to shew, in opposition to certain hereticks, that it was neither by angels nor any other author but the true GOD. GOD, therefore, who was in being, hath by his Word made all things, which before had no existence : the Word only is of the Father : And the better to express it, they said, that he is of the substance of the Father, which agreeth with no creature. This is the reason that they used the word *Hypostasis* or *Substance*, about which there has since been so much dispute.

THE Bishops asked this inconsiderable number of Arians, if they affirmed, that the Son was the virtue of the Father, his only Wisdom, his eternal image, who is like him in all things ; immutable, always subsisting in himself, and in short, true GOD. The Eusebians contained themselves, and durst not contradict it openly for fear of being convicted ; but it was easily perceived that they spoke low, and made a sign to each other by their eyes, that these terms *like* and *always* and *in himself*, and the name *virtue*, were likewise common to us with the Son. We may, said they, without difficulty, agree to these terms.

1 Cor. xi. 7. To that of *like*, because it is written, *That man is the image and glory of GOD.*
 2 Cor. iv. 28. To that of *always*, because it is written, *That we which live are always.*— To
 Acts xvi. 28. the term *in himself* ; because it is said : *In him we live and move and have our*
 Rom. viii. 35. *Being.* To the word *invariable* ; because it is written, *That nothing shall separate us*
 1 Cor. xii. 10. *from the love of JESUS CHRIST.* To the term *virtue*, because mention is
 made of several virtues ; and in another place, the locust and canker worm are
 Joel. ii. 25. called * *virtue* and *great virtue*. It is frequently said, speaking of the people,
 That the great power of GOD came out of Egypt ; and there are other celestial virtues also : for it is said, The LORD of Hosts is with us. In short, if they affirm, that the Son is true GOD, we shall not be offended at it ; for so he really is, because he was created.

XII. THEN the Bishops perceiving their dissimulation and unfair dealing, were
 The necessity of obliged, in order to explain themselves more clearly, to include the sense of
 the term the term
 Consubstantial. Consistent. the Scriptures in one word, and to say that the Son is CONSUBSTANTIAL with the Father, making use of the Greek word *ὁμοούσιος*, which has since become so famous by this dispute. It implies, that the Son is not only like the Father, but so like that he is the very same ; and shews, that the likeness and immutability of the Son is different from that which is attributed to us, and which we acquire by the practice of virtue, and by observing the commandments : Besides, like bodies may be separate and at a distance from each other ; as amongst men a father and son, how like soever they may be : But the generation of the Son of GOD is very different ; he is not only like the Father but inseparable from his substance : The Father and he are but one, as he himself hath said : The Word is always in the Father, and the Father in the Word ; as brightness in respect of light. This is the reason why the Fathers of the council of Nice fixt upon the word *Consubstantial* ; we are informed of it by St. Athanasius, who himself was present, and had so great a share in their proceedings. We are elsewhere informed, that the Fathers had observed, that the
 Ambr. iij. de Arians very much dreaded this Word. Eusebius of Nicomedia in his letter
 de fide c. 15. which had been read, urges as a great inconvenience, that if they acknowledged
 n. 125.

* In the English version, My great army. In the Septuagint, *δυναμὶς μου ἡ μεγάλη*. In the Vulgate, *fortitudo mea magna*.

the Son to be uncreated, it must be owned, that he was of the same substance with the Father. A. D. 325.

THE Arians rejected the term *Consubstantial* with clamour and scoffing, alledging, that it was not to be found in Scripture, and that it contained a bad meaning: For, said they, that which is of the same substance with another, must be so one three ways, either by division, or emanation, or production. By production, as the plant from its root; by emanation, as children from their fathers; by division, as two or three wedges of the same mass of gold. But the Catholicks so well explained the term *Consubstantial*, that the Emperor himself comprehended that it included no corporeal idea; that it implied no division of the substance of the Father, which is altogether immaterial and spiritual; and that it was to be understood after a divine ineffable manner. They shewed likewise the injustice of the Arians, in rejecting this word, under pretence, that it was not in Scripture, since they themselves used so many words which were not in it, saying, that the Son of GOD is made out of nothing, and did not always exist. They added, that the word *Consubstantial* was not a new expression, but that it had been made use of by very famous Bishops, both of Rome and Alexandria, these were the two Dionysii, in order to condemn those who alledged, that the Son was a work, and not consubstantial with the Father; and Eusebius of Cæsarea was himself obliged to acknowledge it. Socr. i. hist. c. 2. p. 10. A. Basil. ep. 300. Euseb. Cæs. Ap. Theod. i. hist. c. 12. Athan. ad Afric. Sup. lib. vii. n. 54. p. 343.

SOME insisted that the word *Consubstantial* had been rejected, as improper, in the council of Antioch, which was held against Paul of Samosata; but that was because they took it in the grossest sense, and so as to imply a division; as we say, that several pieces of money are of the same metal. The only dispute with Paul was to shew that the Son was before all things, and that being the Word he was made flesh: But the Arians acknowledged that he was before time, asserting, that he had been made, and that he was a creature: They said that his resemblance to the Father, and his union with him was neither according to substance, nor according to nature, but according to the conformity of doctrine. The Fathers therefore could not find a more proper term to cut off all their wicked subtleties, than the word *Consubstantial*, and it has ever since been the terror of the Arians. Sup. lib. vii. v. 1. Basil. ep. 380. Athan. de Syn. n. 90. 92, &c.

AFTER they had agreed upon this and other words more proper for expressing the Catholick faith, Hosius composed a form, and Hermogenes, afterwards Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, wrote it down. It was conceived in these terms: "We believe in one GOD, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible: And in one LORD JESUS CHRIST the only Son of GOD, begotten of the Father, *i. e.* of the substance of the Father; GOD of GOD, Light of Light, very GOD of very GOD; begotten not made, being consubstantial, (*i. e.* of one substance) with the Father; by whom all things were made both in heaven and earth: Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate and made man: He suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and dead. We believe also in the Holy Ghost." As for those who alledge, that there was a time when he was not, and that he did not exist before he was begotten, and that he was made out of nothing; or those who affirm that the Son of GOD is of another *Hypostasis*, or of another substance, or mutable or alterable; the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church pronounced anathema against them. XIII. The Nicene creed. Athan. ad Sol. p. 337. Euseb. Cæs. ap. Theod. i. c. 2. Socr. i. c. 8. Basil. ep. 78. Ruf. i. c. 5. ALE.

A. D. 325. ALL the Bishops approved this symbol, and subscribed it, excepting a few
 Ruf. 1. c. 5. Arians. At first those who refused to sign were about 17, afterwards they
 Socr. 1. c. 8. were reduced to five, viz. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Maris
 Athan. de- of Chalcedon, Theonas and Secundus of Lybia. Eusebius of Caesarea approved
 ceter. p. 252. the word *Consubstantial*, though he had opposed it the day before. Of these five
 Euf. ap. there were three who yielded for fear of being deposed and banished; for the
 Theod. c. 8. Emperour had threatened to banish those who would not subscribe. None but
 Theonas and Secundus adhered obstinately to Arius, and the council condemn-
 Epist. Const. ed them with him. The three who yielded were Eusebius of Nicomedia,
 ap. Theod. 1. Theognis and Maris. Eusebius used his utmost endeavours to engage the Em-
 hist. c. 20. perour to support him; procuring several persons to speak to him underhand
 Libell. Euf. to prevent his being deposed. But at last he has prevailed upon by Constantia
 ap. Socr. 1. the sister of Constantine, and not being able to avoid subscribing, he made a
 hist. c. 14. & distinction between the profession of Faith, and the Anathema that was at the
 ap. Sozom. end of it; and subscribed to the Faith, but not to the Anathema; because, as
 11. c. 16. he said, he was persuaded that Arius was not such a person as the Fathers
 thought him, having a particular acquaintance with him both by letters and
 conversation. It is also said, and that too by Philostorgius an Arian author, that
 Philostorg. Eusebius and Theognis used deceit in the subscriptions which were alike, and
 lib. 2. c. 9. that in the word *ὁμοούσιος*, they inserted an iöta, which made it *ὁμοιούσιος*, that
 is to say, *like in substance*, whereas the first signifies *of this same substance*. Upon
 condemning Arius they condemned his writing, and particularly his *Thalia*.
 They likewise condemned those persons whom the council of Alexandria had
 condemned, and among the rest the Deacon Euzoius, who was afterwards the
 Arian Bishop of Antioch; and Pistus, who was afterwards the Arian Bishop of
 Alexandria.

XIV.
 The decree
 concerning
 Easter.
 Sup. lib. iii.
 n. 43.
 lib. iv. n. 43.
 Athan de
 Syn. p. 872.
 D.
 Ad. afr. p.
 933. B.
 Const. ap.
 Euf. iii. vit.
 c. 18, 19.
 Epis. sup.
 Syn. ap.
 Theod. 1.
 c. 9.

The dispute about Easter, which began in the time of St. Anicetus and St. Polycarp, and afterwards when Victor was Bishop of Rome, was not yet ended; this was one of the two great motives for assembling the council of Nice, that is to say, the most important, next to the heresy of Arius: For the Churches of Syria and Mesopotamia followed the custom of the Jews, and celebrated Easter on the 14th day of the moon, without regarding whether it were Sunday or not. All the rest of the Churches celebrated Easter on Sunday; viz. Rome, Italy, Africa, Libya, Egypt, Spain, Gaul and Britain, with all Greece, Asia and Pontus. It was a scandalous difference to see some in a state of fasting and affliction, whilst others were rejoicing.

THIS question being examined, all the Fathers agreed to keep Easter on the same day; and those of the East promised to conform to the practice of Rome, Egypt, and all the West: but their decree concerning this was contained in other terms than that concerning the faith. The difference is observed by St. Athanasius. In relation to the faith they said: This is the faith of the Catholick Church: *We believe, &c.* to shew that it was not any new regulation, but an apostolical tradition; for which reason likewise they did not put the date of the day or year to this decree. In relation to Easter they said: We have determined what follows; to shew that all ought to be obedient to it. Easter-day was fixt on the Sunday immediately following the full Moon, that happened nearest to the vernal Equinox; because it is certain that OUR LORD rose on the Sunday which followed nearest the Jewish Passover. For the better finding the first day of the Moon, and consequently the 14th, the council ordered

ordered a cycle of 19 years to be made use of, because after that term, the new Moons almost come about again. This cycle, called in Greek *Ενναδσκαίρνεσ*, was found out about 750 years before by an Athenian named Meto; and they afterwards called it the golden number, because they used to mark in the calendars the days of the new Moons with golden letters. It is thought that the council appointed Eusebius of Cæsarea, to make the calculation; and it is certain that he composed a pascal canon for 19 years, and that he explained the grounds and meaning of this question, in a discourse addressed to the Emperor Constantine, who returned him thanks for it by a letter.

Notwithstanding the determination of the council there still remained several who obstinately persisted in celebrating Easter on the 14th day, and were called *Quarto decimani*, amongst others the Audians, schismatics in Mesopotamia, of whom we have spoken; the council only furnished them with a pretence for calumniating the Church, and of saying that they then first began to quit the ancient tradition, out of a desire of complying with Constantine. Audius, the chief of the schism, who was an old man, and seduced the people from the unity of the Church, being referred to the Emperour by the Bishops, he banished him into Scythia. He lived there several years, and went a great way amongst the Goths; where he instructed several in the Christian Religion, and there established virgins, asceticks, and very regular Monasteries. Their greatest misfortune was being obstinate in schism.

THE council endeavoured likewise to provide against the schism of the Meletians, which had set Egypt at variance for 24 years, and strengthened the Arians by their union with them. They were indulgent to Meletius, for strictly speaking he deserved no favour. They permitted him to live in his own city Lycopolis; but without any power either of electing or ordaining, or appearing upon that account either in the country or any other city; so that he retained only the mere title of Bishop. As to those whom he had ordained, it was enacted, that they should be restored by a more holy imposition of hands, and honourably admitted to communion, and to the duties of their order, but upon condition that they yielded in point of rank in every diocess and every Church, to those who had been before ordained by Alexander the Bishop. This is to be understood chiefly of the Bishops; for Meletius had presumed to ordain several; and there are found to the number of twenty-eight; the greater part in the upper Egypt. But their ordination was not legal, having been performed without the consent of the Bishop of Alexandria, contrary to the ancient custom of the province. The council likewise ordered that those who had been ordained by Meletius, should have no power to choose whom they thought fit, or so much as to propose their names, without the consent of the Catholick Bishop, who was subject to Alexander, which was necessary to prevent their strengthening their cabal. On the contrary, those who had not been partakers in the schism, and had continued blameless in the Catholick Church, had reserved to them the power of electing and proposing the names of those who were worthy to enter amongst the clergy, and in general to do every thing that they were entitled to by the Ecclesiastical law. That when any of them died, they might set in his place some one from amongst the newly admitted, provided he was worthy of it, that the people chose him, and the Bishop of Alexandria confirmed the election. All this was granted to the Meletians; but as for Meletius himself, they were prohibited from giving him any power or a-

A. D. 325.
Ambros. ep.
29. ad episc.
Æmil.
Petav. Rat.
1. p. lib. iii.
c. 8. & 2. p.
lib. i. c. 2.
Hier. de
script. in
Hippolyto.
Euseb. iv.
vit. c. 34. 35.
Sup. x. n. 44.
Epiph. hæc.
70. n. 9. 14.

XV.
The decrees
concerning the
Meletians.
Sup. lib. viii.
n. 24.
Synod. ap.
Theod. lib. i.
c. 9. & ap.
1. c. 9.

Athan. apol.
2. p. 789.

N. Vales. ad
Euseb. iii.
vit. c. 69. 63.

A. D. 325.
Athan. ap 2.
p. 788.

ny authority, because of his ungovernable and enterprising disposition, lest he should raise new disorders; and experience afterwards shewed that his followers were but too much indulged, and that it had been much better not to have received them at all.

XVI.
The Canons of
Nice.
Tom. 2.
conc. p. 28.
Justel. Bibl.
Tom. 1.

The council of Nice also made canons or general regulations for discipline; not to establish any thing new, but to preserve the ancient discipline which began to abate. These canons are twenty in number, well known to all Antiquity. The first is conceived in these terms; If any person hath been made an eunuch, either by the surgeons, by sickness, or by the Barbarians, let him continue amongst the clergy; but he that hath dismembered himself, being in health, ought to be silenced, if he be one of the clergy; and from henceforward none of them ought to be raised to that dignity. And as it is plain that this is mentioned only against those who have dismembered themselves with a premeditated design; the Canon admits amongst the Clergy, those who have been made eunuchs by the Barbarians or their masters, if they are worthy in other respects. This Canon shews that an unguided zeal for purity, had induced several to imitate Origen; and indeed we find an entire sect, though very obscure, which distinguished themselves chiefly by this barbarous practice. They were called Valesians; and were all eunuchs, and permitted their disciples to eat nothing that had life, until they were in the same state; afterwards they permitted them to eat any thing, as being secure against temptation. They not only mutilated their disciples but their guests; and that oftentimes whether they would or no. There were some of these on the other side of Jordan, at the entrance into Arabia.

Epiph. hær.
38.

THE second canon of the council of Nice forbids the ordaining of Neophytes, in these terms; Because several things have been done contrary to the rule of the Church, through necessity, or by yielding to importunity; insomuch that those who have but just forsaken Paganism to embrace the Faith, after being some time instructed, have been carried to Baptism, and immediately after raised to the office of a Priest or Bishop; it is thought necessary, that from henceforward nothing like this be done. For there must be time to instruct a catechumen, and still more to try him after he is baptized. The Apostle says plainly: * Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation † and into the snare of the devil. But if afterwards such person be found guilty of any sin of the flesh, and is convicted by two or three witnesses, let him be deprived of his ministry. Whosoever contradicts this canon, puts himself in danger of being deposed, by presuming to oppose the great council. It is probable that the Arians as well as other hereticks opposed this rule. The council here makes use of the term *peccatum animale*, which we render *sin of the flesh*. The council of Neocæsarea, and afterwards that of Elvira, had made the same regulation concerning these kinds of sins.

1 Tim. iii. 6.

V. Tertul.
præsc. c. 40.
Con. Neocæs.
c. 9, 10.
Eliber c. 5.

XVII.
Calibary.
The remon-
strance of
Paphnutius.

THE third canon of the council of Nice provided likewise for the purity of ecclesiastical persons, in those terms: The great council has forbidden in general any Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or any other clerk, to have a woman to attend them, which they called *subintroductæ*; unless she be a mother, sister, aunt, or some such person, as to afford no manner of suspicion. Those women were called *subintroductæ*, chiefly at Antioch, whom Ecclesiasticks kept in their

* (The Greek is νεοφυτευ;))

† After Condemnation, & dans le piage, &c. is added in the French.

house, by a custom which the Church condemned, as it was made a matter of reproach to Paul of Samosata, because notwithstanding its being made a pretence for charity and spiritual friendship, the consequences were too dangerous, were it only upon account of the scandal. The council of Elvira had already made the same regulation: At Nice they were for going farther, and making a general law, forbidding those who were in holy orders, that is as Socrates explains it Bishops, Priests and Deacons, to converse with those wives which they had married when laymen: To these Sozomen adds subdeacons. Upon this the confessor Paphnutius, a Bishop in the upper Thebais, rose up in the midst of the Assembly, and said with a loud voice: That they ought not to lay so heavy a yoke upon the sacred Clergy; that marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; that such excess of rigour would rather hurt the Church; that all men were not capable of so perfect a state of continence, and that conjugal chastity would perhaps be worse observed; that it was sufficient, that after a man was once ordained clerk, he should not be at liberty to marry, according to the ancient tradition of the Church; but that he ought not to be separated from the wife whom he had married whilst he was yet a layman. Thus spake St. Paphnutius, though he himself had preserved his chastity; for he had been brought up from his childhood in a monastery, and none was more famous for purity. The whole council followed his advice, and they made no new law on this account: that is, that every Church was at liberty to follow their own customs.

A. D. 325.
Sup. lib. viii.
p. 4.

Conc. Elib.
c. 27.

Socr. lib. i.
c. 11.

Up-Sozom. i.
c. 13.

Heb. xiii. 4.

IN truth, customs were different in relation to this point. The historian Socrates, who relates this fact, testifies in another place, that in Thessaly they excommunicated a clerk if he lived with his wife, altho' he had married her before his ordination; and that the same custom was observed in Macedonia and Greece. That in the East that rule was generally observed; but voluntarily, and without their being obliged to it by any law, not even the Bishops; so that several had had children by their lawful wives whilst they were in the episcopal office. But St. Jerom and St. Epiphanius, who were before Socrates, inform us more particularly of the difference of these customs. St. Jerom says: That the Churches of the East, and the holy apostolical see, took none for clerks, but such as were either virgins, or lived in a state of continence, or if they had wives, they ceased being their husbands. These are the three great Patriarchates, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; for this last is what he calls the East. St. Epiphanius says that the Church is very careful not to ordain bigamists, tho' they did not marry the second wife till after the death of the first; that even he who has been married but once, is not admitted either to be a Deacon, Priest, Bishop or Subdeacon, whilst his wife is alive, unless he abstained from her; especially in those places where the canons are exactly observed. For he acknowledges, that in some places there were Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, who used marriage. This custom, says he, is not according to rule, but the frailty of mankind, who grow remiss upon every occasion; and on account of the multitude of people for whom ministers would be wanting. We might say that the celibacy of the clergy was at that time better observed than at present; because Greece and all the East have grown remiss in that particular for several ages; but it was sufficient that the custom was not universal, to hinder the council of Nice from making an universal law of it. For in those times they did

Hier. adv.
Vigil. c. 1.

Epiph. hær.
59.
Cathar. n. 4.

A. D. 325. not make canons to introduce new customs at the hazard of their being ill observed, but to confirm the old customs of apostolick tradition.

XVIII. THE ninth canon provided still farther for the purity of the Clergy, in saying, If any one has been ordained Priest without examination, or if in his examination he confessed sins which he committed; and after his confession they have nevertheless laid hands on him, contrary to the canons; we will not receive him; for the Catholick Church bears the character of irreprehensible; that is to say, that she observes the rule given by St. Paul upon this point. Until that time, and long after, a crime was an irregularity, viz. that whoever had been guilty of one after Baptism, was not admitted into orders, how penitent soever he was; because the remembrance of it which remains, always lessens their reputation; and there is reason to suspect those who have once fallen, to be more frail than those whose conduct is perfect. The tenth canon applies this in particular to those who had been guilty of idolatry during the persecution, saying, Those who have lapsed being ordained through ignorance, or knowingly by the ordainers, do not affect this canon; for when they are known they are deposed. The seventeenth canon relates also to the manners of the Clergy; and they are prohibited usury in these terms: Forasmuch as several of the Clergy are addicted to covetousness and sordid interest, forgetting the holy Scripture, which saith, *Who hath not given his money upon usury?* lend at 12. per Cent. the holy and great council have decreed, that if after this regulation there be found any who take usury upon lending, who carry on any such kind of dealing, or have recourse to any other invention for sordid gain; they shall be deposed and put out from amongst the Clergy. As usury was permitted by the Roman laws, it was difficult to abolish the custom; and the Church began with expressly prohibiting to the Clergy, without approving it however in the Laity.

THE eighteenth canon relates to the Deacons in particular, and says: Report has been made to the great council, that in some places the Deacons administer the Eucharist to the Priests: But neither the canons nor custom allow that those who have not the power to offer, should administer the body of JESUS CHRIST to those who offer. We have likewise been informed, that certain Deacons receive the Eucharist even before the Bishops. Let all these abuses be abolished. Let the Deacons keep themselves within their bounds, knowing that they are the ministers of the Bishops, and inferior to the Priests. Let them receive the Eucharist in their turn after the Priests, and from the hand of the Bishop or the Priest. Neither let the Deacons be permitted to sit amongst the Priests; it is contrary to the canons, and contrary to order: But if any will not obey, even after this regulation, let him be suspended from his office. The Deacons had been instituted to serve at tables; that is to say, particularly the holy table. St Justin testifies, that he distributed the bread and wine to each of the assistants. Afterwards, they only administered the communion of the cup after the Bishop or Priest that officiated, who distributed the elements of bread with his own hand; for at that time there was but one sacrifice for all the Clergy and people; and the Deacons had moreover the administration of the offerings, and all the temporal matters belonging to the Churches: It was from them that the poor received alms, and the Clergy their salaries and fees. This office procured them abundance of respect, and a kind of authority over such Priests as were the most disinterested: And the council of

Act. vi.
Justin. Apol.
2. in fine.

Conc. Arel.
can. 18.

1 Tim. iii.
Vide hist. 50.
c. 55. &c.

Psal. xiv. 5.

of Arles had already begun to suppress these encroachments of the Deacons, by A. D. 325. forbidding them to appropriate any thing to themselves which belonged to the Priests.

THE fourth canon regulates the ordination of Bishops, and says, A Bishop ought to receive institution if it be possible from all the Bishops of a province. But if this is difficult through an urgent occasion, or the length of the journey, there must at least be three assembled to perform the ordination, with the votes and consent in writing, of such as are absent; but it belongs to the metropolitan in every province to confirm their proceedings. We here find the division of provinces settled, and the name of Metropolitan at that time given to the Bishops of the capital city, which the Greeks called (*μετροπολις*) *Metropolis*, which is as much as to say, the Mother City; and these provinces were regulated according to the division of the Roman empire. The council of Arles had enacted the same thing against certain Bishops, who assumed the authority of ordaining other Bishops by themselves. To this canon may be joined the fifteenth, which forbids translations from one see to another in these terms: By reason of the great disorders and seditions that have happened, it is resolved entirely to abolish the custom which we find hath been brought into several places contrary to rule; so that neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon be removed from one city to another: That if any, after the determination of the holy council, endeavour to do any thing of this kind, or consents to it, this attempt shall be entirely broken, and he restored to the Church in which he was ordained Bishop or Priest. The example of Eusebius, who removed from Berytus to Nicomedia, might have occasioned this canon; but he was not the only person, and the abuse began to grow into a custom. Besides, it is remarkable, that the canon extends to Priests and Deacons, and fixes them no less than Bishops. The sixteenth extends even to the whole Clergy, saying: Those who rashly, and without having the fear of God before their eyes, and not knowing the canons, withdraw from the Church in which they were Priests, Deacons, or in any other degree of the Clergy whatsoever; such ought not to be received into any other Church, but ought to be laid under an absolute necessity of returning into their several diocesses, or to be excommunicated if they persist: That if any one presumes to take away him who belongs to another, and to ordain him in his church without the consent of his own Bishop, from whom the Clerk hath withdrawn himself, the ordination shall be null.

XIX.
The ordination and jurisdiction of Bishops.

Conc. Arles. i. c. 20.

THE sixth canon regulates likewise the bounds of their jurisdiction, chiefly in respect to the ordination of Bishops. It is this: Let them observe the ancient customs established in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; so that the Bishop of Alexandria have authority over all these provinces, since the Bishop of Rome hath the same privilege: At Antioch also, and in other provinces, let every Church retain its privileges. In general, let it be known, that if any person is made a Bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great council declares, that he ought not to be a Bishop. But if the election being reasonable, and agreeable to the canons, two or three should oppose it, out of a particular obstinacy, the majority of voices ought to carry it. The last part of this canon confirms what is said in the fourth, of the authority of Metropolitans in elections. But the first part, which is the most considerable, seems to point out a degree above Metropolitans, viz. a jurisdiction over several provinces

XX.
The privileges of great Sees.

A. D. 325.

vinces given to certain Bishops, who have since been stiled Patriarchs, or Primates, as Metropolitans have likewise been stiled Archbishops; for these names were then not yet in use.

Conc. 1.
Constanti-
nop. c. 2.Ruf. lib. 1.
c. 6.

WE see then that at that time the Bishops of the three chief cities of the world, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, had jurisdiction over the neighbouring provinces; and that others had likewise other privileges. There were three who have since been called Exarchs, viz. the Bishop of Ephesus the capital of Asia, properly so called; the Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and the Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace. The Archbishop of Carthage had likewise great authority over all the provinces of Africa. All these rights appear more fully in the sequel of this history; but we must not imagine that they did not begin before the date of those monuments which remain of them. Rufinus who lived in the same century with the council of Nice, explains the power which is given to the Bishop of Rome in this canon, saying, that he had the care of the Churches which were called *Suburbicane*, which signifies a certain extent of provinces, subject in a particular manner to Rome; but whatever this obscure word may signify, it relates only to the Bishop of Rome as Patriarch in the West, without prejudicing his quality of head of the Universal Church, so well established in the preceeding ages. Besides, it is thought that the incroachments of the Meletians upon the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria occasioned this canon.

Lib. iij. n. 24

V. hist. c. 12.
c. 13. vi.
c. 8.

THE seventh canon of Nice relates particularly to the Church of Jerusalem; because, says the canon, according to custom and ancient tradition, the Church of *Ælia* has a privilege of being honoured; it shall continue to enjoy that honour, without prejudicing the dignity of the Metropolitan. Jerusalem having been destroyed by Titus, was rebuilt by Adrian as we have already seen, under the name of *Ælia*, as a new city of no great note, and subject to Cæsarea the metropolis of Palestine. But the Christians always preserved the memory of its antiquity, of the mysteries which were there accomplished, and especially because the spiritual kingdom of JESUS CHRIST had there begun to extend itself throughout the earth. This honour could consist in nothing but in precedency to the other Bishops of the province; and indeed there have been councils of the Bishops of Palestine, wherein the Bishop of Jerusalem presided, with the Bishop of Cæsarea; as Eusebius himself informs us, who was Bishop of that See; and he hath preserved a list of the Bishops of Jerusalem, as well as of all the apostolical sees.

THE fifth canon relates likewise to the jurisdiction of Bishops, and is to this effect: Concerning excommunicate persons, whether Clergy or Laicks, the sentence ought to be observed by all the Bishops of every province, according to the canon which forbids the receiving those by one Bishop who have been excommunicated by another. But enquiry must be made, whether the Bishop has not done it through weakness or resentment, or some such passion: That they may be able to examine this with order, it hath been judged necessary, that two councils be held yearly in every province, where all the Bishops shall deliberate in common about such kind of questions; and they shall all declare those to be lawfully excommunicated, who shall be found to have offended their Bishop, until the assembly thinks fit to pronounce a more favourable sentence in their behalf. These councils shall be held thus; one of them before Lent; that having put away all kind of animosity, you may present unto

unto God a pure offering : the second shall be held about autumn. The reason for this canon seems to have been the contempt which Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party had expressed for the excommunication pronounced by St. Alexander against Arius ; as he himself complains in his letters. The ancient canon mentioned in this is called Apostolical in St. Alexander's letter to the Bishop of Byzantium, and it had been confirmed in the council of Arles. We here see the frequent use of provincial councils, which could not be held so regularly during the persecutions ; but as soon as the Church was at liberty, she made use of that opportunity to establish them, because this was the ordinary tribunal, where all the important matters of the Church ought to be determined. We likewise find that Lent is here spoken of, as a season observed by all the Church, and as we now speak of it. The Greek word τεσσαρακονθες signifies Forty Days, like the Latin *Quadragesima* ; because in reality the greater part fasted forty days, though there was a difference in some Churches. Besides, during Lent, the Bishops were so much employed in instructing the people, particularly the catechumens and penitents, that it would not have been a proper season for holding of councils.

A. D. 325.

Sup. lib. x.
n. 31.

Socr. lib. v.
c. 22.
p. 234. C.

AFTER the tenth canon, which condemns ordaining of Apostates, they made the eleventh, which extends to laicks, and is to this effect : Such as have apostatized without compulsion, without being deprived of their goods, without danger, or any thing of this nature, as it happened during the tyranny of Licinius ; to them the council hath thought fit to be indulgent, although they are unworthy of it. Those therefore who sincerely repent, shall continue three years amongst the auditors, notwithstanding their being believers ; they shall prostrate themselves seven years ; and for two years partake of the prayers of the people without offering. We here find the same degrees of penance that have already been taken notice of in other canons. There had been one at first, for their continuing some years weeping without the door of the Church ; but the council dispenses with it in the penitent apostates, because there is no mention made of it. And as this eleventh canon relates only to those who were counted believers, they made another relating to the catechumens, which is the fourteenth, and is to this purpose : As to such catechumens as have lapsed, the great council hath decreed, that they shall be auditors three years ; and that afterwards they may pray with the catechumens, that is to say, with the *competentes* ; for there were two degrees of catechumens ; the hearers or *auditores*, who had long made preparation to become Christians, by attending to the instructions that were given ; and those who desired Baptism, whom they called *competentes*, because there were several who desired it at the same time : these were admitted to the prayers preceeding the sacrifice.

XXI.
Canons relating to penance.

Sup. lib. vii.
n. 17.

THE twelfth canon relates to another kind of apostacy : They, saith the canon, who having been called by grace, and having at first shewed a zeal, and quitted their employments, have returned afterwards like dogs to their vomit, insomuch as to give money and presents to be restored to their places ; these shall continue ten years prostrate, after having been auditors three years. But their disposition and the nature of their penance must be very carefully considered : For they who live in fear, in tears, and suffering, in the practice of good works, and shew their repentance, not by external things but by the effects of it, these having finished the time of their being auditors, may partake of the prayers ; and the Bishop shall be at liberty to indulge them farther :

But

A. D. 325.

Can. 3.

But they who have shewed an indifference, and have thought that the mere form of entering into the Church was sufficient for their conversion; such shall accomplish their full time. This canon must not be understood as condemning the serving in the army, or at court; since on the contrary the council of Arles condemns those who quit the service whilst the Church is at peace. This twelfth canon is to be understood of those, who having quitted the service to secure themselves from the persecution, sought to return to it, whilst the persecution still continued, and exposed themselves to idolatry a second time. In this canon, it is remarkable, that the Bishop is allowed to grant an indulgence.

THE thirteenth canon says: As for those who are dying, the ancient and canonical rule must always be observed; so that if any one is departing, he must not be deprived of the last * Viaticum, which is so very necessary. But if any one receives the communion, when he is in the utmost extremity, and recovers his health, he shall be ranked with those who only are partakers of prayers. In general, as to dying persons, who desire to partake of the Eucharist, the Bishop shall grant it them with examination. We here see that the Viaticum is the Communion and the Eucharist; as also the antiquity and necessity of it.

XXII.
Canons relating to the Novatians and Paulianists.

THERE are two canons of the council of Nice that relate to certain hereticks. The eighth is concerning the Novatians in these terms: Those who call themselves the Pure, if they return to the Church, the great council is of opinion, That after having received imposition of hands, they ought to continue amongst the Clergy. But first of all they must declare in writing, that they will approve and observe the decrees of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, that is, in relation to communicating with bigamists, and such as have lapsed under persecution, the time of whose penance is fixt. In those places where there are no other Clerks, whether in towns or villages, let them keep their rank according to their ordination: But if any of them come into a place where there is a Catholick Bishop or Priest, it is plain, that the Bishop of the Catholick Church should have the Episcopal dignity; and he that bears the name of Bishop amongst those who pretend to be pure, shall have the rank of a Priest, unless the Catholick Bishop is willing to let him partake of the name of Bishop; otherwise he may procure him the place of a *Choriepiscopus* or Priest, that he may appear to be really one of the Clergy; and that there be not two Bishops in the same city.

Sup. lib. vi.
n. 53.

THE Novatians, who called themselves in Greek *αὐθαγοί*, that is, the Pure, condemned the penance which the Church allowed to apostates and bigamists. The imposition of hands, by which they received them, seems as if it should be understood as well as that in relation to the Meletians, of that which was used towards hereticks, in reconciling them to the Church, but not of a new ordination. It is observable, that in consideration of uniting them again, they leave those in the rank of the Clergy who were ordained by hereticks; but the last words of this canon are still more remarkable, and contain a rule of importance, viz. that there never ought to be two Bishops in the same city.

Socr. i. c. 10.
Sozom. i.
c. 22.

The Emperor urged by his zeal for reuniting the Churches, had called to the council a Novatian Bishop named Ausus. After the decree concerning the faith

* See Tillemont, Tom. II. Remarks on the Council of Nice xvii.

faith was written, and the council had subscribed it, the Emperour asked Acesius if he was content with the confession of faith, and the decree concerning Easter. He replied: My Lord, the council hath decreed nothing new; this, as I have been taught, is what hath been preserved ever since the beginning and the time of the Apostles, concerning the rule of Faith, and the time of Easter. Why then, says the Emperor, do you separate from the communion of the rest? Upon this Acesius explained to him what had happened under the persecution of Decius; and the severity of the canon, which forbids, as the Novatians pretend, to admit those to partake of the holy mysteries, who after Baptism have committed any of those sins, which the scripture terms worthy of death. That we should excite them to repentance; without giving them hopes of pardon by the ministry of the Priests; but only by the goodness of God, who hath all power to forgive sins. When he had thus spoken, the Emperour said to him: Acesius, take a ladder and climb up to heaven by your self.

THE other canon of the council of Nice concerning hereticks is the nineteenth, which is this: As to the Paulianists, who return to the catholick Church; it is determined, that it is absolutely necessary to rebaptize them. If any of them have been heretofore in the clergy, and are found blameless, being rebaptized, they shall be ordained by the Bishop of the catholick Church; but if upon examination they are found unworthy, they must be deposed. The same rule shall be observed with respect to the Deaconesses, and in general with all those who are reckoned amongst the clergy. They speak of those Deaconesses who wore the habit; but as they did not receive any imposition of hands, they ought to be ranked merely amongst the laicks. The Paulianists were the followers of Paul of Samosata, who believed JESUS CHRIST to be a mere man, and did not baptize in the name of the *Father* and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*: For which reason the council ordered them to be rebaptized; and not the Novatians, who neither erred in the faith of the *Trinity*, nor in the form of Baptism. At the end of the council of Ephesus, we meet with a confession of faith against Paul of Samosata, ascribed to the council of Nice; in which there is often repeated, That the Son of God is consubstantial with the Father. But there is besides so much pains taken therein to explain the mystery of the Incarnation, and the distinction of the two natures united in the same person, that that definition seems rather to belong to some council held in the fifth Century.

THE Deaconesses received imposition of hands, wore a particular habit, and were reckoned as persons dedicated to God. The council put those who belonged to the Paulianists in the rank of laicks, because they only wore the habit without receiving imposition of Hands. As to other particulars, the Deaconesses performed the same offices, in respect to women, as the Deacons did to the men, as far as they were capable; particularly, visiting the poor, and instructing the catechumens. They kept the doors on that side of the Church, in which the women were separated from the men; and when they were baptized they assisted them in undressing and dressing themselves, that every thing might be performed with decency.

THE last canon of Nice relates only to a ceremony, and is this. For as much as there are some who kneel down on a Sunday, and during the time of Easter; that all things may be uniform in every diocess; the holy council hath decreed, that the prayers which are to be made to GOD, shall be said standing.

A. D. 325.

Jo. v. 163

Innoc. 1.
epist. 22. c. 53Con. Eph.
part 3. c. 54
p. 979. A.Conc. Cal.
ced. can. 15.Const. Epist.
lib. 15. c. 11.
57. iii.
Epiph. expos.

A. D. 325.
Tertul. de
cor. c. 3.

We see how careful the Fathers were to preserve even the least traditions when they were ancient; and this was so as early as the time of Tertullian. These are the twenty canons of the council of Nice. The respect which was paid to this great council, hath occasioned several other rules to go under its name that were not made therein; and the Eastern Christians of these last ages have attributed to it all the ancient discipline of the Church; this is what they call the Arabick canons of the council of Nice.

XXIII.
The synodical
Epistle.

THE council, before it separated, wrote a synodical epistle, addressed chiefly to the Church of Alexandria, as being most concerned in what had been transacted. It was likewise addressed to all the faithful people of Egypt, Pentapolis, Libya, and all the Churches under heaven. The Bishops therein acknowledged in the first place, that it was by the favour of God, and the Emperor Constantine, that they were assembled from different provinces; then they added; Before all things the impiety of Arius and his followers hath been examined in the Emperor's presence; and it hath been resolved with one consent to anathematize both him, his impious doctrine, his words, and his thoughts; by which he blasphemed against the Son of God, saying: That he was made out of nothing; that he was not in being before he was begotten; and that there has been a time when he was not in being. That by his free will he is capable of vice and virtue, and that he is a creature. The holy council hath anathematized all this, with much difficulty enduring to hear all these blasphemies pronounced. As to what concerns the person of Arius, you have heard already, or will be sufficiently informed, how he has been treated. We will not seem to insult a man who hath received the due reward of his crime. This is to be understood of the banishment to which Arius was immediately condemned by the Emperor: for his death did not happen till some years after. The synodical Epistle proceeds: His impiety has been so powerful as to involve in his destruction Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais; and they have been treated after the same manner. They afterwards relate what had been done concerning the Meletians, as we have before related; referring them for a farther account to the Bishop Alexander, because it had all been done in concert with him, and by his authority. They give an account likewise of the decree concerning Easter, and add: Rejoyce therefore for so much good success, for the peace and union of the Church, and the extirpation of all the heresies; and receive with much respect and charity our Colleague and your Bishop Alexander, who hath made us rejoyce by his presence; and who, notwithstanding his great age, hath taken so much pains to procure peace for you. They conclude with recommending themselves to their prayers.

XXIV.

The Emperor's
letters for the
observance of
the council.

ap. Euseb. iii.

vit. c. 17.

Theod. i.

c. 10.

Socr. i. c. 9.

Ibid. c. 18.

c. 19.

c. 20.

Socr. i. c. 9.

P. 15.

AT the same time the Emperor Constantine wrote two letters to publish the decrees of the council, and impart them to those who had not assisted at it. The first is directed to the Churches in general; and that which takes up a bundance of words to explain, may be reduced to this; That the question concerning the faith hath been examined, and so well cleared, that no difficulty remained: That it hath been resolved with one consent to celebrate Easter every where on the same day, and that in that particular they should have nothing in common with the Jews. He exhorts every body to put the decrees of the council in execution; adding these remarkable words: Whatever is enacted in these holy councils, ought to be considered as the will of God: And he sent copies of this letter into all the provinces. The second was addressed in particular

lar to the Church of Alexandria; and after having spoken of the unity in faith, he proceeds; It is in order to attain to this, that by the will of GOD I have assembled most of the Bishops at Nice, amongst whom I my self, as being one of you, (for I place my chief delight in serving the same master) have applied my self to examine the truth. We therefore have very carefully inquired into whatever might seem to afford a pretence for division. And pray God forgive us, what horrible blasphemies have some advanced concerning our SAVIOUR, our hope and our life, professing a belief contrary to the divine Scriptures and our holy Faith. Above three hundred Bishops of great virtue and abilities, have agreed upon the same Faith, which is in truth that of the divine law: Arius alone hath been convicted of having spread this impious doctrine, by the operation of the devil, first amongst you, and afterwards in other places. Let us therefore receive the faith which the almighty GOD hath taught us; let us return to our brethren, from whom an impious minister of the devil had separated us. For what three hundred Bishops have decreed, is none other than the determination of the only Son of GOD: The Holy Ghost hath declared the will of GOD by those great men whom he inspired. Let none therefore doubt, let none differ; but all of you return heartily into the way of truth. Thus the determination of the council was spoken of as a divine oracle, after which no farther examination was to be made; for there is no doubt to be made, but that these letters were dictated by the Bishops, or at least drawn up according to their directions.

HE also published another letter, or rather an edict, which condemns Arius and his writings, in those terms: Constantine the Conqueror, the great, the august to the Bishops and people. Since Arius hath imitated the wicked, he ought to be marked with infamy like them. Porphyry having composed certain impious writings against religion, is become a scandal to posterity, and his writings, have been suppressed; in like manner I would have Arius and his followers called Porphyrians, that they may bear their name whom they have imitated; that if there be found any thing that is written by Arius, it be thrown into the fire, that no monument may remain of it; and I declare that whoever shall be convicted of concealing any of Arius's writings, instead of giving notice thereof and burning them, he shall be punished by death as soon as taken. I beseech GOD to preserve you. We here see how the Emperor made use of his civil authority, to put the sentence of the council in execution. He is thought to have given the Arians the name of Porphyrians, to shew that they endeavoured to bring back idolatry; for by alledging that the Son, whom they called GOD, begotten, was a creature, they worshipped a creature besides the Creator; and only differed from the heathens in that they adored but one. The Emperor at the same time banished Arius and the two Bishops, who continued most obstinately in his party, viz. Secundus and Theonas.

HE caused another letter to be published against Arius and his followers, which he ordered to be distributed throughout all the cities, and it is still to be met with. It is very long, and written in an oratorial style, or rather like a lofty declamation, which was very common in those times, in the declension of learning. The author therein disputes against Arius, calls him names, and rails at him, and ridicules his rigid and uncouth appearance. He applies to him a pretended prophecy of Erythrea the Sibylle. But what is most remarkable in it is, that his followers, besides their own pole-tax, are obliged to pay that of ten

A. D. 325.

Socr. l. c. 9.
p. 27. A.

Ath. iv. in
Arian, p. 468,
469.

Socr. l. c. 9.
p. 31. D. &
ib. Valef.
Gelas. Ciz.
lib. iii. c. 1.

A. D. 325. other persons. The copy which now remains was carried into Egypt by two officers, named Sineletius and Gaudentius, whilst Paterius was governor, and it was read in the palace.

XXV. The conclusion of the council happened at the same time, with the beginning of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine, that is on the twenty-fifth of August, in the year 325. This should have been the twenty-fifth of July, for he began to reign on that day, in the year 306; but it is thought that on account of the conclusion of the council, he deferred this festival, which was celebrated throughout the Empire with great solemnity. At this publick time of rejoicing, Eusebius of Cæsarea spoke a panegyrick in praise of the Emperor, in his presence, and in the midst of the Bishops; whom the Emperor treated magnificently before their departure. To this purpose they all came to the palace, and it was an uncommon sight to them to pass, without apprehensions through the midst of the guards, who stood at the entrance with their swords drawn in their hands. They went in as far as the inmost chambers, and sat down to meat, some of them with the Emperor, and others separately on beds, that were prepared for them on each side. This seemed to them to be a representation of the reign of JESUS CHRIST, and rather a dream than anything real. After the feast the Emperor saluted every one of them in particular, and gave them magnificent presents, according to their dignity; afterwards, when they were going to depart, he spoke to them by way of taking leave, exhorting them to peace, and union and mutual condescension, and concluded with recommending himself to their prayers. Thus ended the great council of Nice, the remembrance of which the Greeks and people of the East still celebrate amongst the festivals of the saints. The Emperor gave very great donations to the cities and villages upon this festival of the twentieth year of his reign; and gave the Bishops letters to the governors of the provinces, by which he settled yearly allowances to the sacred virgins and widows, and to the clergy, which were rather proportioned to his generosity than their wants. These lasted till the reign of Julian the apostate, who took them all away.

THE chief of the Bishops were appointed to carry the decrees of the council into their respective provinces, and to publish them in all places; and this is the list which remains of them. Hosius sent them to Rome, and into Italy, and Spain, and to all the nations as far as the ocean, *i. e.* into Gaul, Germany, and Britain, by the Priests Vito and Vincentius, who came with him. Alexander of Alexandria, with Athanasius his Archdeacon sent them to all Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and the neighbouring provinces. Macarius of Jerusalem, with Eusebius of Cæsarea, to Palestine, Arabia, and Phenicia. Eustathius of Antioch to Celosyria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia. John Bishop of Persan to all Persia, and the great India. Leontius of Cæsarea to Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, with the greater and lesser Armenia. Theonas of Cyzicus sent them to Asia, the Hellespont, Lydia and Caria; by the Bishops which he had under him, *viz.* Eutychius of Smyrna, and Marinus of Troas. Nunechius of Laodicea, to the first and second Phrygia. Alexander of Thessalonica sent them by those who were under him, to the first and second Macedonia, with Greece, Thessaly, Achaia, Illyria and both the Scythia's. Alexander of Byzantium, at that time a Priest, and afterwards a Bishop, with Paul the Reader, his notary, sent to all the Islands of the Cyclades. Portogenes of Sardica to Dacia, Dardania, and the neighbouring countries. Pistus of Marcianople to Mysia, and the

the neighbouring nations. Cecilian of Carthage, to all the provinces of A. A. D. 325. frica, Numidia, and Mauritania. This account is very useful for knowing the subordination of the Churches, and understanding Ecclesiastical geography.

EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea wrote a letter to his Church in particular, in which he is thought by some to have betrayed his party. He supposes that they have already heard the report of what past in the council, concerning the faith; but the better to instruct them he sends them that form, which he tells them he had proposed, and not that of the council. In his form, he acknowledges, that JESUS CHRIST is the Word of GOD, GOD of GOD, Light of Light, and Life of Life, the only Son, the first-born of all creatures, begotten of the father before all ages. He says in the beginning of it: This is what we have learned of our predecessors the Bishops, from our first catechism, and when we received baptism, and by reading the holy Scriptures. This is what we have believed and taught, both as a Priest and Bishop. And at the end, he adds; We assure you that this is our belief, and that we have always believed it, and even untill death we will persist in this faith, anathematizing all heresy. We protest, before the Almighty GOD, and our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that we have entertained these sentiments in our heart and mind ever since we were informed of it, and that we think so still, and speak them in truth; and we can prove, that we have hitherto believed and taught this doctrine.

XXVI. †††
The letter of
Eusebius of
Cæsarea.
Theod. de
decr. p. 151.
& de Synod.
p. 882. B.

HE adds, that after this form was proposed, no body could contradict it; that the Emperor acknowledged it as his belief, and would have every body subscribe to it, only adding the word *Consubstantial*. The Emperor, says he, explained this word himself, saying, that he did not understand it in a corporeal manner, by division or section, but in a divine and mysterious sense, agreeable to the spiritual nature. He relates afterwards the creed of the council, saying: I caused them to explain to me, why it was said, that the Son was of the substance of the Father, and consubstantial, being obliged for the sake of peace to allow this word, perceiving they took it in a good sense, intirely abstracted from corporeal ideas; and that it had been made use of by several learned Bishops and famous writers. He here chiefly means St. Dionysius of Alexandria, adding, that they all consented to the form of faith made by the council, after having examined it: That they likewise received the anathema which is at the end without any difficulty, because it forbids us to make use of any words which are not in the Scripture, and which have occasioned all the disorder. It was thus that Eusebius of Cæsarea justified his conduct in the council.

Athanas. ad
Afr. p. 937.
C.

BUT Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice soon made it appear, that their subscription was not sincere. It is said, that they crazed it, having gained him who kept the acts of council by the Emperor's order; and that they presumed to teach publickly, that we must not believe the Son of GOD to be consubstantial with the Father. Eusebius being accused of it, said boldly to the Emperor, pointing to the habit which he wore: If any person tore this garment in my presence, I should never say, that the two pieces were of one substance. It is certain, that the Emperor having caused some of the Arians, who still made a disturbance, to come to Alexandria, Eusebius and Theognis received them, kept them in safety and communicated with them. A council was held, wherein they were deposed, and other Bishops put in their places, Amphion at Nicomedia, and Chrestus at Nice. The Emperor being displeased,

XXVII.
The banish-
ment of Eu-
sebius of Ni-
comedia.
Sozom. ii.
c. 21.
Ep. ad Nicom.
Ap. Theod. i.
c. 20.
Synod. ad
Athanas. Apol.
p. 727. G.

V. Valef. not. ed. banished Eusebius and Theognis into Gaul, three months after the council of Nice, where they remained three years.

c. 14.
Philostorg. *lib. ii. c. ult.*
Gelas. *lib. iii. c. 2.*
Theod. *l. i. c. 20.*
At the same time Constantine wrote a long letter to the Church of Nicomedia; the first part of which is a discourse of Theology, obscure enough, relating to the divinity of the Word; the rest is a bitter satyr upon Eusebius. He accuses him of being an accomplice of the tyrant Licinius in massacring the Bishops, and persecuting the Christians. He sent, says he, spies against me during these disorders, and was in readiness to take arms for the tyrant. I have proofs of it from the Priests and Deacons of his train whom I took. And afterwards: With what heat and impudence did he sustain at the council of Nice, contrary to the testimony of his conscience, the error which all have condemned? Sometimes sending several persons to me to speak in his favour; and at other times begging my protection, lest being convicted of so great a crime, he should be deprived of his dignity: He deceived, and shamefully surprised me, getting every thing done according to his desire; and ye see what Theognis and he have lately done. I had ordered certain deserters from the faith, who set the people at variance, to be brought from Alexandria; these excellent Bishops whom the council had kept, in order to their doing penance, have not only received and protected them, but also communicated with them: Wherefore I have caused these ungrateful wretches to be taken and banished. He exhorts the people to be steadfast in the true faith, and to receive with joy the faithful Bishops who are pure and sincere, viz. Amphion and Chrestus, threatening those who durst praise or even mention the seducers.

Gelas. *lib. iii. c. 3.*

XXVIII.
St. Alexander's conduct in respect to Melecius.
Athan. *Apol. p. 788.*

Sozom. *ii. c. 21.*

Epiph. *Hær. 68. n. 5.*
Athan. *Apol. p. 364. B.*

Epiph. *ibid.*

Euseb. *iii. vit. c. 23.*

St. Alexander of Alexandria returning into Egypt, and knowing the cunning of Melecius, required of him an account of the Bishops whom he pretended to have in Egypt, and the Priests and Deacons whom he might have at Alexandria, and the territories depending thereupon. This he did, lest Melecius abusing the liberty granted to him by the council should sell titles, or act falsely, putting in daily those whom he pleased. Melecius gave an account of the Bishops, to the number of twenty-nine, in which he himself was the first, and John of Memphis the last, who by the Emperor's order was to continue with the Archbishop, that he might be strictly looked after: The Clergy of Alexandria were four Priests and five Deacons. The name of Archbishop applied here to the Bishop of Alexandria, is worthy our notice. Melecius when he gave in this account, presented to St. Alexander those who were there named: he gave up also the Churches over which he had usurped superiority, and remained at Lycopolis, where he died some time after. When he was dying he named one of his disciples called John as his successor, contrary to the orders of the council of Nice, and this was probably John of Memphis. Thus the schism began again, and the Meletians continued their assemblies, though some of them returned sincerely to the Church. But the schismatics sent to the Emperor a deputation against Alexander, whereof the principal deputies were Paphnutius the hermit, whose mother had confessed the faith, John the chief of the whole party, and Callinicus Bishop of Pelusium. The Emperor received them honourably as Bishops, but ordered even by a writing, that the decree should be observed, exhorting them to agree to it.

ST.

ST. Alexander of Alexandria died five months after his return home, on Monday the twenty-second of the Egyptian month Bermouda, which is the seventeenth of April, in the year 326. He declared that he desired, that Athanasius might be his successor; and it is thought that he made him so by divine inspiration; for being at the point of death he called him by his name: But Athanasius had absented and hid himself, foreseeing what happened. Another Athanasius who was present answered: But St. Alexander said not a word, which shewed that it was not he whom he had called. Then he called Athanasius again, and repeated the name often. He who was present held his peace; they understood who the holy Bishop meant, for he added by a spirit of prophecy: Athanasius, thou thinkest to escape by flight; but thou shalt not escape. Indeed, after the death of Alexander, the Bishops of the province assembling, with all the Catholick people, the multitude cried out, demanding Athanasius with one accord, testifying, that he was a virtuous and holy man, a true Christian, who led an ascetick life: They demanded him publickly of JESUS CHRIST, and conjured the Bishops to ordain him, not departing from the Church for many days, nor allowing them to go out of it. He was ordained Bishop of Alexandria by the majority of the Bishops, in sight of the whole town, and all the provinces. Notwithstanding that, the Arians affirmed afterwards, that he was privately ordained by six or seven Bishops. The ordination of St. Athanasius was not until the twenty-seventh of December, in this year 326; for he hid himself a long time; and it was necessary to assemble all the Bishops from the provinces depending upon Alexandria. He held this See forty-six years complete; for he was at this time very young for so considerable a place.

XXIX.
St. Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria.
Pagi. An. 326.
n. 3.
Theod. i. c. 26.

Synodic. Ap.
Ath. 2. Apol.
p. 726. C.

Pagi. An. 326.
n. 3.

WE have related, that Licinius Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, coming to the council of Nice, instructed Gregory, afterwards Bishop of Nazianzum, and father of the Theologist, in the true faith. Gregory was of the *Hypfistarij*, a sect so called, because they made profession of adoring the most high GOD, in Greek called *ὑψίστος*, *Hypfistos*; but they also adored fire and lamps, observing the sabbath and distinction of meats, in like manner as the Jews. Gregory led a good moral life, observing justice and conjugal chastity with his wife Nonna, who was a Christian of strict virtue, and contributed very much to his conversion: When he conceived this desire, he made it known to the Bishops, who passed by the place where he was, as they went to the great council, but particularly to St. Leontius of Cæsarea. They made him kneel by mistake, while he was instructed; whereas the catechumens ought to stand; and this mistake was looked upon as an omen of his Episcopal dignity, because from that time they made every one kneel who was ordained Bishop. A little time after he received Baptism, and going out of the holy bath, he was surrounded by an extraordinary light, which appeared so plain, that the Bishop of Nazianzum who baptized him, cried out, that he should be his successor.

XXX.
St. Gregory of Nazianzen the Father.
Sup. n. 4.
Greg. Naz. Orat. 19.
p. 289. B.

Ibid. p. 294.

AND accordingly some years afterwards, being sufficiently proved, he was raised to the Episcopal dignity of that city: this is thought to be about the year 328. He was fifty years of age, and lived afterwards forty-five, to wit, in all near one hundred years. Although he began late to study the holy Scriptures, he acquired such knowledge of them in a little time, and instructed his flock so well, that he preserved them from the disorders which Arianism raised all over the East, mollifying the behaviour of this barbarous people; for the city

Ibid. p. 296.

A. D. 326. city Nazianzum was before but small, not being considerable till then, being situated in Cappadocia near Cæsarea. Gregory had three children by his wife Nonna, viz. two sons, Gregory and Cæsarius, and one daughter, called Gorgonia, who is thought to have been the eldest. Gregory was the fruit of his mother's prayers, who had earnestly begged of God to give her a son. Accordingly upon his birth she offered him to God, and sanctified his hands by causing him to touch the sacred writings. He applied himself in his childhood to read, and discovered from that time great signs of virtue. He had a mysterious dream while he was yet very young. He thought that he saw before him two young girls of an equal age, and very beautiful, clad in white, but without ornament, and extremely modest, who kissed and caressed him as their child. Transported with joy, he asked their names. One of them said, I am called Chastity, the other Temperance; we stand before the throne of JESUS CHRIST in the host of heaven: come with us my child, we will raise thee even to the light of the immortal Trinity. Having thus spoken, they flew up to heaven, and keeping them still in view, he awoke; and from that time conceiving a love for virginity, he renounced marriage. Such was the beginning of young Gregory.

XXXI. WE find some laws of Constantine concerning Ecclesiastical matters, made in his reign in the year 326, that is to say, under his seventh consulship, and in the first of his son Constantius. The first was on the first of June, and addressed to Ablabius, forbidding him to exempt from the publick offices of cities, those who were subject to them, under pretence of their being Clerks. It ordains, that no new Clerk be elected, unless to fill up a place vacant by the death of another: That these be not elected who are liable to publick offices, either by their birth or riches: For it is necessary, says the Law, that the rich bear the secular offices, and that the poor be entertained upon the Church revenues. The number of Clergy was regulated, because there was no unfixed ordination, every one being settled in a certain Church. They were freed from publick offices; but this exemption was not allowed to be abused.

Lib. i. Cod. THE two other laws made this year, relate to hereticks. One bears date Theod. de heret. lib. 26. the first of September, and is to this effect, viz. That none but the Catholics ought to enjoy the benefit of these priviledges which were granted in consideration of religion, and not hereticks or schismatics: That they on the contrary should be more burthened with offices than others. The last grants to the Novatians the quiet possession of their Churches and burying-places, *i. e.* of such as they had a just title to; not those which before their separation had belonged to the Catholick Church. The Novatians were the least odious of all the hereticks at this time; and their Bishop Acesius was esteemed by the Emperor for his conduct.

XXXII. THE building of several magnificent Churches, particularly in the holy land, may be reckoned amongst the liberalities which Constantine bestowed, on account of the twentieth year of his reign. The Pagans endeavoured to abolish the memory of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST; they had heaped a great quantity of rubbish upon the grotto of the holy sepulchre, paved it with stones above, and built a temple to Venus, where they offered sacrifice to this idol; to the end, that the Christians might seem to adore her when they came to this place to worship JESUS CHRIST. Constantine ordered a magnificent Church to be built, and wrote concerning it to the Bishop Macarius, recom-

The finding of
the cross by
St. Helena.
Sup. lib. iii.
n. 25.
iii Euseb. vit.
c. 26. 27. &c.
Ruf. i. hist.
c. 7.

recommending to him, that this building should not only surpass other churches, but all the edifices of other cities. I have given order added he, to Dracilian Vicar to the *Præfettus Prætorii* and governour of the province, to employ workmen to raise the walls according to your orders. Send me word what valuable marble and pillars you think most necessary, that I may cause them to be carried thither. I shall be glad to know if you think proper to have the roof of the Church adorned with gilding, or any other sort of work; if it is painted you may put gold upon it.

St. Helena, the Emperor's mother, took the charge on herself to see it executed: She was then eighty years of age, and had lived several years before in the exercise of piety and works of charity. The Emperor her son instructed her in the true religion, which she was ignorant of before; gave her the title of *Augusta*, causing her image to be stamped upon the golden coin. She disposed of her treasure, but it was in liberality and alms; she constantly attended the churches, and bestowed several ornaments upon them, not neglecting the chapels of the meanest towns. In the church assemblies she was seen in the midst of the people in a plain and modest dress.

NOTWITHSTANDING her great age, she went to visit the holy places, and took care to adorn them with sumptuous buildings out of her son's bounty. Passing over the East, she bestowed extraordinary gifts upon the soldiery, upon communities, and every one who addressed themselves to her. To some she gave silver, to others cloaths; delivering some out of prison; others from labouring in the mines, and recalling the banished. When she arrived at Jerusalem, her first work was causing the temple and idol of Venus to be destroyed, which profaned the place where the cross stood, and where CHRIST rose from the dead. The rubbish was taken away, and they dug so deep that they discovered the holy sepulchre; and near it they found three crosses buried in the earth. It could not be known which was that of our SAVIOUR, until the Bishop St. Macarius thought of this means to discover it. He caused the crosses to be carried to the house of a lady of quality who had been long sick, and reduced to the utmost extremity: while prayers were said, each of the crosses was applied to her, and as soon as she had touched the last, she was entirely cured. With the cross was found the inscription also, but separated from it, as also the nails; which St. Helena sent to the Emperor, with a considerable part of the cross, leaving the other at Jerusalem. She caused it to be put in a silver frame, and gave it to the Bishop to keep, that it might be preserved to posterity. In the following age, indeed it was exposed only once a year at the solemnity of Easter, that is, on Good Friday. The Bishop having first adored it, exposed it to the adoration of all the people; and from thence the continuation of this ceremony undoubtedly proceeds. Upon this day only the true cross was shewn at Jerusalem, excepting by the particular favour of the Bishop to pious persons, who made a pilgrimage on purpose. As for the nails Constantine caused part of them to be put into his helmet, and part upon the bit of his horse's bridle, making use of them as a safe guard in battle.

IN the mean time the church of the holy sepulcher was built, but not finished till six years after, by his orders, and his mother's care. Round about it a city was raised over against the old city, but not in the same place, which seemed to be the new Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. Near this place upon the top of the mount of Olives, the Emperor caused a magnificent Church

Theod. i. c. 18

Euseb. iii. vit. c. 47.

Ibid. c. 45.

Ibid. c. 42.

Ibid. c. 44.

Theod. i. c. 18.

Ruf. i. c. 78.

Socr. i. c. 17.

Sozom. ii. c. 1

Amb. de ob.

Theod. n. 42.

&c.

Cyrl. ad

Hieros.

Epist. ad

Const. Imp.

Paul epist. ii.

ad Sever.

Euseb. iii.

c. 33.

Ibid. c. 41.

c. 53.

Ruf. ii. c. 8.

Theod. i. c. 18.

Theophan. Pag. n. 9.

Göthofr. Chronol. cod. Theod.

XXXIII.

Constantine endeavours to destroy idolatry

Euseb. iii. vit. c. 54.

Sozom. ii. c. 5.

Euseb. ibid. c. 35.

Socr. i. c. 18.

Sozom. ibid.

Ibid. c. 36.

Socr. i. c. 18. c. 57.

to be built, in honour of the place of the ascension of Jesus Christ; and another at Bethlehem, in honour of the cave sanctified by his birth. These buildings were adorned with precious gifts, vessels of gold and silver, veils of various colours, which served to perpetuate the memory of the Emperor and his mother. She still made some stay at Palestine; and among other marks of piety, rendered great honour to the virgins consecrated to God. For having assembled them all, and caused them to lie down upon mats; she served them at table, holding the ewer over the basin to wash their hands, bringing the dishes, pouring out wine, and presenting them to drink. At last, this pious Princess returned to Rome, and died there in the month of August, in the same year 326, in the arms of the Emperor her son, and her grand-children the *Cæsars*; and the Emperor made a royal funeral for her. The Church honours her memory on the eighteenth of August. Constantine had been at Rome ever since the month of July, celebrating the twentieth year of his reign by magnificent feasts, and he staid there three months: but his endeavours to ruin idolatry rendered him odious to the Senate and the Roman people, and this was the last Journey that he made to Rome.

He indeed caused the gates to be taken away from the temples in several cities; others he caused to be uncovered, so that they fell into ruine: And from others he caused the statues to be taken away which had been adored, and had been famous for many ages, that he might expose them to the eyes of every body in the publick places. As for the idols of gold and silver, he made another use of them; he sent privately certain Christians of his palace, whom he could trust into the provinces; who without violence or noise obliged the Priests to give up the most precious idols, even these which they said descended from heaven; and to take them out from the secret places where they were hidden. Private persons were afraid of themselves and families, if they resisted the Emperor's will; the priests and keepers of the temples durst not oppose it, seeing themselves forsaken by the multitude; and the Emperor's messengers separated such as were of gold or silver, to be melted down, leaving what remained to the idolaters as useless. He took care to destroy among others certain temples that were most odious. In a place called Aphacum, upon one of the eminences of mount Libanus, near the river Adonis, there was a temple of Venus, built in a private place, far from all access. It was said, that on a certain day, by virtue of an invocation, a fire like a star fell from the top of the mountain, and was lost in the river: That this was Venus Urania, or the heavenly. This temple truly was a school of impurity, where abandoned wretches of both sexes committed all manner of abominations with impunity under pretence of Religion; for no person of character durst pass that way. The Emperor caused this temple to be erased from the foundation by soldiers whom he sent thither, and the place was purified.

A temple in Cilicia stood a famous temple of Esculapius, where it was said, that he often appeared to those who slept, and cured all manner of diseases; the people looked upon him as the god of health; nay even the wisest amongst the Pagans published his miracles. Constantine caused this temple to be turned into a heap of rubbish, from the very foundation, by his soldiers, so that the least mark of it did not remain. In Egypt the Pagans ascribed to their god Serapis, the inundations of the Nile, which render their country fertile, because the pillar which served to measure it, was in the temple of this idol. When Constantine got it removed to the Church of Alexandria, the Pagans said, that the Nile would

would rise no more, because of the wrath of Serapis: but it rose as usual the following year, and ever after.

IN Cilicia there was a famous oracle of Apollo Pythius, whose temple the Emperor destroyed from the foundation. Then a great number of Pagans opened their eyes, acknowledging the vanity of their religion; several became christians, and many at least despised what they before respected, seeing what was hid under the fine appearance of temples and idols. They found there, either bones or souls hidden for magical operations, or filthy rags, or heaps of hay or straw; for with such stuff were the hollow parts of the idols filled up. There was neither god, who rendered oracles, as had been believed, nor demon, nor gloomy fantome, in the most secret parts of the temple. There was no cavern so obscure and deep, nor sanctuary so close, into which those whom the Emperor sent, and even the soldiers did not penetrate unhurt; and they discovered the blindness which reigned for so many Ages.

AT Heliopolis in Poenicia, the Pagans who worshiped Venus, had their wives in common, and as a privilege of Hospitality, used to prostitute their daughters to strangers. Constantine forbade them to do so for the future, and wrote letters exhorting them to be converted, and to acknowledge the true God. He caused a great Church to be built in this place, where there never had been any; he established a Bishop, with Priests and Deacons there, and to draw people to the true religion, he gave large allowances to the poor.

Cap. 58.
Socr. l. c. 18.

EUTROPIA a Syrian, and mother of the Empress Fausta, wrote to her son in law the Emperor, that near to the oak of * Mambre in Palestine, where Abraham had exercised hospitality to the three angels, they had erected idols and an altar, and that they offered impious sacrifices there. This place was called otherwise Tenbinthus, on account of a very ancient tree; it was about thirty miles, or ten leagues distant from Jerusalem, or two hundred and fifty stadia. A yearly feast was celebrated there, and a fair kept yearly, where several Merchants both of that country, and from the remotest parts of Palestine came, and also from Phoenicia, and Arabia. Every one celebrated the feast according to their own religion: the Jews honoured the memory of their Patriarch; the Christians the appearing of the Son of God. For the greatest part of the eastern people believed that he himself had appeared there with two Angels. The Pagans honoured these Angels; and it is thought that the idols which they had erected there were to represent them as favourable gods or demons. They invoked them, and offered libations of wine and incense to them; while some of them sacrificed an ox, a goat, a sheep, or a cock. Every one preserved carefully the best that they had in the whole year, to make a feast of it for his family there. They had all so much respect for this place, or so much feared the divine vengeance if they polluted it; that they durst not commit the least impurity, nor have any commerce with women, although they had them with them better adorned than usual, and they were mixed together; for it was in a field without buildings, before the house which was said to be Abraham's, near the oak and the well, where no body drew water during the feast; because the Pagans spoiled the water by throwing wine into it, with cakes, pieces of money, and perfumes dry or liquid: besides which, they lighted their lamps upon the brink of the well.

XXXIV:
A Church
at the oak of
Mambre.
Ibid. c. 52.
v. Vales.
Gen. xviii.
Sozom. ii.
c. 4.

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* This agrees with the Septuagint and Vulgate; but in our version it is Mamre.

Euseb. iii.
vit. c. 52, 53.

THE mother-in-law of Constantine, when she came into Palestine to accomplish a vow, seeing the superstitions which were practised at the oak of Mambre, gave him notice of them; and he wrote a letter addressed to St. Macarius and the other Bishops of Palestine, in which, after mildly reproaching their negligence for suffering such profaneness, he tells them, that he had written to the Count Acacis to have these idols immediately burnt; the altar overturned; and to punish such as, slighting this order, should commit the least impiety; adding that he had ordered a Church in that place; and recommending to the Bishops, to give him notice, if any thing was transacted contrary to his orders; that the guilty may be severely punished. In compliance with this order a magnificent Church was built there. This was probably some time after the journey of St. Helena.

XXXV.
The history of
Count Joseph.
Epist. hær. 30.
n. 5.

THE Emperor Constantine caused several Churches to be built by the care of Count Joseph, a Jew by birth, whose conversion is remarkable. He was born at Tiberias, and held the rank of an Apostle; for thus the Jews named those who were the first after the Patriarch, who was the head of the tribe, and they were his counsellors. The Patriarch at that time was Hillel, of the famous race of Gamaliel. Hillel being sick, and at the point of death, intreated the neighbouring Bishop of Tiberias to come and administer baptism to him under pretence of physick. The Bishop came under the character of a physician, and as an useful remedy for his patient, got a bath prepared; and under the pretence of modesty, causing every body to retire. Thus the Patriarch was baptized, and received the holy mysteries. Joseph being at the gate, looking through a hole, saw and observed carefully all the mysteries that passed. He saw also the Patriarch give an handful of gold to the Bishop, saying, offer this for me: for it is written: That whatsoever the priests of GOD loose or bind on earth, shall be loosed or bound in heaven. When the gates were opened, those who were come to see the Patriarch, asked how he found himself after the bathing; who answered, that he was very well, understanding it in another sense. After two or three days, while the Bishop continued his visits as a physician, he died, leaving his son, who was very young, under the conduct of Joseph and another virtuous person. This son, called Judas, was Patriarch of the Jews; that dignity passing by succession from father to son; he during his non-age, he was intirely governed by his two tutors.

THERE was at Tiberias a chamber appointed to keep the treasure, which being sealed up, made Joseph suspect that it contained much riches; he ventured to open it in secret, but found nothing but books in it: to wit, the Gospel according to St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles; both translated from Greek into Hebrew, with the Gospel of St. Mathew in Hebrew, as he had originally wrote it. The reading of these books, and the remembrance of what passed at the baptism of the Patriarch, gave Joseph great uneasiness. In the mean time the young Patriarch Judas growing up, abandoned himself to debauchery, employing even magick to corrupt women. He attempted also a Christian's wife, who rendred his charms vain by the name of JESUS CHRIST, and the sign of the cross. This proof of the power of JESUS CHRIST affected Joseph still more, but did not perswade him to turn Christian as yet. Our SAVIOUR appeared to him in a dream, and said to him, I am JESUS whom thy fathers have crucified; believe in me. He did not yield as yet, but fell sick of a disease, wherein his life was dispaired of. Our SAVIOUR appeared to him again

again, bidding him believe and he should be healed. He promised to do so; but continuing still hardened, did not keep his word. He fell into another very dangerous sickness; and when he was thought to be dying, an old doctor of the Law came and whispered in his ear; believe in JESUS CHRIST crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Son of GOD, and afterwards born of Mary, who is the Christ of GOD, who rose again, and must come to judge the quick and the dead. St. Epiphanius, who relates this story, testifies that the Jews used to do so, and that he was informed by another, who was still a Jew, that being sick unto death, they had whispered into his ear: JESUS CHRIST crucified, the Son of GOD, will judge thee. It seems they used these words to cure diseases.

JOSEPH continued still hardened. CHRIST appeared to him again in a dream, and said, I cure thee, when thou art whole believe. He was indeed cured of this disease, but did not believe. CHRIST appeared to him in a dream when he was in health, and reproached him, saying: To convince thee; if thou wilt work any miracle in my name, I grant it to thee. There was at Tiberias a mad man, who went through the town naked, having torn his cloaths. Joseph willing to make proof of his vision, but still uncertain and ashamed, brought him to his house, and having shut the door, took water, over which he made the sign of the cross, and sprinkling the mad man with his hands, said; In the name of JESUS of Nazareth, who was crucified, go out of him, O Demon, and let him be cured. This man made a great noise, fell upon the ground, foamed, beat himself violently, then continued a long time immovable, upon which Joseph thought he had been dead. But an hour afterwards, he rose rubbing his face, and seeing his nakedness, covered himself with his hands, not being able to endure himself any longer in this condition. Joseph gave him cloaths, and he put them on; and returning to his senses, rendered thanks to GOD, and to him, seeing he was cured by his means. This miracle was known over all the city, and the Jews said: Joseph has opened the treasure, found the name of GOD written, and having read it, does great miracles. They said the same things of JESUS CHRIST, that he had done his miracles by the vertue of an ineffable name of GOD, which he had found in the temple. But Joseph continued still hardened.

The Patriarch Judas being come to man's estate, gave him, or rather confirmed to him, the office of Apostle, which was a place of profit among the Jews, as an acknowledgment. He sent him into Cilicia with his letters; where he arrived, and made the Jews of the province pay tenths and first fruits. In a certain city, being lodged near a Church: and having contracted friendship with the Bishop, he asked him for the Gospels, and read them secretly. His office of Apostle obliged him to depose and change many lesser officers, such as *αἱρετικοὶ ἡγούμενοι*, or chief of the synagogues, Priests, Elders, and Azanites; for thus were they called who had the place of Deacons and Ministers. Joseph willing to correct their faults and preserve discipline, drew upon himself the hatred of several, who, to be revenged, searched narrowly into his actions: So that rushing into his house suddenly, they surprised him reading the Gospel. They seized the book, and Joseph himself, dragging him along the ground, and abusing him with great noise; they brought him into the synagogue and whipped him; upon which the Bishop came in and took him out of their hands. Another time they met him upon a journey, threw him into the river Cydnus, which

which runs through Cilicia, and thought that they had drowned him, but he escaped, and was baptized a little after. He went to court, and was beloved by the Emperor Constantine, to whom he related the whole story. The Emperor honoured him with the dignity of Count, desiring him to ask what he pleased of him. All the favour that Joseph demanded was, to have churches built in the cities and boroughs of the Jews, where no body could ever build any, because there was neither Pagans nor Samaritans, nor Christians in those places. For they admitted no strangers among them at Tiberias, Diocæsaria, Sephoris, Nazaret and Capernaum.

JOSEPH having received this power with letters from the Emperor with the dignity of Count, came to Tiberias. His letters commissioned him to employ labourers at the Emperor's charge, and intitled him to a pension. He began to build first at Tiberias, making use of a great temple which he found there begun, but not compleated, it was called *Adrianum*, because it had been begun by the Emperor Adrian, probably with a design to consecrate it to **JESUS CHRIST**, as he had done several in all cities, as Lampridius informs us. That of Tiberias was already raised to some height, and built of square stones of four spans each, the citizens would have made a publick bath of it. Count Joseph having undertaken to make a Church of it, caused seven lime-kilns to be built without the city; but the Jews extinguished the fire by enchantment; so that the workmen complained to the Count that they could not make fire, although they used abundance of smallest wood. Upon this he runs thither immediately, and getting a copper vessel filled with water, he made the sign of the cross over it with his finger, in presence of a great multitude of Jews assembled, to see what he would do, saying, In the name of **JESUS** of Nazareth, whom my fathers and the fathers of those that stand by crucified, let this water have all the virtue necessary to render the charms which these have made ineffectual, by restoring to the fire its force to accomplish the house of the **LORD**. He took water in his hand, and as soon as he had sprinkled every furnace the charm vanished, and the flames began to rise before all the people, who cried out: There is but one **GOD** who aids the Christians; and then they went away. Joseph, because of their persecutions, contented himself to build a little church at Tiberias, in a part of Adrian's temple, and came and settled himself at Scythopolis. He also built and compleated churches at Diocæsarea and some other cities.

XXXVI.
New Churches at Rome
and in other
places.
Euseb. iii. c.
51.

Sup. lib. x.
n. 11.

CONSTANTINE caused churches to be built in several places, adorning the principal cities of every province. He raised one at his own expence, very large and magnificent at Nicomedia the capital of Bithynia, and the place of residence of the Emperors for many years. He built one more than ordinarily fine at Antioch, the capital of the East: the body of the church was very lofty, in the form of an Octogon, and its ornament so rich, that it was called the *Golden Church*: It was surrounded by several halls or chapels, with raised apartments, and some under ground, all inclosed by a large inclosure. At Rome he first built the Basilick, which from him has been always called *Constantinian*, otherwise the Church of our **SAVIOUR**; in the palace of the Empress Fausta his wife, formerly called the *House of Lateran*, where the council against the Donatists was held. And because he made a Baptisterion there also, and the Founts had the image of St. John the Baptist upon them, it is commonly called the Church of St. John Lateran: it is the principal church in Rome,

Rome, where the stations of the most remarkable festivals are kept, and where the Popes have resided for many years.

WE find by the ancient memorials of the Church of *Rome*, that Constantine gave to this Baptisterion thirteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-four golden pence yearly income in houses and lands, not only in Italy, but also in Sicily, Africa and Greece, which amounts to about * ten thousand four hundred and fifty pounds; for the golden penny at that time was worth † fifteen shillings of our money. He built seven other churches at Rome; that of St. Peter at the Vatican where the temple of Appollo stood, in honour of the place where the prince of the Apostles had suffered martyrdom, and was buried: That of St. Paul in the place of his martyrdom; and that of the holy cross in the house of Sessorius, which is called the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, because a portion of the true cross was placed therein; that of St. Agnes with a Baptisterion at the request of his daughter Constantia, and of his sister of the same name, who were baptised by St. Silvester: That of St. Laurence without the city, upon the way leading to the Tiber, being the place where this martyr was buried: That of the martyrs St. Marcellinus, and St. Peter in a place called *Between the two Laurels*, where St. Helena was buried; he gave also large presents to the Church which St. Silvester had built in the house of one of his Priests named Eupitius near the hot baths of Domitian. Constantine built still more churches in other places of Italy; one at Ostia in honour of the apostles St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John the Baptist; one at Alba in honour of St. John the Baptist; one at Capua in honour of the apostles, which was called Constantinian; and another at Naples. The revenues which he granted to all these Churches, amount in all to seventeen thousand seven hundred and seventeen golden pence, which †† is above thirteen thousand pounds of our money. They had also the value of a yearly income of above ** sixteen hundred pounds upon the spices which the land of Egypt and the East furnished them. I have only counted the prices which they now give, being certainly much less than they were at that time. The Church of St. Peter, for example, had houses at Antioch, and lands round about; at Tarsus in Cilicia, and at Tyre: It had also in Egypt near Alexandria in the province of Euphrates, and elsewhere. A part of these lands were appointed every year to furnish a certain quantity of Spikenard, Balm, Storax, Cinnamon, Saffron, and other precious druggs for the censers and lamps. I omit the vessels of gold and silver for the service of these churches, of which Anastasius gives a long account. Perhaps he confounded them with what had been given to them by other Emperors; but a more exact account of the immoveables should have been better kept. This may suffice to shew us with what royal generosity Constantine founded so many churches. He did not take all these gifts out of the publick treasure, but applied to this use the forfeited estates of martyrs and other Christians; which, when no heirs could be found to them, fell to the publick: as also the revenues of idolatrous temples which he destroyed, and prophane sports which he abolished. He took away the combating of gladiators in the East; at least prohibiting them from employing such

Anast. bib. in Silvestr.

Socr. l. c. 13.

l. 1.

Cod. Theod.

de Gladiat.

lib. 15. &

ibid. Gethofr.

* The French is Cent quinze mille livres de reme. † Huit livres cinq sols de notre monnoie. †† The French is Plus de cent quarante mille livres de notre monnoie. ** The French is Plus de vingt mille livres de reme.

as were condemned for their crimes, ordering that the *Præfetus Prætorii* should rather send them to labour in the mines. This law is dated on the first of October 325, at Berglus in Phœnicia.

XXXVII.
The conversion of the Pagans.
Sozom. ii.
c. 5.

Euseb. iv. vii.
c. 37, 38.

Euseb. ibid.
c. 39.

Socr. i. c. 18.
Chr. Pasch.
An. 327.

Sup. lib. x.
n. 58.

Sozom. ii.
c. 6.

Sup. lib. 7.
n. 58.

Sozom. ii.
c. 8.

Sup. n. 3.

Euseb. iv. hist.
c. 8, 9, & c.

Socr. i. c. 25.

XXXVIII.

The mission of
Frumentius.

Ruf. i. c. 9.

Am. Marc.

lib. 15. c. 4.

& ibid. Valef.

& Cedren.

An Const. 21.

ABUNDANCE of Pagans were converted, some by seeing into the vanity and emptiness of their ancient superstitions; and others in emulation of the Christians whom they saw honoured and cherished by the Emperor, conforming themselves to the inclination of their master. Others applying themselves to consider the Christian doctrine, being moved by miracles or dreams or by the conferences of Bishops and Monks, thought it better to be Christians. From thence forward cities and whole nations were converted, who destroyed their temples and idols of their own accord, and built churches in their places. The inhabitants of Majuma which was the sea-port of Gaza in Palestine, formerly very fond of their antient superstitions, became Christians all on a sudden; and the Emperor in return for their piety, erected it into a city, which it was not before, calling it Constantia, from the name of Constantius, the best beloved of his sons. For a like reason, he called a city of Phœnicia Constantine; and in honour of his mother called a little town of Bithynia, Helenople, which was formerly Drepanon: he raised it to a city, exempting it from taxes, in honour of the martyr St. Lucian of Antioch, whose relicks were there. Perhaps Eusebius of Nicomedia, who boasted that he was the disciple of St. Lucian, obtained this foundation.

THE Christian religion extended itself even beyond the Roman Empire. The nations bordering upon the Rhine, with the remotest parts of Gallia towards the ocean, were already Christians: also the Goths and other people near the Danube, which rude and barbarous nations were civilized and polished by religion: They began to be converted when they made invasions under the Emperor Gallienus, about sixty years before. The captive Bishops, by their virtue and miracles, had inspired them with the love of religion; and having instructed them, formed churches there. The Armenians received christianity long before; it is reported, that their prince Tiridates became a Christian, upon account of a miracle which happened in his house, and that he had ordered all his subjects to embrace the same religion. It extended itself into the neighbouring countries; and the trade of Osroksene and Armenia had carried it into Persia, where there were a great many churches. The Emperor Constantine was well informed of this; for which reason Sapor king of Persia having sent an embassy and presents to him, that he might enter into a treaty of alliance: he agreed to it, sending back magnificent presents. At the same time he wrote a long letter in favour of the Christians which were in his dominions, extolling the advantages of the true religion, and shewing the punishment of those that persecuted it, particularly of Valerian who was taken by the Persians, and he concludes with recommending the Christians to him.

CHRISTIANITY extended itself still farther. A philosopher named Me-trodotus, incited by the curiosity of seeing several countries, and knowing the world, went, as the antients say, even to the farthestmost India; but in fact it was but a part of Æthiopia. At his return, he presented pearls and precious stones to Constantine; and complained that Sapor king of Persia had taken more valuable things from him. After his example, another Tyrian philosopher called Meropius undertook the same journey, out of the same motive, and carried two young children with him, whom he instructed, they being his relations;

lations ; th youngest whereof was called Edefius, and the other Frumentius. The philosopher having satisfied his curiosity, prepared to return, and the vessel which carried him staid in the harbour to take in water, or something else that was necessary. The custom of these Barbarians was to kill all the Romans that they found among them. As soon as they were informed by their neighbours that the treaty with the Romans was broken ; they set upon the vessel, killed the philosophers, and all the rest of the people. The children were found studying under a tree, and preparing their lessons ; the Barbarians pitied them, and brought them to their king. He made Edefius his cup-bearer ; and thinking that he saw in Frumentius more wit and conduct, he trusted his writings and accounts to him. From that time they were much honoured and beloved by this king, who when he died, leaving the kingdom to his wife, with one son as yet a child ; he granted these two young men the liberty of doing what they pleased : But the queen who had no body more faithful in all her kingdom, earnestly begged of them to partake in the care of the kingdom with her, till her son was at age ; especially Frumentius, who was a man of profound wisdom ; for the other shewed only fidelity and moderation.

THUS Frumentius having the government of the state, GOD inspired him to search diligently, if any Christians were among the Romans, who came to trade there : to give them great power, exhorting them to make houses for assembling, and to use publick prayers after the manner of the Romans. He himself shewed them examples, and by his favours and goodness drew them to imitate him : He gave them places to build in, and other necessary things, being very earnest to plant Christianity, and make it flourish there. The young king being come to age, Edefius and Frumentius rendered a faithful account of their administration, returning into their country, notwithstanding the intreaties and endeavours that were made by the king and queen, to keep them. Edefius hastened to Tyre to visit his parents ; but Frumentius took the way to Alexandria, saying, that it was not reasonable to hide the work of GOD. He related to St. Athanasius who was Bishop of that place, all that had passed, exhorting him to chuse a worthy Bishop, and send him to this great number of Christians already assembled, and to the churches built in the land of the Barbarians. St. Athanasius attentively considering the discourse and actions of Frumentius in an assembly of Bishops, said as Pharaoh did to Joseph : And what other man but you who has the spirit of GOD, and who can do so great things ? Then having ordained him Bishop, he commanded him to return with the grace of GOD to the place from whence he came. It was at Auxuma in Æthiopia where Frumentius wrought miracles like the apostles, and converted an infinite number of Barbarians. Rufinus, who relates this story, had heard it from Edefius's own mouth, who was afterwards ordained Priest at Tyre in his own country. The whole Church honours the memory of St. Frumentius ; the Latins on the twenty-seventh of October, the Greeks on the thirtieth of November ; and the Abyssines acknowledged him still for their apostle.

Gen. xli. 38.

Inf. lib. xiii.
n. 25.

Holston. not.
ad Martyr.
Rom. p. 313.

THE conversion of the Iberians, neighbouring people to the Pontus Euxinus, was not less wonderful. A Christian woman who was prisoner there, drew their admiration by the purity of her life, her sobriety, her fidelity, and fervency in prayer, which made her watch whole nights. The Barbarians astonished, demanded of her what was the meaning of it ; to whom she plainly declared,

XXXIX.

The conversion of the Iberians.
Ruf. i. c. 10.

declared, that it was thus that she served CHRIST her GOD. This name was intirely new to them; but her perseverance stirred up the natural curiosity of women, to know if this great zeal for religion was of any use. It was a custom amongst them, when any child was sick, for the mother to carry it to every house, to inform herself if any body knew a remedy. A woman having carried her child every where in vain, at last came to this captive also, who told her that she knew of no humane cure; but her GOD JESUS CHRIST whom she adored, could restore health to the sick, let their disease be ever so desperate. Then having laid the child upon a piece of sack-cloth which was her bed, and praying over it, she restored it to the mother cured. The noise of this miracle spread abroad, and reached the queen's ears, who was grievously afflicted with violent pains. She desires that the captive may be brought to her, who refuses to go, lest she should seem to have too great an opinion of herself, and transgress the decency belonging to her sex: Upon which the queen caused herself to be carried to the captive's cell, who placed her upon the sack-cloth, and having invoked the name of JESUS CHRIST, the queen arose in perfect health; she informed her that it was JESUS CHRIST GOD, and the Son of the sovereign GOD who had cured her, exhorting her to call upon him, saying, that it is he who gives power to kings and life to all men.

THE queen returned home full of joy; and the king asked by whom she had been cured so suddenly; and being informed, he commanded that presents should be carried to the captive: But the queen said to him: My lord, she despises all that; she will neither accept of gold nor silver, fasting is her food; the only recompence which we can give her is to adore JESUS CHRIST, that GOD whom she invoked to cure me. The king delayed at that time, and neglected being converted, although his wife often pressed him to it: But one day while he was hunting in the woods, so thick a darkness overtook them though in the day time, that all his train was scattered, and he remained alone bewildered, not knowing which way to turn himself. In this confusion it came into his mind, that if CHRIST, concerning whom the captive had spoken to his wife, should deliver him from that darkness, he would leave all other gods and adore Him. As soon as he had made this vow in his mind, without pronouncing a word, the light returned, and he arrived safe at home. He related the matter to the queen; the captive is immediately sent for, to whom he declares that he will no more honour any other god but JESUS CHRIST, and enquires of her the way to serve him; she explains it as far as she is capable, requires a church to be built, and described the form of it.

THE king assembling the people, relates what had happened to him and the queen, instructing them as far as he could in the Christian religion; the queen for her part instructs the women; and they hastened to build a Church by the common consent. The walls were already raised, and it was now time to set up the columns. The first and second were fixed; but when they came to the third, after having raised it up, they could do no more, whatever force of men and oxen, or machines they applied. They often endeavoured, but could not stir it: they knew not what farther to do; and the king began to be discouraged. In the evening, when every body retired, the captive remained alone in the building, and spent the night in prayer. The king being uneasy, came early in the morning with his people, and saw the column fixed up perpendicularly on the base, but at a foot distance; so that it hung in the air.

air. All the people began to praise God, saying, that the religion of the captive was true; and before their eyes the pillar descends insensibly upon the base, without being touched; the rest were so easily placed, that they made an end of them that very day. The church being built, as the people ardently desired to be instructed in the faith, by the captive's advice, and the consent of the whole nation, an embassy was dispatched to the Emperor Constantine. They laid the matter before him, and intreated him to send Bishops to compleat the work of God. He sent them back honourably, and was more joyful for this conversion than for a great conquest. Rufinus, who was likewise the author of this, says, that he was informed of it at Jerusalem by Bacurius, a very pious and sincere man, who after having been king of this nation, came amongst the Romans, and was made Count of the household, and Duke of the territories of Palestine, in the time of Theodosius the Emperor.

Socr. i. c. 11.
V. Vales. ad
Amm. Mar-
cellin. lib. 31.
c. 12.

AFTER the death of St. Helena, the Emperor Constantine shewed a particular kindness to his sister Constantia, the widow of Licinius, that they might the more easily bear the loss of their common mother. Constantia put much confidence in a Priest, who secretly favoured the party of Arius. It was long before he spoke to her of it; but as soon as he found himself received into her more intimate friendship, he began by degrees to insinuate to her that Arius had unjustly been rendered odious, and that his Bishop being jealous of the people's affection towards him, had expressed his particular resentment against him. He repeated so often such discourses, that he gained over Constantia: She fell sick of a distemper of which she died; and in the visits which the Emperor her brother made to comfort her and talk of piety, it is said, that she asked him as the last request, to put confidence in this Priest, and to hear what he should advise for his salvation: For my part, said she, being ready to go out of the world, I have no more interest in view; but I dread for you, lest the sufferings of banished innocents draw destruction upon your state. Constantine being persuaded of the good intention of his sister, and the affection which she bore him, gave free access to this Priest, put confidence in him, and after having heard him, believed that Arius was wronged, and so recalled him from his banishment. He recalled likewise Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Maris and Theognis, after they had sent a recantation in writing to the chief Bishops in these terms: Having been condemned by your piety, without knowing the cause, we ought to suffer your sentence patiently; but lest we, by our silence, should give occasion to calumny, we declare, that we agree in the faith; and that having examined the sense of the word *Consubstantial*, we are intirely bent on peace, never having followed heresy: But after having represented what we thought necessary for the tranquillity of the Church, and persuaded those whom it is our duty to satisfy, we have subscribed the profession of faith: It is true we have not subscribed the anathema, not that we found any thing to say against the profession of faith, but because we did not believe that the accused person was such as ye took him to be, being assured of the contrary, both by letters which he wrote to us, and by what he told us from his own mouth; but if your sacred council has thought him guilty, we shall not oppose our judgment, but acquiesce, and assure you of our consent by this writing. Not that banishment is uneasy to us, but to purge our selves from all suspicion of heresy: For if you will admit us into your presence, you shall find us intirely subject to your determination; moreover, since you have been

XL.
Arius and
Eusebius of
Nicomedia
are recalled.
Ruf. i. c. 11.
Sozom. ii.
c. 27.
Socr. i. c. 25.

Socr. i. c. 14.
Sozom. ii.
c. 16. & ibid.
Vales. Pagi
An. 327.
n. 14.

so indulgent to the accused person, as even to recall him; it would be strange if we should render ourselves suspected by silence; whilst he who seemed guilty is recalled and justified. Shew then that goodness which is worthy of you, by speaking to the Emperor, and putting this request into his hands; and resolve as soon as possible, what you think proper to do for us. Such was the recantation of Eusebius and Theognis, wherein appears the distinction of right and fact; that is to say, of the faith and the anathema against these persons. The accused, whom they name not, is Arius, and we find, that he had been already recalled, after having satisfied the Bishops; without doubt by some such equivocal recantation as he made afterwards. Eusebius and Theognis were then recalled, after three years banishment, viz. the year 328. They entered again into their Churches, and put out those that had been established in their stead; Amphion at Nicomedia and Crestus at Nice.

Philostorg.
II. c. 7.

Socr. ibid.
c. 14.

Athan. Apol.
p. 777.
D. Athan.
Apol. p. 778.

ALTHOUGH Arius was returned from his banishment, St. Athanasius would not receive him, nor allow him to enter again into Alexandria; upon which account the Arians looked upon him as an inveterate enemy, and resolved to destroy him. Eusebius of Nicomedia, wrote to the Meletians in Egypt, gained them by great promises, and entered into secret agreements with them, obliging himself to give them notice when it was the time to act. In the mean time he began by writing to St. Athanasius, and exhorting him to receive Arius; he intreated him in letters, and made use of verbal threatnings: but St. Athanasius answered, that it was not just to receive Hereticks anathematized by an ecumenical council. Eusebius got the Emperor to write to him of it; the letter was carried by two officers of the palace, Syncletius and Gaudentius; and contained these words amongst others; Being then informed of my will, leave the entry of the church free to all such as have a mind to come into it; for if I am informed that you refuse any one who desires it, I shall send immediately to depose you; nay, even to banish you. St. Athanasius, without being astonished at these threatnings, wrote to the Emperor, and let him know that a heresy which attacks JESUS CHRIST, cannot enter into communion with the Catholick Church.

XLI.
St. Anthony
comes to Alex-
andria.
Sup. Lib. ix.
II. 37. Vita
Ant. c. 24.
p. 491. E.

Rom. i. 35.

It is probable, that to strengthen the Catholicks, he made St. Anthony come to Alexandria, who had not appeared there since the persecution of Maximin. It is certain, that this holy Abbot, at the intreaty of the Bishops, and all the faithful came down from the mountain, and entering into Alexandria, excommunicated the Arians, saying, that it was one of the last Heresies, which was to precede antichrist: He taught the people that the Son of GOD is not a created being, nor made of any thing; but eternal, of the substance of his Father, his Word, and his Wisdom. Have then, said he, no communication with the wicked Arians. Ye are Christians; they who say that the Son of God is a creature, differing in nothing from the Pagans, adoring the creature instead of the Creator. All the people rejoiced to hear him anathematize the heresy; they ran in crouds to see him: here the Pagans and their Priests came to Church, saying, we desire to see the Man of GOD; for thus they all called him; and by his prayers GOD delivered many that were possessed, and cured several mad persons. Several men of the Pagans desired to touch him, believing that even in that they found comfort: and in those

those few days, he made more Christians than could have been made in a year. Some thinking the croud troublesome to him, would have made every body withdraw: but he said to them, without being moved, they are not more numerous than the devils with whom we fight upon the mountain. As he returned from them, accompanied by several persons, and by St. Athanasius himself, when they were at the gate of the town, a woman cried after him: stay, man of God, my daughter is cruelly tormented by the devil; stay, I intreat you, lest I kill my self with running. Then they intreated him to stay, which he willingly did; and when the woman came near, her daughter threw herself upon the Ground: but Anthony having prayed, and named JESUS CHRIST, the devil went out, and her Daughter rose up cured: the mother praised God; all the people rendered thanks to him, and Anthony departed joyfully, returning to the Mountain as to his own house.

Two Pagan philosophers went one day to find him there: he advanced, C. 25. and speaking to them by an interpreter, said to them, why do you weary yourselves so much to seek after a mad man. They answered, that they believed he was very wise. And he added; if you come to seek a mad man, your labour is vain; and if you think me wise, become such as I am; for if I went to seek after you, I should imitate you; but I am a Christian: upon this, they went away astonished. Others coming to find him upon a distant mountain, and thinking to mock him, because he was not a Scholar: he said to them, What think ye? Which is to be preferred, good sense or learning? Which is the cause of the other? good sense, say they, is the chief, and from it learning proceeds. Then, replied Anthony, learning is not necessary to him who has good sense. They went away surprized at the wisdom of this ignorant man; for though he had grown old upon the mountain, he was not brutish, but agreeable and civil; and his discourses were seasoned with divine Salt. Another time he confounded other Philosophers, showing in a long discourse the excellency of the Christian Religion, and how absurd that idolatry was, which they professed.

EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, seeing the constancy of St. Athanasius, in XLII. rejecting Arius, wrote to the Meletians, that it was time to put their design Columns a- in execution, and to find out pretences to accuse St. Athanasius. After gainst St. A- having searched long for them in vain, they accused him of conspiring with Athan. ibid. the Eusebians, and of having imposed upon the Egyptians, to find tunicks of P. 778. C. linen for the church of Alexandria, and to have begun to exact them of Socr. l. c. 27. them. The Emperor was at Nicomedia, when this complaint was carried to Cong. gloss. him by three of the chief Meletians, Ifion, Eudemon, and Calinicus, whose gr. Stich- names are found in the state of the Meletian Bishops, which Meletius gave to rion. Ap. Ath. ibid. St. Alexander. Two priests of the church of Alexandria, Apis and Maca- p. 789. rius, were ready prepared at Nicomedia, to justify their Bishop; so that the Emperor wrote into Egypt, condemning Ifion, and ordering St. Athanasius to appear before him. Eusebius detained the Meletians at court; and as soon as St. Athanasius was arrived there, they proposed two new accusations, one against Macarius the priest, for breaking a Chalice; the other against St. Athanasius, which was a state crime; alledging, that he had sent a purse of gold to a rebel, called Philumena. Constantine examined these accusations Theod. l. c. 26. at Psamathia, near Nicomedia; and having found the innocence of St. Athanasius,

Ap. Athan. P. 779. *nasius, he sent him back with a letter addressed to the Catholick people of Alexandria; wherein after deploring the malice of those who trouble and divide the Church, to satisfy their jealousy and ambition; he adds, the wicked could have no power over your Bishop. Believe me, my brethren, all their application is loss of time, and they put themselves out of a condition of repenting in this life. And afterwards: I received with joy Athanasius your Bishop; I spoke to him as to a man of God; and I charged him to salute you from me. Macarius the priest was also justified before the Emperor.*

XLIII. *The deposing of St. Eustathius of Antioch.* Athan. ad Sol. p. 812. Hier. Ep. 84. Chrysost. Hom. 52. in Eustath. Socr. i. c. 23. Sozom. ii. c. 18. *ANOTHER great enemy of the Arians, was Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, the first church next to Alexandria, and the third in the world: he was a learned and eloquent confessor, and combated heresy by several pieces which he wrote. His strictness hindered him from admitting several suspected persons into the Clergy; a great part of whom were afterward made Bishops by the Interest of the Arians: as Stephen, Leontius the Eunuch, and Eudoxius then Bishop of Germania, who were all three Bishops of Antioch, one after the other; George of Laodicea, Theodosius of Tripoli, and Eustathius of Sebasta. St. Eustathius of Antioch, did not confine himself to preserve his own Church only: he sent into others, men capable of instructing and encouraging the faithful. He attacked in particular Eusebius of Cæsarea, and accused him of altering the Nicene Creed: Eusebius maintained, that he had not departed from it; but that Eustathius introduced Sabellianism: For this was a common reproach of those who loved not the word *Consubstantial*. They accused those who received it of favouring the Errors of Sabellius and Montanus; not that Montanus himself had advanced any thing against the Trinity; but some of his disciples denied, like Sabellius, the distinction of persons, and said that the same Person, was Father, Son and Holy Ghost. St. Eustathius was no less an enemy to Paulinus of Tyre and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, who by their authority drew the greatest part of the Eastern Bishops after them.*

Theod. i. Hist. c. 21. *THE Arians being then resolved to destroy him: Eusebius of Nicomedia, pretended a great desire of seeing Jerusalem, and in particular the magnificent Church, which the Emperor caused to be built there. He flattered him so artfully under this pretence, that he set out from Nicomedia in great state; the Emperor furnishing carriages, and all the charges of the journey. Theognis of Nice, his confident, set out with him. Being arrived at Antioch, they veiled themselves with the mask of friendship, and received from St. Eustathius all manner of good treatment, and all the marks of brotherly charity. When they arrived at the holy place, they met those who were of their opinion, viz. Eusebius of Cæsaria, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aëtius of Lydda, Theodotus of Laodicea, and the rest of the Arians: They discovered their design to them, and returned with them to Antioch; for all those accompanied them at their return, under pretence of doing them honour. All these Bishops being assembled at Antioch, held a council; at which Eustathius, and several Catholick Bishops assisted, who knew nothing of the plot. When every body was turned out, the Arians caused a debauched woman to come in, whom they had appointed; and who shewing a child at her breast, which she suckled, said that she had it by the Bishop Eustathius, crying out impudently. Eustathius asked her to produce some Witness; she said she had none; but the judges tendred her the oath. She swore that she had*
the

the Child by Eustathius; and he, as one convicted, was condemned by the plurality of voices. The Bishops who were not in the plot, exclaimed openly against the sentence, and ordered Eustathius not to submit to it. They represented, that it was contrary to all rule; seeing the law of God says *Deut. xix. 15.* expressly, that in order to a proof, there must be two or three witnesses; and St. Paul forbids to receive an accusation against * a Priest otherwise. *Never- 1 Tim. v. 19.* theless Eustathius remained condemned and deposed; only they did not publish the cause. They whispered abroad that he had been charged with a shameful *Socr. i. c. 24.* crime: to which they joined the general reproach of Sabellianism. In St. *Sozom. ii. c. 19.* Eustathius's room, they designed to put Eusebius of Cæsarea, and to translate him to Antioch: His reputation was great, and even the Emperor esteemed him. *Euseb. iii. vit. c. 62.* The council then wrote about it to the Emperor, testifying that they desired this change, and that the people consented to it. But this was indeed only one part of them; the other kept constant to Eustathius, and would have kept him with them. This division of the people came even to a sedition; *Ibid. c. 59.* and was near destroying the city of Antioch; for every body shared in it, *Theod. i. c. 21.* even the magistrates and the soldiers; they would have come to fighting, if the Emperor had not interposed his authority. Eusebius and Theognis returned quickly to him, leaving the other Bishops assembled at Antioch. They *Chrysost. in Euseb.* persuaded the Emperor that Eustathius was guilty not only of the crime for which he was accused; but of having formerly done an injury to St. Helena his mother, and of acting tyrannically; for they threw the odium of sedition upon him. The Emperor sent to Antioch, to quiet the people, one of his most faithful Servants, who had the title of Count; and wrote letters after letters, exhorting them to peace. He caused Eustathius to be sent to him, who assembled the people before his departure, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in the true doctrine; which exhortations were of great weight, as will appear by the consequence. The Emperor having heard him, did not cease to *Pagi, an. 340. n. 10.* believe their calumnies, and banished him into Thrace, and from thence into *Sozom. i. c. 19.* Illirium: several Priests and Deacons were banished with him. It is thought, *Theod. i. c. 21.* that one of the Priests then banished, was Paul Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Emperor Constantine sent into Pontus. St. Eustathius thought it best to bear this persecution quietly, and we do not find that he made any endeavour to re-establish himself. He died in banishment at Philippi in Macedonia, and was buried in Trajanople in Thrace. The wicked woman, who *Hier. de script. 87.* had accused him, falling into a long and troublesome distemper, declared the whole imposture to several Bishops, and acknowledged that they had engaged her in this calumny by money: but that she did not believe that her oath was entirely false, because she had had this child by a Brasier called Eustathius.

IN the mean time Eusebius of Cæsaria did not think proper to accept of the translation from his own Church to that of Antioch; either out of his zeal of discipline, as the Emperor believed, or for fear of the Catholick people of Antioch, who would not acknowledge any other Bishop but St. Eustathius. Eusebius therefore wrote to the Emperor, and the Emperor answered him by a letter, which Eusebius has taken great care to hand down to us. The Emperor praised him for his constancy in observing the Canons, and Apostolical *Euseb. iii. vit. c. 62.* Traditions; and made him a compliment, that almost every body thought him

* In our version, an Elder, &c.

Ibid. c. 60. him worthy to govern the Church. The Emperor wrote at the same time to the people of Antioch, to prevent them from electing Eusebius. I knew, says he, his doctrine and his modesty long since, and I commend the good opinion you have of him; but we must not for that reason overthrow what has been wisely established, nor deprive others of what belongs to them. What you have done is not keeping in a Bishop, it is taking him away; there is nothing but violence in such a proceeding, and not justice; it is an occasion of sedition. At last, he exhorts them to preserve peace, seeing what might occasion corruption was taken away from amongst them. By which he seems to point at the calumny against Eustathius, unto which he had given credit.

Ibid. c. 62. EUSEBIUS tells us of a third letter from the Emperor addressed to Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Aëtius, Alphes, and other Bishops who were at Antioch; it is probable, that if Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis had been there, they had been mentioned. In this letter Constantine intimates, that he was informed of every thing, as well by letters from the Bishops, as from Acacius, and Strategius. It is thought that Acacius was lord of the East, whose residence was at Antioch; and that Strategius, otherwise Mansoniæus, was a lord, whom the Emperor sent on purpose to appease the sedition. The letters of Eusebius, says he, appear to me intirely conformable to the laws of the church: but I must likewise tell you my advice. I am informed, that Euphronius the Priest, a citizen of Cæsarea in Capadocia, and George of Arethusa, a Priest also, ordained by Alexander of Alexandria, are very zealous for the faith: you may propose them with others, whom you shall think worthy of the episcopal Dignity, to decide the matter according to Apostolick Tradition: this proposal of the Emperor could not fail to be of great weight. Thus were they both made Bishops, George at Laodicea, and Euphronius at Antioch; but after some interval: For at first they placed Paulinus of Tyre there, who died six months after, and Eulalius succeeded him; it was the year 328, or thereabouts. Eulalius continued only three months, and Euphronius succeeded him, who, after a year and some months, died also. The short continuance of these three Bishops, is the reason that historians do not reckon them all, or place them differently. At length Placillus, or Flacillus was ordained Bishop of Antioch, about the year 331, and possessed that see twelve years. All these Bishops were of the Arian party; and in the mean time the Catholick people whom they called the Eustathians, kept their assemblies separately.

Athan. ad Sol. p. 812. D. THE Arians also drove out two other holy Bishops, Asclepas of Gaza and Eutropius of Adrianople. Asclepas was accused of erroneous doctrine, and Quintian was put in his place. Eutropius frequently reprov'd Eusebius of Nicomedia, and advised those who pass'd by to Andrinople not to believe his impious discourses. They made use against him of the resentment of Basilina the wife of Julius Constantius, and the mother of Julian the apostate; for Eusebius was related to this princess, and she hated Eutropius.

XLIV. CONSTANTINE tendered himself odious to the senate and the idolatrous people of Rome, which was still the greatest number, by slighting idolatry. He began by divinations, which were a considerable part of it. While he was at Rome there happened a feast; at which, according to custom, he was obliged to go up into the capitol with all his court: but he openly mocked this

Valef. ad Euseb. hic.

Pagi, an. 240. n. 30. Philost. iii. c. 13. Theod. 1. c. 12.

Athan. ad Sol. p. 812. D. Id. Apolog. p. 766. A. Id. p. 812. D.

The founding of Constanti- nople. Zof. lib. 2. p. 685, 686.

this ceremony. The Pagans endeavoured to revenge themselves by opprobrious language: Upon which he conceived an aversion to Rome, and resolved to build a city which should rival it, and there establish his residence. Dio-Lact. de mort. c. Sozom. ii. hist. c. 3. Constantine was inclined at first to build near ancient Troy; he laid the foundations there, and began to raise the walls; but he altered his resolution, and being arrived at Byzantium, he was affected with the wonderful situation of it, viz. upon little hills which advance into the streights where the Propontis and Euxine sea meet, and likewise on the two continents Europe and Asia. He pitched upon this place, and here built the great city which still bears his name.

THE ancient Byzantium had been built by Byzas king of Thrace, in the Chron. Euf. third year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that is to say ninety-nine years from the foundation of Rome, and in the fifty-fifth year of Manasses king of Juda. Chalcedon, which is opposite on the Asian side, had been built eighteen years before, and in the second year of the twenty sixth Olympiad. Byzantium, as well as other Greek towns, preserved its liberty under the Romans; the people lived according to their ancient laws; and it was esteemed as the metropolitan city. But the Emperor Severus having taken it from the party of Pescennius Niger, degraded and destroyed it, and reduced it to a simple town depending upon Perinthus, otherwise called Heraclea, to which it remained always subject; so that the Bishop of Byzantium acknowledged him of Heraclea for his metropolitan. Constantine took it from Licinius; and it is said by some that he rebuilt it as a monument of his victory.

IN truth he began to set about it a little after, and it was solemnly dedicated on Monday the eleventh of May, in the year 330; this was 1080 years after the foundation of Rome; and consequently 981 years after the foundation of Byzantium. This new town was called in Greek, which was the language of the country, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, which signifies the City of Constantine. It Socr. i. hist. c. 12. was likewise called New Rome. The dedication of it was celebrated yearly as a festival, with solemn games. The circumference of the new walls was fifteen stadia, a stadium being about three quarters of a league; but it was enlarged by the following Emperors. Constantine drew new inhabitants to that place from Ancient Rome, and from the provinces, and bestowed large revenues upon it, both for the support of the buildings and entertainment of the citizens. He therein appointed a senate, with magistrates, and the several orders of people like those at Rome, whose laws were observed there, and New Rome enjoyed all the privileges of the Old. Id. vii. c. 9. It was also divided into fourteen parts, and adorned with the same kind of publick buildings, the temples only excepted. Several places were surrounded with covered galleries. The chief V. Cong. Const. Christ. of these places bore the name of Constantine, whose statue was placed in the middle, upon a column of Porphyry. There were two palaces for the Emperor; and before the largest a Circus or Hyppodrome for the horse-races, with barriers for the foot-races, and an amphitheatre for the combats of beasts, together with theatres for other shews: many portico's or galleries for walking, baths, aqueducts, and a great number of fountains: Also a capitol, where the professors of the arts and sciences had their auditors; a *prætorium*, and many other courts of different jurisdictions, together with Basilicks, where they assembled for business: Publick granaries which contained different kinds of bread for the three sorts of people, viz. the officers of the palace, the soldiers, and

and citizens ; for Constantine granted to all those who built in his city a certain quantity of bread for them and their families for ever.

XLV. *The churches of Constanti-* **BUT** the churches were the most considerable of any thing at Constanti-
nople. **Constantine** banished idolatry out of them ; and either destroyed
Euseb. iii. vit. c. 48. their temples, or consecrated them to **GOD** ; he allowed no altars to burn sa-
Ibid. c. 54. crifice upon, nor left any idols, unless as ornaments in profane places. He also
Zoz. ii. p. 687. ordered those that were most famous in every province to be brought ; and ex-
posed to the publick derision those which had been kept in temples with great
veneration. On one side was placed **Apollo Pythius** ; on the other **Smintheus**
in the circus, with the **Tripod of Delphos**, so famous for oracles, and the
Muses of Helicon in the palace. **Constantinople** abounded with these, where
also was to be seen **Rhea** mother of the gods, brought from **Mount Dindimus**
near **Cyzicus**, being placed there, as was reported, by the **Argonauts** ; but
Constantine disfigured her statue, by taking away the lyons and altering the
posture of her hands, so that she appeared a suppliant.

THE principal church was dedicated to the eternal Wisdom, and from
Cedren. Euf. iv. vit. c. 38, & ib. Valef. thence still preserves the name of **St. Sophia**. One of them was built in ho-
nour of the **Apostles**, in the form of a cross, and of a wonderful height ;
within, it was lined with marble of various colours from the floor to the roof,
which was overlaid with a gilded ceiling ; it was covered above with copper
instead of tiles, and gilded in several places, so that it reflected the rays of the
sun at a great distance ; the dome was surrounded with bannisters of copper
and gold : This church was in the midst of a large square court, called the
Four Galleries, together with basilicks or large halls, baths, chambers, and se-
Euf. ibid. 69. veral apartments for those who took care of the place. **Constantine** designed
it for a burying-place, and caused his own tomb to be placed there in the midst
of twelve others, six on each side, which he had raised to the memory of the
Apostles. He did this out of a motive of faith, that he might partake after
his death of the prayers there celebrated in honour of the **Apostles**, being per-
suaded of the benefit which would redound to his soul from them : For so **Eu-**
sebius of Cæsarea relates of him.

CONSTANTINE built another church at **Constantinople**, dedicated to **St.**
Socr. i. c. 16, ii. c. 6, and 16. **Irene**, and joining to that of **St. Sophia** ; if it be not the same under these
two different names, of **Wisdom** and **Peace**. Many others are ascribed to him,
particularly that of **St. Euphemia** near the circus, and that of **St. Mocius**,
where the temple of **Hercules** stood ; one of **St. Procopius** ; one of **St. Aca-**
sius ; one to **St. Agathonicus**, and one to **St. Diomedes** without the city, at a
place called **Hebdomon**, because it is at seven miles distance : Another church
to **John the Evangelist**, in a place called **Anaplus**, upon the bank of the sea to-
Sozom. ii. c. 3. wards **Europe** ; and one in honour of **St. Michael the Arch-angel** ; since ce-
Euseb. iii. vit. c. 49. lebrated for many miracles. **Constantine** placed other marks of his religion in
this city besides churches. Upon the fountains, in the middle of the market-
places, was seen the image of the good shepherd ; and **Daniel** among the ly-
ons of gilded metal. In the principal chamber of his palace, in the middle
was placed on high a large picture, containing a cross of precious stones set in
gold. At the entry, upon another picture, he was placed with his children,
Ibid. c. 3. bearing the cross upon his head, and having under his feet a dragon pierced by
a dart through the middle of the belly, and thrown down into the sea.

BOOKS were wanting for the use of the new churches at Constantinople; ^{Ap. Eul. iv. vit. c. 58.} and upon this account the Emperor addresses himself to Eusebius of Cæsarea, writing him a letter; in which he takes notice, that a great multitude being converted to the faith in that new city, he thought it proper to build several churches; and charges him to get fifty copies of the holy Scriptures written upon fine parchment by the best hands, easy to be read and portable, correctly and finely written. I have written, added he, to the treasurer of the province who will furnish all necessary charges: you must take care that these copies be quickly done; and by virtue of this letter send me them in the publick stage-waggon by one of the Deacons of your church. Eusebius quickly obeyed this order, and sent the Emperor these copies in covers, containing two or three leaves, and magnificently adorned: Besides, he had a reason for addressing himself to Eusebius rather than any other, that he might have correct copies, he being a very learned man, and inheriting the library of Pamphilus the martyr.

EUSEBIUS had published his Ecclesiastical history not long before; it is the oldest that we have remaining, and begins at the coming of our SAVIOUR and the publishing of the Gospel, and continues even to the end of the persecutions and the defeat of Licinius. All this work is divided into ten books, and is made more valuable by several passages drawn from antient authors, which remain no where else. It is thought that he took occasion to publish this work upon the solemnity of the twentieth year of Constantine's reign. His chronicle ends also at that time, viz. in the year 327, containing tables of ^{Pagi, An. 326, n. 126} universal history, for every year since the beginning of the world, which are the only foundation that we have left us for the study of chronology.

THE Emperor thinking that he had put an end to the disputes of the A- ^{XLVI.} rians, made a law against other hereticks, namely the Novatians, the Valenti- ^{Laws against the hereticks.} nians, the Marcionites, the Paulianists, and the Cataphrygians or Montanists; ^{The Circum-} by which he forbids their assembling for religious exercises, either in the pub- ^{cellians.} lick places of which they were in possession, or in their own houses, order- ^{Eul. iii. c. 64.} ing their places of assembling to be taken from them and given to the Catho- ^{A. D. 330.} lick Church, or forfeited to the state. He ordered their books also to be ^{Ibid. c. 65.} searched, and discovered by that that several of them applied themselves to evil ^{Ibid. c. 66.} practices. The chief of them fled, and a great number of their followers returned to the church; some of them of weak faith, dissembling for a time, and others sincerely. The Bishops were careful in taking notice of them, rejecting the hypocrites, and not receiving others till after long trials. Thus they treated the hereticks; but they received without difficulty those who were only schismatics, as soon as they returned to the Church. This law does ^{Sozom. ii. c. 39.} not name the Arians, because they had not yet formed a separate body, and contented themselves with disputing upon their doctrine in private; but however assembling in the churches with the Catholics. The old hereticks before-mentioned were for the most part destroyed by this law; so that the very memory of them was soon abolished. Under the pagan Emperor's they had the same liberty as the Catholics, both to assemble and teach their opinions; for the Pagans made no difference, despising and persecuting without distinction, all who bore the name of Christians; but after this law of Constantine, they durst not assemble either publicly or privately, being every where observed by the Bishops and the Clergy: So these who persisted in their opinions died

Anno 330. without leaving successors in their doctrine ; for the greatest part of these sects were but few in number, because of the absurdity of their opinions, or the bad morals of their authors. The seeming virtue of the Novatians supported them longer ; and there likewise remained Montanists in Phrygia, where that sect first began.

L. 7. Cod.
Theod. de
episcop.
lib. 16. & ib.
Gothofr.

Hier. in
chron.

Optat. l. 3.

At this time the Donatists began to declare themselves more openly ; and it is thought that they gave rise to a law addressed to Valentine, a person of consular dignity in Numidia, on the fifth of February, in the year 330, by which Constantine ordains that the Lecturers, the Sub-deacons, and other Clerks, who, by the malice of the hereticks, had been obliged to bear the publick offices of cities, should be exempted from them and enjoy the same freedom with those in the East. The hereticks not being able to dispute this exemption with the Bishops and Priests, contested with the inferior Clergy. The beginning of Donatus pretended Bishop of Carthage is said to have been in the year 329 ; he was bolder than his predecessors, impudently calling them My party : he despised governours, and seemed to acknowledge no superiour upon earth. About the same time, as is thought, the Circumcelliones began amongst the Donatists, who were so called from the cells or rural hutts where they sheltered themselves when they went to seek for provisions. These were companies of disorderly people, who went armed through towns and markets, calling themselves the Defenders of Justice, setting slaves at liberty, discharging debtors, and threatening with death such creditors as would not discharge them. There was no safety upon the high way ; they forced masters to descend from their chariots and run before their slaves, whom they put up in their places ; no body was safe in his house. The two most noted were Maxida and Fafir, who took the spacious title of Chief of the Saints. Their own Bishops were obliged to leave them, and to write to Count Taurinus that it was not in their power to correct them, and to desire that he would take care to suppress them himself. He sent soldiers against them to a place called Octavenfis, where several of them were killed, whom the Donatists honoured afterwards as martyrs. They likewise honoured some of those who threw themselves down precipices, or killed themselves after another manner through madness ; and this their sectaries called Zeal for Religion : And in the time of the idolaters, some of these mad men caused themselves to be killed by them.

l. 2. Theod.
Theod. de
Jud. l. 16.
lib. 4. ibid.

In the same year 330, a law was made in favour of the Jews, which confirms to their Patriarchs and Elders, viz. those who governed their synagogues, an exemption from all personal and civil offices, that they might not be hindered in their function. Another law made in the following year, grants an exemption from all corporal offices, to all those in general who served in the synagogues.

XLVII.
Calumnies a-
gainst St. A-
thanasius.
Ath. Apol. p.
781.

Socr. i. c. 26.
Theod. i.
c. 30.

In the mean time the enemies of St. Athanasius continued to insult him with reproaches. They renewed the accusation against Macarius the Priest, for having broken a chalice in the house of one Ischyra, to whom they gave the title of Priest, and said, that while he offered sacrifice, Macarius coming by order of St. Athanasius the Bishop, had overthrown the altar, broken the chalice, and abused Ischyra. They invented a much more horrid calumny against St. Athanasius himself, accusing him for killing Arsenius the Meletian Bishop of Hypselus in Thebais ; and added, that he had cut off his right hand, to make use of it in magical operations. It is true that Arsenius suddenly disappeared ;

appeared; and the Meletians shewed a right hand dejected, which they carried in a box, and said, that it was the hand of Arsenius, complaining with tears, that the rest of the body was hidden. The principal actor in this plot was John Arcaph, chief of the Meletians. The accusation was carried to the Emperor, and the hand shewed to him. He wrote to his brother Dalmatius the Censor of Antioch, and ordered him to examine into that matter. Dalmatius having received his orders, wrote to St. Athanasius to come and answer the accusation. St. Athanasius, who upon the testimony of a good conscience had till then despised this calumny, began to think seriously upon it, when he saw that the Emperor was concerned at it. He wrote to the Bishops of Egypt, to inform themselves where Arsenius might be, whom he had not seen for five or six years; and he also sent one of his Deacons to search after him. The Deacon, upon a strict search, found that Arsenius was hidden in the monastery of Premencyrca in the territory of Antiopolis in Thebais. He with others went thither with all speed, but found him not; for Pinnes the Priest, and superior of the monastery, had put him into a boat, with a Monk called Elias, in order to go down the Nile into the lower Egypt. The Deacon not finding Arsenius, seized the Priest Pinnes and the Monk Elias, and caused them to be carried to Alexandria, where they were presented to the Duke of the province; this was the officer who commanded the forces; and they acknowledged that Arsenius was alive and hid amongst them. Pinnes gave notice immediately of all this to John Arcaph, that he might not persist any more in accusing St. Athanasius of the death of Arsenius, since all Egypt knew that he was alive, and his letter fell into the hands of St. Athanasius.

A. D. 330.

Athan. Apol.

p. 784.

HOWEVER, it was still necessary to find Arsenius, who departing from Alexandria had gone to Tyre. The servants of Archelaus a man of consular dignity, having heard in a tavern, that Arsenius was hid in a certain house, observed those who said so, and told their master of it: They sought him, found him, and secured him; and Archelaus gave notice of it to St. Athanasius. Arsenius finding that he was taken, denied that he was Arsenius, until he was brought to judgment before Paul Bishop of Tyre, who had known him a long time. St. Athanasius sent a Deacon called Macarius to the Emperor, to inform him of what had passed; and the Emperor wrote to Dalmatius to stop the process, commanding the Eusebians assembled at Antioch to return to their churches; and he wrote to St. Athanasius a letter, wherein he condemns the imposture of the Meletians with indignation, and orders it to be often read to the people, adding, that if these impostors should proceed in their enterprizes, he will use them no longer mildly, according to the laws of the Church, but judge them by the publick laws, and take the matter into his own hands. The Meletians yielded at once, and Arsenius wrote himself to St. Athanasius in the name of all the Clergy of Hypselus, begging his communion, and making profession of the obedience which he owed him, according to the canons, as being his metropolitan. John, the chief of the Meletians, likewise begs the peace and friendship of St. Athanasius, writing of it to the Emperor, who was so glad of it, that he ordered John to come in the publick chariot, and receive testimonies of his favours. Thus ended at that time the affair of Arsenius.

Socr. i. c. 9.

Athan. Apol.

p. 785. A.

Apol. Athan.

p. 785.

Ap. Athan.

p. 786.

Ibid. p. 787.

A. D. 335.

BUT Eusebius and those of his party did not quit their undertaking; having hired certain Meletians, they presented them to the Emperor, renewing an accusation of several heinous crimes against St. Athanasius. They at last got him

XLVIII.

The council of

Tyre.

Sozom. ii.

him c. 26.

A. D. 335. him to assemble a council; proposing for the Place the Town of Cæsarea in Palestine, because Eusebius one of that party was Bishop of it. St. Athanasius would not go thither, knowing that there would be no liberty there. Thirty months being past, *i. e.* two years and an half, from the year 331, in which this council had been appointed, unto the year 334. At last the Eusebians complained to the Emperor, that St. Athanasius was disobedient, proud and tyrannical. The Emperor was enraged, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him: He changed the place of the council, and order'd them to assemble at Tyre. This was in the year 335, and the thirtieth of Constantine's reign, when Constantius and Albinus were Consuls. The cause of assembling this council was, said they, to re-unite the Bishops that were at variance, and restore peace to the church. The Emperor was likewise well pleased, that so great a number of Bishops were assembled in Palestine, to make the dedication of the church at Jerusalem more solemn, it being then finished: But the Eusebians so contrived the matter, that he sent for none to this council, but such Bishops as they pointed out to him; and he sent thither a certain Count, to support them by his authority, under the pretence of preserving order, and preventing disturbance. This Count was Flavius Dionysius, formerly consul of Phœnicia, of which Tyre was the capital. There was a very numerous assembly, being composed of Bishops from all parts of Egypt, Libya, Asia, Bithynia, and all the East: As also from Macedonia, and Pannonia; but they were for the most part Arians. The most furious were the two Eusebii, Placillus or Flaccillus of Antioch, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Narcissus of Neronias, Theodorus of Perinthus or Heraclea, a very learned Man, who wrote commentaries upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, and St. John, also upon St. Paul and the Psalms: his stile was clear and elegant, and he confined himself to the historical sense. Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theophilus and Ursatius of Singidon, and Valens of Murfa, two cities of Pannonia, whose Bishops were the first disciples of Arius, also Macedonius of Mopsuesta, and George of Laodicea. There were also some Bishops, who were not of the Arian party, such as Maximus, who had succeeded St. Macarius at Jerusalem. Maximus had suffered in the persecution of Maximian; he had been condemned to the mines, had his right eye put out, and had one of his legs burnt, together with many other confessors. Marcellus of Ancyra, and Alexander of Thessalonica were present at this council; Asclepas of Gaza, came thither also, with others, who were said to hold erroneous opinions. Here were sixty Bishops, without counting the Egyptians, who did not come at first; for St. Athanasius refused to come as long as he could.

HE knew that Flaccillus, one of his adversaries, was president of this council, as being Bishop of Antioch, the capital of all the East: he knew that many secular magistrates assisted at it, *viz.* the governor of Palestine, Archelaus Count of the East; and above all, Count Dionysius, who was sent from Court with a commission, and attended by the ministers of justice, apparitors and soldiers; a jaylor kept the gate where the Bishops entered, instead of Deacons. Macarius the priest was brought from Alexandria to this place, loaded with chains, and dragged along by soldiers. Upon the delay of St. Athanasius, they sent letters from the Emperor, threatening to bring him by force; and we find one of them still remaining, which was addressed to this council, threatening all those with banishment, who refused to assist at it.

At

V. Pagi, an.

335. n. 2.

V. Pagi, an.

332. n. 2.

Euseb. iv.

vit. c. 41, 42.

Socr. i. c.

28.

Epiph. hæref.

60.

Theod. ii.

c. 3.

Hier. de

script.

Ruf. i. c. 17.

Theod. ii.

c. 26.

Socr. i. c. 28.

Synod. Alex.

Apol. Athan.

apol. 2. 728.

Ibid. p. 778.

Ap. Euf. iv.

vit. c. 42.

At last St. Athanasius came, that he might leave no pretence for his enemies to reproach him to the Emperor, and say that he refused to obey, because he found himself guilty. He brought along with him forty-nine Bishops from Egypt, and among others the illustrious confessors Paphnutius and Potamo. A. D. 335.

WHEN St. Athanasius entered the council at Tyre, they obliged him to continue standing, like one accused before his judges. Potamon, who could not bear it, shed tears; and addressing himself to Eusebius of Cæsarea, cried out; What, Eusebius, art thou placed there to judge Athanasius, who is innocent? Can this be endured? tell me, Was not thou in prison with me, during the persecution? as for me I lost an eye there; but I see thee whole and sound: How camest thou to escape, without doing something against thy conscience? Eusebius rose up immediately, and went out of the assembly, saying, If ye have the assurance to treat us in this manner here, can the truth of your accusation be doubted? and as you exercise such tyranny here, What will you not do at home? but Paphnutius addressed himself to Maximus of Jerusalem, and passing thorough the assembly, took him by the hand and said, Since both of us bear the same marks, each of us having lost an eye, for the sake of JESUS CHRIST, I cannot bear to see you sitting in the assembly of the wicked. He obliged him to come out, discovered the whole conspiracy which they had hid from him, and joined him for ever to the communion of St. Athanasius. The rest of the Egyptian Bishops persisted, in refusing to allow those to be judges of their Archbishop, who were his declared enemies. They refused expressly the two Eusebii, Narcissus, Flaccillus, Theognis, Maris, Theodorus, Patrophilus, Theophilus, Macedonius, George, Ursatius, and Valens. They reproached Eusebius of Cæsarea with apostacy, George of Laodicea with having been deposed by St. Alexander, but no-body regarded their remonstrances. Epiph. Hær. 61. Synod. ap. Athan. p. 7. Ruf. i. c. 4. A. D. 335.

HIS enemies attacked the ordination of St. Athanasius, saying, that all the Egyptian Bishops had agreed not to ordain one at Alexandria, till their differences were ended; that seven of them had broke their oaths in electing Athanasius, which obliged them to quit their communion; that he for his part had taken effectual methods, even putting such as resisted him into prison. They accused him also for violating the festival of Easter; causing himself to be attended by Counts; and forcing the people to communicate with them, sending some into prison, and getting others beaten, whipped and tormented. An act was read, intimating, that the people of Alexandria, were, upon his account, hindered from coming to the assemblies of the Church: But this act, as well as the rest of the accusations, proceeded intirely from the Meletian, Colluthian and Arian party; not one of the hundred Bishops, who acknowledged Alexandria for their Metropolitan, complained of St. Athanasius: neither was there one of the Egyptian Catholicks, either Priest or Laick, that made the least complaint against him. XLIX. Accusations against St. Athanasius, and Ischyas. Philostorg. iv. c. 17, 25. Sozom. ii. c. 17, 25. Synod. Alex. Ap. Athan. p. 726. Epist. Pseudo. Syn. Sardin. Ap. Hilard. Fragn. Sozom. ii. c. 25.

THE accusation which made most noise in this council, was, that of Ischyas, and the broken chalice, which was thus related by his accusers: In the Canton of Egypt, called Mareotis, near Alexandria, there was a priest named Ischyas, who governed a village, called Secontarure. Athanasius being upon his visitation, would have Ischyas silenced, and sent thither the Priest Macarius, who arrived while Ischyas was offering sacrifice at the altar. Macarius entered in a violent manner, and breaking the Chalice and the altar, threw

threw the holy mysteries down upon the ground, burning the sacred books, and breaking down the Priest's chair, demolished the church to the very foundation. Besides, Athanasius often accused Ischyra to Hyginus, governor of Egypt; and that falsely, for throwing stones at the statue of the Emperor, and they procured him to be put into prison. He deposed Callinicus, the Catholick Bishop of Pelusium, who had been of Alexander's communion: and the cause of his deposition was, because Callinicus refused to communicate with Athanasius, unless he would acknowledge the truth of breaking this chalice. In the place of Callinicus, Athanasius had given the church of Pelusium, to a suspended Priest, named Mark. In the mean time, Callinicus was taken by soldiers, presented before the tribunal of judges, and violently beaten. Five other Bishops of John the Meletian's party, viz. Euplus, Pacomius, Isaac, Achilles, and Hermeon, also accused Athanasius for having beaten them after a violent manner.

Apol. 2. p.
781, &c.

ST. Athanasius replied; Ischyra was never a priest, nor had he any church. He never was ordained in the catholick church; nor among the Meletians, since he is not found in the list of the clergy of his communion, which Meletius gave to Alexander. It is true, that Ischyra pretended to have been ordained by Colluthus; but all the ordinations of Colluthus, were declared void: upon his entering again into the communion of the church, at the council of Alexandria, to which Osius came. Some time afterwards, being upon my visitation in the Mareotis, I was informed by the Priest, on whom the village of Secontarura depended, that Ischyra continued to perform the functions of a Priest there, although he had not above seven persons in his communion, even his own relations not being of the number. I sent the Priest of the place, with Macarius, who accompanied me, to bring Ischyra unto me. They found him sick in bed, in his chamber, and desired his father to tell him, that they came to signify to him, from me, that he should concern himself no more with the Priests office. This is what past at that time. On this day there was no meeting of the Christians, it not being Sunday. Ischyra being a laick, had no sacred vessels, and he was found in a private house: that wherein he kept his meetings being a little room belonging to an orphan called Ision. In the mean time, Ischyra joining the Meletians, had already accused Macarius the priest and me, at Nicomedia before the Emperor, who slighted this calumny, because he could prove nothing. Since that time, this Ischyra, pressed by the reproofs of his relations and the reproaches of his conscience, came weeping, and threw himself at my feet, and begged to be admitted to communion with me. He even gave me a declaration in writing, signed by his own hand, in which he protests, that what he had said against me, did not proceed from him; but was the suggestion of three Meletian Bishops, Isaac, Heraclides, and Isaac of Leta, who beat him violently, in order to force him to it; declaring moreover, that the whole accusation was false, and that neither chalice was broken, nor altar overturned. This writing is signed Ischyra, and was given in presence of the six Priests and seven Deacons therein named. After I had received it, I did not, however, judge Ischyra worthy of the communion of the church; and ye see him still opposing me with the Meletians. This was the defence of Athanasius.

L.
Deputies sent
into Mareotis.
Athan. Ap. 2.
p. 789.

THIS action of Ischyra, and that of the broken chalice, being so differently related by the two Parties; the Eusebians perswaded Count Dionysius

to get farther information of it, and for that end, to dispatch messengers to the Mareotis, who should inform themselves exactly of the truth, upon the spot. St. Athanasius, and the Egyptian Bishops, represented, that this procedure was useless, and that they had had time enough to seek for proofs, during the two or three years, that they were contriving this accusation: At least they demanded, that no suspected messenger should be sent, in case such information was thought necessary. The Count agreed to it; and wrote to the council to name their commissioners by general consent. Nevertheless, the Eusebians assembled in private, and chose for commissioners six of the greatest enemies of Athanasius, viz. Theognis, Maris, Macedonius, Theodor, Ursatius and Valens. The Meletians who were at Tyre, had sent four of their party into Egypt four days before, not doubting but that these messengers would be deputed; and that same evening, they dispatched a messenger to assemble the Meletians from all parts of Egypt into the Mareotis, where there was none as yet, and also to assemble the Colluthians and the Arians. Ath. 2. Apol. P. 740.

IN the mean time the Eusebians assembled from all parts at Tyre, to make every Bishop in particular sign the order of deputation: which the Bishops of Egypt perceiving, they made a protest in writing, and addressed it to all Bishops in general: By which, after representing the conspiracy of the Eusebians, their cunning and their violence; they conclude with exhorting the Fathers, to consider that they must give an account of this action at the day of Judgment, and to take care that they do nothing to support the endeavours of the Eusebians. Alexander of Thessalonica, wrote to Count Dionysius upon the same subject in these words; I see a manifest conspiracy against Athanasius; for without our knowledge, they have contrived to depute those whom he had refused; although we had determined to consider all together, who should be sent. Take care to do nothing rashly, lest we should be blamed for not following the rules of justice in this matter: It is to be feared, that these messengers, as they pass through the Churches, whose Bishops are here, may by affrighting them, put all Egypt into confusion; for they were intirely abandoned to the Meletians. Count Dionysius sent this letter to the Eusebians, telling them, that Athanasius had reason to complain, being deceived and treated unjustly; and representing to them, that it would be a great reproach to them, that they had not followed the judgment of Alexander, for whom he had so much respect and tenderness, that he calls him the lord of his soul. But the Eusebians got him over to them; and the Bishops of Egypt finding that Count Dionysius was ready to yield to them, addressed another protest to him, conjuring him not to proceed any farther in that matter; to reserve the cognisance of it for the Emperor himself. All this was ineffectual; and the messengers returned both by the authority of the council, and with a letter addressed to Philagris Prefect of Egypt, having also a guard along with them. Ibid. p. 795.

THEY continued at Tyre to calumniate St. Athanasius; he was accused for having ravished a virgin consecrated to God; and, indeed, they got a person to appear in the midst of the assembly of the Bishops, crying out, that she was very wretched; that she had made a vow of virginity, but St. Athanasius lodging at her house, he had abused her, in spite of all resistance, and afterwards made her a present to appease her. St. Athanasius was told of all this, and consulted with one of his Priests; called Timotheus, what was to be done. LL. Continuation of the council of Tyre. Arsenius. Ruf. i. c. 17. Theod. i. c. 30. Sozom. ii. At c. 25.

A. D. 335. At last coming in, and being called to answer his accusation; he said not a word, as if it had not related to him. But Timotheus spoke, and turning to the woman said; What, do you pretend that I lodged with you, and that I ravished you? upon which, the woman stretched out her hand, and pointed to Timotheus with her finger, crying out with a loud voice; Yes, you are he who committed this outrage: adding, with abundance of words, the circumstances of time and place. A great part of the By-standers could not refrain their laughter, to see an accusation so ill contrived, and so quickly destroyed; and those who had brought in this vile woman, were so ashamed, that they drove her immediately out of the assembly: Notwithstanding the opposition of St. Athanasius, who ordered her to be stopped, and put to the question, if there was occasion, in order to discover the authors of this calumny. This ridiculous accusation, was not so much as inserted in the acts of the council.

Ruf. i. c. 17. BUT they cried out in confusion, that crimes more important were to be
 Socr. i. c. 29. examined, which could not be justified subtilty, and that to be convinced of
 Theod. i. them, it was enough to have eyes. Then they opened the box, and produced
 c. 30. the dried hand which they had kept so long. Athanasius, said they, Here is
 Sozom. ii. your accuser, behold the right hand of Arsenius the Bishop; do you relate how
 c. 15. you have cut it, and for what reasons; then they raised a confused noise, and
 Athan. Ap. 2. all cried out with astonishment and indignation: some against St. Athanasius,
 p. 789. D. thinking the accusation true, and others against his accusers, knowin the false-
 hood of it. St. Athanasius, having at length obtained silence, asked if any one
 of the company knew Arsenius? Many rose, saying, they knew him particular-
 ly. Then St. Athanasius called for one of his servants, ordering him to go and
 seek a man, whom he showed to the assembly, making him lift up his head;
 saying, Is this the Arsenius that I have killed? and whose hand I have cut off
 after his death, the man who has been so much sought for. Those who knew
 Arsenius, were surprized to see him; for some of them thought that he had
 been dead, and others, that he was at a great distance; for Arsenius did not
 appear at first at the counsel of Tyre. It is said, that the Eusebians kept him hid
 in another country; but that knowing the danger St. Athanasius was in, upon his
 account, he fled in the night time, and came to find him with all speed. How-
 ever it be, he came secretly to Tyre, and presented himself to St. Athana-
 sius, who kept him hidden, till this time that he presented him before the
 council.

ARSENIUS appear'd covered with his cloak, so that his hands were not
 seen; St. Athanasius uncovered one of them, lifting up one side of the cloak;
 they waited to see if he could show the other, then he drew Arsenius a little
 backwards, seeming to desire him to be gone; but quickly lifting up the other
 side of the cloak, he shewed the other hand. Then he addressed himself to
 the whole council, saying, Behold Arsenius with both his hands; GOD gave
 him no more than two; let my accusers find a place for the third; or, do you
 examine where this could be placed, that they here produce. The Arians cried
 out, that Athanasius was a magician, that by his art he deceived their eyes.
 John the Meletian went out in the confusion and fled; others threw them-
 selves furiously upon St. Athanasius, and would have torn him to pieces if
 count Archelaus and others of the Emperors officers had not taken him out of
 their hands. They were obliged, in order to secure him, to carry him on board

a vessel, and night following to send him away. His accusers to give some colour to the cheat, said, that a Bishop named Plusion, who depended upon Athanasius, had by his order set fire to the house of Arsenius, and that after he had tied him to a pillar and whipped him with thongs, he had shut him up in a room out of which he escaped; which had given reason to believe, that he was dead, and occasioned their enquiring what was come of him, because he was a noted person and a confessor. The accusation of magick, with which they charged Athanasius, as absurd as it was, found credit with those who did not know him, as particularly the Pagans; Ammianus Marcellinus tells seriously in his history, that he past for a Conjuror, and a person very skilful in soothsaying. But the Christians have ascribed what he knew of futurity to the divine Grace.

THE deputies of the Council of Tyre, being arrived in Egypt, sought proofs against Athanasius, concerning the affair of Ischyra. When they were at Alexandria, they addressed themselves to the Præfect of Egypt, who set out with them, attended by his officers and soldiers, in order to go into the Mareotis. This Præfect was called Philagrius, and was a native of Capadocia, a man of corrupt morals, a pagan, and an apostate, whose soldiers were pagans; the commissioners also brought Ischyra, who always eat and lodged with him. When they arrived in Mareotis, they made use of his house to lodge in, and there make their enquiry. They asked no questions, either of the priests at Alexandria, or those of the canton of Mareotis, who offered to inform them of the truth; but they caused the Arians and the relations of Ischyra to speak, and they even heard the catechumens, jews and pagans; although they treated of the holy sacrifice and mysteries, in which none but baptized Christians were instructed: They might not even speak of them before others, according to the discipline then so strictly observed in the Church. They pretended, that St. Athanasius had caused some of their witnesses to be taken away by the treasure general, and that they knew not what was become of them, and yet they were present, and deposed in the cause. The commissioners not only chose witnesses, but intimidated them by the threatnings of Philagrius; they by signs signify'd what they were to answer: and the soldiers beat and abused such as opposed them. Yet notwithstanding these irregular proceedings, it appeared, that the priest Macarius found Ischyra sick in his chamber, that it was not on a Sunday, and that no Books were burned. Then the commissioners sent only a message of these informations, not allowing copies to be given out.

THE Clergy of the Catholick Church entered a written protest against this procedure. The protest of the Clergy of the city was in these words: To the Bishops who are come from Tyre, viz. Theognis, Maris, Macedonius, Theodore, Ursalius, and Valens; from the Priests and Deacons of the Catholick Church of Alexandria, under the most reverend Bishop Athanasius. Ye should have brought the Priest Macarius with you, as you bring his accusers; for this is the rule of judgement, according to the holy Scripture, that the accuser and accused appear face to face. But since you have not brought Macarius, and that our most reverend Bishop Athanasius is not come along with you, we have besought you, that we might at least assist in this proceeding, that our presence might render it the more authentick, and that we might appeal from it. You have refused us, and would have proceeded alone with the Præfect of Egypt and the accuser; wherefore we declare, that we suspect

A. D. 335.
Sozom. ii.
c. 25.

Amm. l. xv.
c. 7.
Sozom. 4.
c. 9.
in fine.

LII.
Informations
made in the
Mareotis.
Protests.
Athan. Ap.
p. 790. Epist.
Jul. ibid.
p. 746, 747.

Ap. Ath.
p. 790.
Act. xxv. 16.

A. D. 335. that there is something wrong in this matter, and that your journey appears plainly to us a conspiracy. We send you this letter, which will serve as a testimony to a true council, that all men may know that you have acted as you pleased in the absence of one of the parties; and that your only design was to surprize us. We have given a copy of this to Paladius Curioso to the Emperor, lest you should hide it; for your conduct obliges us to suspect you, and to act cautiously with you. This act was signed by sixteen Priests and five Deacons.

Ap. p. 792. THERE was a like protest addressed to the council of the Catholick Church by all the Priests and Deacons of the Marcötis, to make the truth appear, of which they were certain. They declared that Ischyrras was never a minister of the Church; that he only pretended that he was ordained by Coluthus; but since the council of Hosius he remained a laick; that he never had a church in the Marcötis; and that the breaking of the chalice imputed to their Bishop is a meer calumny. What we say, added they, is because we were never from our Bishop, being always with him when he makes his visitations; and not only we but all the Priests and Deacons, and many of the people. The commissioners found no body among the Catholicks who had advanced any thing against the Bishop; they have rejected us, nor would they admit of our presence to declare if the witnesses produced were Catholicks or Arians. We were all willing to come, but thought it sufficient to send certain of our body with these letters. The act is signed by fifteen Priests and as many Deacons, who addressed another act to Philagrius the præfect, Palladius the Curioso, and Antonius Biarchus of the præfects of the prætorium. The Curioso's were comptrollers, who had an eye over the publick carriages, and every thing that regarded the Emperor's service. The Biarchus was intendant over the provisions. This last protest contains an abridgment of Ischyrras's affair, and ends by conjuring the officers in the name of GOD, of the Emperor, and of his children, to inform the Emperor of it: It is dated in the consulship of Julius Constantius, and Rufinus Albinus, on the tenth of the Egyptian month Thoth; that is to say, the seventh of September of the year 335.

Apol. ii.
P. 794.
Not. imper.
Cang. gloss.
lat. Curiosus,
Ibid. Biarchus.

Ath. Apol.
P. 734.

WHEN the commissioners returned from Alexandria, the soldiers who accompanied them committed barbarous cruelties upon the Catholick virgins, drawing their swords upon them, and whipping them: Some of them were so barbarously used, that they continued lame. The tradesmen and pagan people were stirred up against them, who stripped them naked, beat them, and threatened them with the idol altars, and sacrifices. There was one of them so bold as to take one of these virgins, consecrated to GOD, by the hand, and drag her to an altar which stood there by chance, as if he would have renewed the persecution; the rest of the virgins fled and hid themselves, while the pagans were mocking the Christian religion: These violences were committed in the house where the Bishops were lodged, and in their presence, as if it were to divert them, and that by people who came out from their table on a fast day.

LIII.
The conclusion
of the council
of Tyre.
Soc. i. c. 32.
Soz. ii. c. 25.
Epiph. Hær.
68.

WHEN they returned to Tyre, they did not find St. Athanasius; but after giving an account of their information, the Eusebians caused a sentence of deposition to be pronounced against him, forbidding him to live at Alexandria, lest his presence should excite new disorders there. The greatest part of the Bishops subscribed to this sentence; but some of them constantly refused it; among whom was Marcellus of Ancyra. The council wrote to Constantine, desiring

desiring him to depose Athanasius; they wrote also to all Bishops, charging them not to admit him to communion with them, nor to write to, or receive letters from him, they alledged for reasons of his condemnation; that after having made them wait a long time at Cæsarea, he came to Tyre with a great guard, and had caused a confusion there, refusing to answer; accusing his judges, and abusing several Bishops: That he was convicted of breaking a chalice, by informations made in the Marcötis, and several other crimes, which they briefly related; not forgetting even the death of Arsenius, although his name appeared among the subscriptions. A. D. 335.

THE council of Tyre before they separated, received John the Meletian to their communion, with all his party, continuing them in their dignities, as people unjustly persecuted. They also gave the name of Bishop to Ischyra, and obtained an order from the Emperor for the treasurer-general of Egypt to cause a church to be built for him at Secontarura, on purpose to re-establish what they pretended Athanasius had caused to be destroyed, although there had never been in this place either a Bishop or *Choriepiscopus*. All the churches of the Marcötis were subject to the Bishop of Alexandria; it contained ten great towns, in every one of which there was a Priest; but that of Ischyra was so little, that the church was in the neighbouring town. This creating of a Bishop where there was no people, was contrary to the canons and ancient tradition; but the Eusebians durst not displease Ischyra, lest he should discover the truth. They were ready to compleat their work, by receiving Arius into the communion of their church, when they received a letter from the Emperor, ordering them to break up their assembly, and come to Jerusalem in all haste, to dedicate the church which he had caused to be built there. This order was brought to them by Marianus, notary to the Emperor, which is a considerable post. Ath. ii. ap. p. 802. B.

THEY set out from Tyre in the publick carriages, and went to Jerusalem, where they found other Bishops whom Constantine had brought from all parts. This council was likewise very numerous; but we know not the Bishop who assisted at it, excepting those who came from Tyre, and a Bishop of Persia, who is thought to be the martyr St. Millefius. A great number of people assembled from every province of the empire to see the ceremony; and they were furnished with all necessaries at the Emperor's charges, who had sent from his court several persons of distinction to this festival, under the conduct of Marianus. This officer caused great sums of money, with cloaths, to be distributed to several poor people, and also offered rich presents from the Emperor to adorn the new church. LIV. The dedication of the church of the holy Sepulchre Euf. vii. iv. 43.

THE cave of the holy sepulchre, for which this edifice was built, was adorned on the out side with fine columns and magnificent ornaments: from thence it led into a large court of marble, surrounded with long galleries on three sides of it, that is to say, excepting the Eastern, where the church was situated. It was of a prodigious height, length and extent; the inside was lined with marble of various colours, and the out side was built of stone, so well polished and so exactly joined, that it was as beautiful as marble. The roof was covered with lead, and adorned within with gilded carved work, reflecting a prodigious brightness. On every side of the church there were two galleries, one above and the other below; they extended the whole length of the church, and their roof was overlaid with gold. Those which joined to the body Euseb. iii. vii. c. 24. 35, 36, &c.

A. D. 335. body of the church were supported with large pillars ; and those below by pilasters finely adorned. There were three gates towards the East ; that is to say, the East was seen at coming in ; opposite to that, and in the principal part of the building, there was a semi-circle crowned with twelve columns, in honour of the twelve apostles, and their tops adorned with silver work. This semi-circle was the *Presbyterion* or Sanctuary, the altar being placed in the middle of it.

As you went out of the church there was another court besides that which we have mentioned, with two galleries, one on each side. The gate served for an entry to the whole place, facing a great square where the market was kept. This first entry was magnificently adorned, the passengers being struck with what they saw of it within. Such was the church of the holy sepulchre, according to the account of Eusebius, who assisted at the dedication. He adds, that the Emperor, out of his royal bounty, had provided for them an infinite quantity of gold and silver vessels, adorned with precious stones : But these who now go to visit this holy place, may search in vain after the remains of this magnificent building, which has been often destroyed and rebuilt. It was first burned by the Persians, under the Emperor Heraclius, in the year 614. It was again destroyed in the year 1009, by Aziz or his son, one of the Califes Falimiles ; and rebuilt by the Emperor Michael Paphlagonian about thirty years after. A new city arose about the church built by Constantine, which seemed to some as the New Jerusalem, foretold by the prophets. It is certain, that it did not stand in the place of the old, without which were the holy sepulchre and mount Calvary. Since that time it has lost the name of *Ælia*, which the Emperor Adrian had given it about two hundred years before. It got the name of Jerusalem again, and was constantly frequented by Christian pilgrims, whom their piety drew together from all parts of the world.

Glaber. l. 3.
c. 7.
Cedren.
an. 6418.
p. 706.
Id. 721.
Euseb. iii. vit.
c. 33.

Sup. lib. 3.
n. 24.

Euseb. iv. vit.
c. 43.

DURING the festival of the dedication, the Bishops employed the people in several exercises of piety. Some offered unbloody sacrifices and prayers for the church, the Emperor and his children. The wisest and most eloquent made publick discourses ; either to explain what they had read of the holy Scriptures, and discover the sense of the mysteries, or to teach more sublime divinity, or in making panegyrics in praise of the Emperor, and extolling by their descriptions the magnificence of this new church ; amongst these, Eusebius of Cæsarea signalized himself. This dedication was celebrated in the year 335, upon the festival of the holy cross, viz. the thirteenth of September.

LV.
The council of
Jerusalem;
in which A-
rius is re-
ceived.
Soc. i. c. 25,
26.

THIS is what appeared without ; but other matters were treated of in the assembly of the Bishops which composed the council. Arius came thither with a letter from the Emperor, and a confession of faith which he had presented to him : For he had invited him several times to come to him, hoping that he would repent sincerely of his errors, and desiring to send him back to Alexandria. He came at last to Constantinople with Euzoius the Deacon, whom St. Alexander of Alexandria had deposed with him : they presented a writing to the Emperor, containing these words : To Constantine our most pious master and much beloved of GOD, Arius and Euzoius : My lord, according to your orders, we represent our faith to you, and declare in writing before GOD, that we and those that are with us believe as follows ; that is to say, in one only GOD and Almighty Father, and in our LORD JESUS CHRIST his Son,

pro-

proceeding from him before all ages, GOD the Word, by whom all things in heaven and earth are created; who descended, was incarnate, suffered, was raised again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost: We believe the resurrection of the flesh, eternal life, the kingdom of heaven; and in one only Catholick Church of GOD, extended from one end of the world to the other. This is the faith which we have learned from the holy Gospels, where the LORD says to his disciples, Go, teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. GOD is our judge, both now and at the last day, if this be not our belief; and if we receive not truly the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and if we believe not in all things which the Catholick Church and the Scriptures teach us: Wherefore we intreat you, most pious Emperor, seeing we are children of the Church, and that we hold the faith of the Church and of the holy Scriptures, that you, by cutting off all unnecessary questions and superfluous words will cause us to be reunited to the Church our mother; to the end, that being in peace with the Church, we may all with one accord, make our usual prayers for the prosperity of your empire and family.

CONSTANTINE was satisfied with this profession of faith, not being aware that neither the word *Consubstantial*, nor any thing like it was there; and that on the contrary it was rejected under the name of Useless Terms; and that this clause of believing, according to the Scriptures, was a pretence for explaining at pleasure these terms which seemed most to favour the Divinity of the Son of GOD. The Emperor thought therefore that Arius and Euzoïus had sincerely returned to the determination of the council of Nice; he rejoiced at it; but did not take upon him to receive them to communion, without the approbation of such as were to examine them according to the laws of the Church; he therefore sent then to the council, which was then at Jerusalem, ordering them to examine their profession of faith, and to determine in their favour, if they appeared orthodox, and had only been invidiously calumniated; or if they had repented after being lawfully condemned. The Bishops of their party quickly embraced the opportunity which they had long waited for. They received Arius and Euzoïus, with the Priests, and all the people of their party, who had been separated from the Church, upon account of Arius.

Soc. i. c. 33.
Sozom. ii.
c. 2.

THE synodical epistle was addressed to the Church of Alexandria, the Bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Lybia, and Pentapolis; and in general, to all the Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the world. We are overjoyed, said they, at the letters which the Emperor has written to us, exhorting us to banish from the Church of GOD that envy which had so long separated the members of JESUS CHRIST, and charitably to receive those of the party of Arius. The Emperor mentions the purity of their faith; of which he is informed, not only by the report of others, but by what he heard from their own mouths, and from having seen their confession of faith in writing, which he has sent us at the bottom of his letter, and which we acknowledge to be Orthodox and Ecclesiastical. We believe that this reunion will fill you with joy; when ye shall receive your Brethren, your Fathers, your own bowels; for this relates not only to the Priests of Arius's party, but to the whole multitude who were separated from you upon their account. Receive them then with the spirit of peace,

Athan. de
Syn. p. 390.

peace, being assured, that they are received by this holy council; so much the rather, because their confession shews clearly, that they preserve the tradition and apostolical doctrine, universally received by the whole world. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, metropolitan of Galatia, was not present at this council; because he would have no share in receiving Arius. Those of that party cited him to appear; accusing him of writing erroneously against the Faith, in a book which he had written to refute that of the sophist Asterius, a great man among the Arians; but while this accusation was carried on, the Bishops were unexpectedly ordered by the Emperor, to go to Constantinople, and give an account of the sentence which they had passed against St. Athanasius.

LVI. *The complaint of St. Athanasius to the Emperor, and his banishment.* *Socr. i. c. 34. 34. Sozom. ii. c. 28. Athan. Ap. 2. p. 804. Epiph. heres. 68. n. 8.* FOR having escaped from Tyre, he came to Constantinople; and as the Emperor was entering the city, on horseback, he presented himself in the middle of the street on a sudden, being attended by some other persons. Constantine, who did not in the least think of seeing Athanasius there, was very much surprized; and not knowing him at first, demanded who he was. Some of his attendants informed him, giving him an account of the injustice which he had suffered. St. Athanasius begged to have audience, but Constantine refused to hear him, not being willing to have any communication with a man, whom he looked upon as condemned by a council of Bishops; and he was ready to drive him from his presence. Then St. Athanasius said to him, the **LORD** judge betwixt you and me, seeing that you joyn with those who calumniate me; and he insisted boldly, saying, that he demanded no favour, but only that these might be sent for, who had condemned him, to the end, that he might make his complaint in his presence. This demand appeared to the Emperor to be reasonable, and agreeable to his own maxim: For reason he ordered all the Bishops that were assembled at Tyre, to come to Constantinople, and give him an exact account of all that had passed in council: where it was said, that they had proceeded after a very disorderly and tumultuous manner. This letter being delivered to the Bishops while they were at Jerusalem; although it contained express orders, they took care that all of them should not come: but the Eusebians managed it so as to send only six deputies, viz. the two Eusebii, Theognis, Patrophilus, Ursatius and Valens: the rest withdrew to their several Churches.

Ath. 2. Apol. p. 805. Syn. Alex. p. 729, 730. Eunap. in Aides 10. Apol. 2. p. 730. Theod. i. 33. THE deputies being come to Constantinople, said no more of Arsenius, or the chalice: but they invented a fresh calumny. They said, that Athanasius had threatned to hinder the transportation of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. At this the Emperor enflamed with rage greatly, threatned Athanasius being very jealous of the greatness of his new city, which could not subsist without the supplies that came from Egypt; having upon a like suspicion caused the Philosopher Sopater's head to be cut off, whom he was before very fond of. The accusation and threatnings of the Emperor were heard by five Egyptian Bishops, who accompanied Athanasius, viz. Adamantin, Anubian, Agathammon, Arbethion, and Peter. Athanasius groaning, protested, that this accusation was false: For, said he, how should I, a poor private man have so much power? But Eusebius of Nicomedia publicly supported the calumny; and to make it seem probable, swore, that Athanasius was rich, powerful, and capable of doing any thing. The Emperor too easily gave credit to these Bishops, who appeared to him to be very different from what they really were; and thought that he favoured Athanasius in sparing his life; for he

he only banished him to Treves, which was then the chief city of Gaul. Nevertheless, St. Athanasius excuses Constantine, saying, that he banished him not for punishment, but that he might protect him from the fury of his enemies. The Eusebians caused four Priests of the Church of Alexandria, to be banished at the same time, and would have established another Bishop in the place of St. Athanasius: but the Emperor refused to send him whom they had chosen, and when they insisted upon it, he threatened them so severely, that they abandoned this enterprize.

ST. Athanasius arrived at Treves, in the beginning of February, of the year 336. This city was the metropolis of the first Belgick province, being the ordinary residence of the Governors, and even of the Emperors, when they were among the Gauls; because they had continual wars with the people of Germany, who constantly endeavoured to encroach upon the Roman territories. The Bishop of Treves, was Maximin, very famous for the purity of his faith, the sanctity of his manners, and for his miracles. He was born of a noble family at Poitiers, where his brother Maxentius was Bishop. He had been drawn to Treves, with many others, by the reputation of the Bishop Agritius; under whose discipline he was educated and raised to the ecclesiastical Dignity, and after his death, by the universal voice of the clergy and people, elected to fill his place, being also chosen by the neighbouring Bishops. Such was Maximin Bishop of Treves, who received Athanasius respectfully, notwithstanding his disgrace. It is certain that Constantius, the younger son to the Emperor, who commanded the Gauls, and resided at Treves, treated him likewise very honourably, furnishing him with all necessary subsistence; and respected him not only on account of his great reputation, but also for the affection which he knew the people of Alexandria bore him, and for the dignity which appeared in his person. The holy See of Rome had just changed its Bishop; St. Sylvester, after having filled that See twenty-two years, dyed on the last day of December, in the year 335, and Mark was put in his place, on the eighteenth of January, 336.

IN the mean time a council assembled from divers Provinces, was held at Constantinople, from Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Thrace, and other parts of Europe. Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, finding, that the Eusebian party prevailed, endeavoured to hinder it, but could not. Here they took into consideration the affair of Marcellus of Ancyra, and continued in the proceedings which were begun at Jerusalem. The accusation was, for having written heresy in a Book, against the Sophist Asterius. Those who professed philosophy and eloquence, were called Sophists; which Asterius had practised in Galacia, being a native of Cappadocia, and left it to become Christian; they pretended, that he had been a disciple of St. Lucian of Antioch. It is certain, that he had offered sacrifice to the idols in the persecution of Maximian; and that this had hindered the Eusebians from raising him to the ministerial office; though he was the most zealous of all their disciples, always with them, and even assisted in the assemblies of their Bishops. By their advice he wrote a book of their Doctrine, filled with the greatest blasphemies of Arius. He ran about into Syria, and every where to shew this work; and had the assurance to read it publickly, sitting down at Churches

LVII.

The council of Constantinople. Marcellus of Ancyra

deposed. Euf. in Marcell. lib. 2. in fin. p. 55.

D. Sup. n. 55.

Athan. de Syn. p. 887.

A. D. 336. in the place of ecclesiastical persons. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, the Metropolis of Galatia, at length endeavoured to refute this book, composing one Hil. con. Arr. which he intituled, *Of the subjection of our Lord JESUS CHRIST*, wherein 1 Cor. xv. 24. he explained these words of St. Paul; when JESUS CHRIST shall have delivered up the kingdom to his father, and so on. Eusebius of Cæsarea composed three books, in answer to that of Marcellus, which are still extant. Acaſius, who ſucceeded him at Cæsarea, wrote a book upon the ſame ſubject. Aſterius himſelf defended the cauſe, and wrote againſt Marcellus, accusing him of Sabellianism; with this the Arians commonly reproached the Catholics; and upon this was grounded the accusation formed againſt Marcellus at Jeruſalem, and renewed at Conſtantinople.

Soc. c. 6.
Sozom. ii.
c. 33.

Ath. in Arr.
i p. 290.
Epiph hæref.
73. n. 1.

THE Eusebians pretended also, that they had convicted him of holding the doctrine of Paul of Samosata, and ſaying, that the ſon of God had his beginning from Mary; and that his reign ſhould have an end. They ſaid likewiſe, that he had promiſed to burn his book; which when he reſuſed to do, couragiously reſiſting all their ſolicitations, they excited the Emperor againſt him, under pretence that he had offended him, in not aſſiſting at the dedication of the Church at Jeruſalem. They therefore depoſed him, even excommunicating him; and put in his place Baſil, who had the reputation of being eloquent, and capable of giving inſtruction. They thought by creating him Biſhop, to get a powerful defender of their hereſy. At the ſame time they compoſed an expoſition of their faith, in oppoſition to the pretended hereſy of Marcellus; and ſent it to the Eaſtern Biſhops, letting them know in what ſenſe they had received the doctrine of the *Conſubſtanciality*: For not daring openly to attack the Nicene creed, ſince it was the faith of their Prince, they endeavoured to evade it by deceitful explications.

LVII.
The death of
Arius.
Ruf. i. 11.
Soc. i. c. 37.
Sozom. ii.
c. 19.

BUT the principal end of the Eusebians, in this council of Conſtantinople, was the entire re-eſtabliſhment of Arius; he was then preſent; the Emperor having ſent for him, to give an account of his conduct; for after he was received at Jeruſalem, he went to Alexandria, hoping to take advantage of the abſence of Athanaſius: but the Catholick people could not ſuffer him to continue there; and as he had many followers, tumults were raiſed, of which the Emperor being informed, ordered Arius to come to Conſtantinople. It was even ſaid, that the Eusebians procured this order, at leaſt they endeavoured to make uſe of it, to get Arius received again into the communion of the Church, at the Imperial City, in the face of the world. The holy Biſhop Alexander of Conſtantinople, although above ninety years old, reſiſted them with invincible force, and when he could not perſwade the Emperor to hinder Arius from coming, ſhewed him no civility upon his arrival. The Eusebians begged him to take compaſſion upon this Prieſt, and to receive him in the ſpirit of peace: they got him ſollicited by others, who not being aware of their malice, came to him, praizing him ſincerely for his moderation. Alexander replied, the moderation which I ſhould uſe towards Arius, would be cruelty, with reſpect to many others: the laws of the Church do not allow me to contradict through a falſe compaſſion, what I my ſelf have ordained together with the holy council of Nice.

THE Eusebians seeing their deceit was vain, and being enraged at Alexander, threatened him loudly, that if Arius was not received on a certain day which they should appoint, they would cause him himself to be deposed and banished to a distant place, and another Bishop put in his stead, who would receive Arius and his disciples. The example of St. Athanasius shewed their power, and the Church seemed reduced to a terrible extremity. Then St. James of Nisibis, who was then at Constantinople advised the faithful to have recourse to GOD, fasting and praying for seven days. As they knew that he had the gift of miracles and prophecy, they followed his advice. Alexander began first; he had not recourse to disputes and sermons; but while the Eusebians were contriving plots, he shut himself up alone in the Church of peace. There prostrating himself beneath the altar, with his face to the ground, he prayed with tears, and continued without intermission for several nights.

THE Eusebians persuaded the Emperor, that Arius held the doctrine of the Church, and upon this ground resolved to get him admitted to communion on a certain day, which was Sunday. The Saturday before, Constantine desiring to be sure, caused Arius to be called into the palace, and asked him if he followed the faith of Nice. Arius replied, that he did. Constantine demanded his profession of faith in writing: Arius immediately gave it him; and it was so artfully contrived that the heresy did not appear in it; nor was any thing to be seen but Scripture expressions. Constantine asked him if he had no other belief, adding, If you speak sincerely, you need not fear taking GOD as a witness to the truth; but if you swear falsely, dread the divine vengeance. Arius swore that he had never said nor written any thing different from what was in his paper; and that he had never held these errors for which he had been condemned at Alexandria. It is said by some, that the paper which he held in his hand was the Nicene creed; and that he had at the same time under his arm another paper which contained his real doctrine, and that he pretended that his oath related to this last: However that be, the Emperor deceived by this oath, gave orders to Alexander, commanding him to stretch forth his hand to a man who sought to save himself. Alexander endeavoured to deceive the Emperor; but finding that his remonstrances only irritated him, he silently retired.

THE Eusebians met him, having Arius along with them, whom they had joined as he came out of the palace, carrying him through the city with pomp that he might be seen by every body. They would have carried him into the church that instant, which when Alexander opposed, they renewed their threatnings, saying, that as they had caused Arius to come to Constantinople in spite of him, they would in the same manner cause him to receive him to communion next day. Eusebius of Nicomedia said these very words: If you will not receive him willingly, he shall enter to morrow morning with me at day-break: And how can you hinder him? Alexander seized with grief, went immediately into the church attended by two persons, one of which was Macarius a Priest of Alexandria; there the good old man lay prostrate before the altar with his face towards the ground, saying, LORD, if Arius must be received into the Church to morrow, withdraw thy servant from the world; but if thou hast still pity on thy Church, as I know thou hast still pity, behold

A. D. 336.
Epiph. Hær.
69. n. 10.

Theod. in
Philoth. c. 1.
Soc. i. c. 37.

Soc. i. c. 38.

Ath. ad Serap.
p. 670.

Libel. Mar.
cell & Faust.
p. 18.

Ath. i. cont.
Ar.
Id ad Serap.
p. 670.

Epiph. Hær.
69. n. 10.

A.D. 336.

the words of Eusebius; Allow not thine inheritance to fall into reproach, take Arius out of the world, lest if he should enter into thy Church, heresy may seem to enter with him. Alexander prayed thus on Saturday about three of the clock, while the Eusebians were leading Arius in triumph through the city; who thinking himself already re-established, said several vain things. Being near the square of Constantine, where the pillar of Porphyry stood, he was seized with fear and remorse of conscience. At the same time he found himself urged by some natural necessity, which made him enquire for a public conveniency, which they had in all great cities; they shewed him one behind the square, in which he entered, and was some time afterwards found dead, having lost a great quantity of blood.

Soc. i. c. 38.
& ibid. Valef.Greg. Naz.
or. 16.
Ambr. i. de
fide. Grat.
c. 9.Sozom. ii.
c. 30.

THIS news being spread over all the city, the faithful ran to the church, rendering thanks to GOD for so visible a protection as he had given to the truth; for they did not look upon the death of Arius as a natural accident, but as an effect of the prayers of Alexander and James of Nisibis, comparing his horrid death to that of Judas, whose impiety he had imitated. Alexander received consolation next day in celebrating the holy sacrifice, the orthodox only returning thanks to GOD for the assistance which he had given his Church in this extremity. Constantine seeing the finger of GOD, and the sudden punishment of Arius's perjury, doubted no longer of his being really a heretick, and became more fixed than ever to the Nicene faith. Several Arians were converted; but those who continued obstinate, attributed his death to a charm; so sure is it that it was not natural. The place where it happened was looked upon as accursed; crowds of people went to see it, and were cautious in shunning the fatal seat. This lasted until a rich and powerful Arian caused a house to be built there, to efface the memory of it, by changing the form of the building.

LIX.
The Emperor
writes to St.
Anthony.
Vita Ant.
c. 28.
Hier. chron.
an. 337.

THE reputation of St. Anthony even reached the Emperor, who wrote to him, as did his sons Constantius and Constans, calling him Father, and begging an answer. Anthony not moved at the reception of the letters, sent for the Monks, and said to them, Be not astonished if an Emperor writes to us; he is but a man; be rather astonished that GOD has written a law for men, and spoke it by his own Son. He would not so much as receive these letters, saying, that he could not answer them: But the Monks having represented to him that the Emperors were Christians, and that they might be offended as being contemned, he allowed them to be read, and returned an answer, giving wholesome advice to the Emperors, not greatly to esteem present things, but rather to think of the future judgment; to consider that JESUS CHRIST is the only true and eternal king. Lastly, he intreated them to be merciful; to take care of doing justice, and of the poor. This letter was well received.

Soz. ii. c. 31.

BUT St. Anthony wrote others to the Emperor afterwards, which were not so agreeable to him, desiring the return of St. Athanasius, and begging him not to believe the calumnies of the Meletians. Constantine replied, that he must not despise the judgment of the council; meaning that of Tyre; for, said he, though some might have passed their judgment either through hatred or favour, we must not entertain such an opinion of so great a number of Bishops, Athanasius being insolent, proud, and seditious. It was upon this calumny

lunny that his enemies chiefly insisted, knowing that to be the easiest way of moving the Emperor. The people of Alexandria cried out incessantly, making publick prayers for the return of St. Athanasius; but the Emperor wrote to them, accusing them of folly and madness, recommending to the Clergy and sacred virgins to keep themselves quiet. He assured them, that he would not recal St. Athanasius, nor revoke his orders, because he was seditious, and condemned by the judgment of the church; and being informed, that the Church of Egypt was divided, some being for Athanasius, others for John the Meletian, he banished John himself, although he had been restored by the council of Tyre. This was very much against the inclination of the enemies of St. Athanasius; but Constantine was inflexible with respect to those whom he took to be authors of schism among the Christians. A. D. 336.

WE meet with a rescript in favour of the converted Jews, given in the year 336, under the consulship of Nepotian and Facundus; by which the Emperor forbids the Jews to disturb such among them as became Christians, or use them any way ill, under pain of a punishment proportionable to the injury. At the same time he forbids the Jews to circumcise the slaves which they buy, either Christians, or of any other sect, under pain of restoring the slave to liberty. Lib. 5. Cod. Theod. de Jud. L. 1. Cod. Theod. ne Christ. Man.

THE Emperor Constantine was now about sixty-five years old, having enjoyed so perfect health, that he still bore the fatigues of war without uneasiness; preparing now for the war against the Persians, he had kept with him certain Bishops to attend him; and caused a very rich tent to be made in the form of a church, that he might be carried about, and to perform Divine service with them. It being now the feast of Easter, he according to custom, past the evening in prayer with the faithful; for he was the most forward in celebrating this solemnity; and to render it the more glorious, he caused not only the churches to be illuminated that night, but also all the streets of Constantinople. Certain men appointed for this purpose, lighted large candles, or rather pillars of wax, and abundance of torches. The day being come, he gave considerable gifts amongst the people, in imitation of the good works of our SAVIOUR. After they had celebrated Easter as usual, in the year 337, he fell sick, and at first made use of the hot baths of Constantinople, afterwards those of Helenople, where he spent much time at prayer in the church of St. Lucian the martyr. At this time, perceiving his end approaching, he resolved to receive baptism; and having considered within himself the necessity of this sacrament, and the wonderful virtue of it, he threw himself upon the ground in the oratory, confessing his sins: Then he received the imposition of hands, with the first prayers that are said to those who are placed in the order of catechumens. From thence he caused himself to be transported to Achiron near Nicomedia; and calling together the Bishops, he spoke thus to them: This is the time which I have so much longed for, wherein I hope to obtain of GOD the grace of salvation, and that holy sign which gives immortality. I intended to have been baptized in the river Jordan, where our SAVIOUR himself shewed us the example of it; but GOD, who knows what is best for us, was pleased to grant me this favour here; therefore, make ye no difficulty to allow it. If he permits LX. Constantine's Baptism, and his death. Euf. iv. vit. c. 33. 56. c. 37. Ibid. c. 22. Euseb. c. 6. Soc. i. c. 39. Soz. ii. 34. Theod. i. c. 32. V. Vales. in Euf. iv. 16. Chron. Hier. Anno 938.

A. D. 337. permits me yet to pass some time upon the earth, I am resolved to join with the faithful in their church assemblies, and lay down rules for the conduct of my life, that it may be worthy of the holiness of GOD. It was an usual devotion in those primitive times to procure themselves to be baptized in the river Jordan, or at least to bathe there, as pilgrims do at this day. After he had so spoken, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and the Bishops who accompanied him, administered Baptism and the other sacraments to him, observing exactly all the usual ceremonies: then they caused him to put off the imperial robe, and cloathed him in a white garment; the magnificence of which was equal to his dignity; his bed was also covered with white: Then raising his voice, he addressed himself to GOD, rendering him thanks for such a benefit; and concluded with these words; Now I find myself truly happy; having partaken of the Divine light, I may think myself worthy of immortality; what misfortune is it to be deprived of such riches! And when his officers entered the chamber, being afflicted for the loss of him, and beseeching GOD to prolong his life: He replied to them, that he was more sensible than any body of the benefits which he had received; that he would no longer delay going to his GOD. All this happened at the feast of Pentecost.

CONSTANTINE had made his will, by which he confirmed the division of the Empire, made while he was alive among his three sons and his two nephews. He ordered also that St. Athanasius should be recalled from banishment, notwithstanding the endeavours of Eusebius of Nicomedia to the contrary. The Arian Priest, whom Constantia his sister had recommended to him when dying, was intrusted with Constantine's will; and Constantine ordered it to be put into the hands of his son Constantius. The Emperor having settled all things in this manner, died about noon on the day of Pentecost, on the twentieth of May, under the consulship of Felician and Tatian, viz. in the year 337, after having reigned thirty-one years, which was the longest reign, since that of Augustus. His body was put in a coffin of gold and carried to Constantinople, being placed in the principal chamber of the palace, until the arrival of some of his sons: it was raised upon steps covered with purple, and surrounded with abundance of torches in golden candlesticks; several people watched there day and night; and this sight was intirely new. Constantius was the only one of his sons who came in time to take care of the burial; for being nearest, he first received the news of his illness: however, he found him dead. He caused the body to be carried with state into the church of the apostles, himself following the funeral pomp; but then he withdrew with his soldiers, being only a catechumen: But the Clergy and the faithful people came to say prayers and perform divine service. The Emperor's body was set up under a lofty alcove during prayers, and buried in the porch of the Basilicon near the door: certain persons being appointed to stay and say prayers in that place.

THE memory of the Emperor Constantine is blessed in the Church for the great goodness which he showed, in protecting her with all his might, and shewing after many different ways his zeal for the true religion. The Greeks honour him amongst the saints, celebrating a feast upon the twenty-first of May, and joining his mother St. Helena with him. It is probable, that Baptism washed away all the stains of his life, in which we find several very con-

Euf. & Hier.
de Cocif.
Valef. ubi
Sup.

Euseb. iv. vit.
c. 62.

Theod. i. c. 32.

Euseb. iv. 68.

Euseb. iv. 70.

Ibid. c. 71.
Chrysoft. in
2 Cor.
hom. 2. ad
pap. an. 66.

Menolog. ib.

Zosim. lib. 2.
p. 685.

considerable faults, even after he had seen the miraculous cross, and had declared for the Christian Religion. He had by Minervina his first wife, a son called Crispus, whom he created Cæsar, designing him for the Empire, of which he showed himself truly worthy, by several worthy actions, and yet he put him to death, being persuaded of the calumnies, which his second wife Fausta laid to the charge of this young prince; and afterwards finding out the cheat, by the persuasion of his mother Helena, he put Fausta likewise to death, who was besides convicted of prostituting herself to a servant. He caused her to be stifled in a hot bath. After this, we need not wonder, that he gave credit so easily to the reproaches of the Arians, against St. Athanasius, and other Catholick Bishops. Eusebius, his great admirer, acknowledges, that several complained that he was of too flexible a temper; which gave way to two great vices, *viz.* the violence of such as oppressed the weak, to content their own insatiable avarice; and the hypocrisy of false Christians, who entered into the Church to gain his favour. In short, no-body will be deceived in believing, either the evil which Eusebius relates of Constantine, or the good which Zosimus says of him.

Anno 337.

Victor Epi.

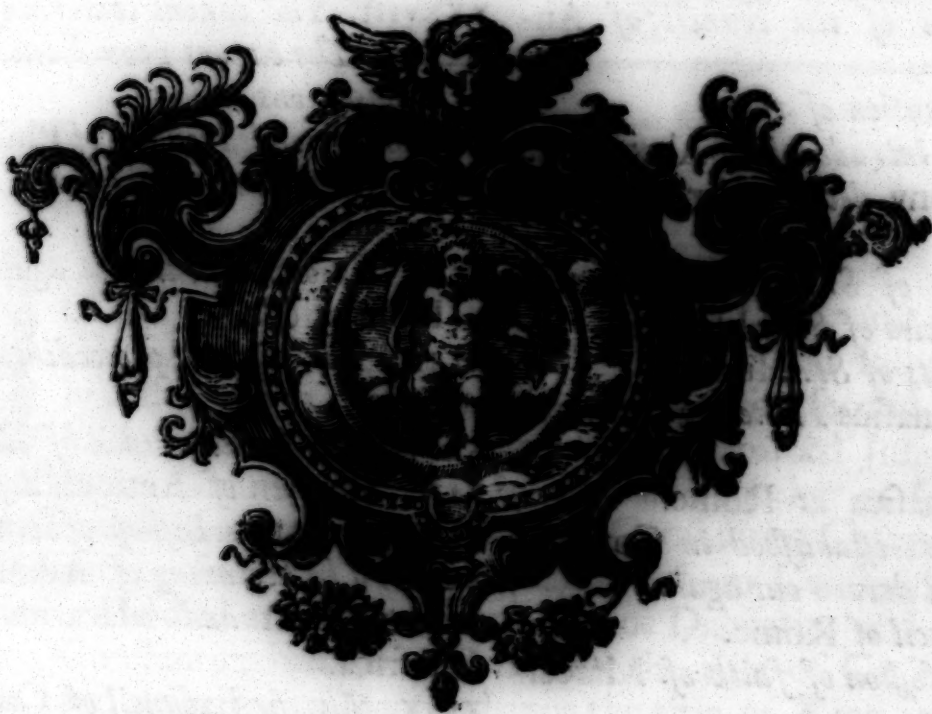
tom. Philo-

storg. 11.

c. 4.

Euf. iv. vic.

c. 54.



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Ecclesiastical History.

B O O K XII.

THE three sons of Constantine divided the Empire, as he had ordered. Constantine the eldest had Spain, Gaul, and all that lies on this side the alps. Constans the youngest had Italy, Africa, Sicily and Illyrium. Constantius who was the second, had Asia, the East, and Egypt. They had an unkle named Julius Constantius, son of Constantius Chlorus, but not by the same mother as Constantine the Great, viz. Theodora; and by the same wife Constantius Chlorus had had another son Dalmatius, surnamed Hanniballianus, whom Constantine his brother made censor. He died and left two sons, Julius Dalmatius and Claudius Hannibalianus. Constantine had given Dalmatius the title of Cæsar with Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia; to Hannibalianus the title of King, with Cappadocia, Pontus and Armenia: his residence was at Cæsarea in Cappadocia.

SOME time after the death of Constantine the Great, the soldiers who said they would obey none but his children, put to death his brother Julius and his two nephews Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The Emperor Constantius is accused of secretly ordering those executions, or at least of having too easily consented to them: Some have even pretended that Constantine gave this order before his death: however that be, two of the new Emperors profited by it; Constantius got Thrace, with Cappadocia; and Constantine had Achaia and Macedonia. There remained two sons of Julius, whom he had had by different

I.
*The division
of the Empire
among Con-
stantine's
children.*
Euf. iv. vit.
c. 51.
Zosim. lib. 2,
p. 691.
Aur. Vict.
Epit.

Zos. p. 692.

Sozom. v.
hist. c. 2.

Amm. l. 22.
c. 320. c. 3.

II.
Constantius gained o-
ver to the A-
rians.

Soz. ii. c. 2.

Soz. iii. c. 1.

Amm. l. 15.

c. 3. xxii.

c. 3.

Jul. ad. Athen.

Theod. ii.

c. 3.

Athan. ad

sol. p. 819.

854. 856.

Sozom. iii.

c. 1.

III.

St. Athana-

sus recalled.

Ath. Ap. 2.

p. 805.

Theod. lib. ii.

c. 2.

Vid. Pagi.

A. D. 338.

Syn. Alex.

ap. Ath. 2.

Apol. p. 728.

A.

ferent wives ; the first called Gallus from Galla, by whom he also had the wife of the Emperor Constantius ; the second called Julian, by Basilina the daughter of Anicius Julianus, of an illustrious but Pagan family. These two young princes were spared through contempt ; Gallus, because he was then sick ; and it was thought that he could not live long. Julian on account of his youth, for he was then but eight years old, being born at Constantinople, on the sixth of November, in the year 332, under the consulship of Pacatian and Hilarian, by which we see that there was some interval between the death of Constantine, and that of his brother and nephews. Eusebius of Nicomedia took care of the education of Gallus and Julian, because he was a relation to Basilina the mother of Julian, though at a great distance. They were brought into Cappadocia near Mount Argæa, to a place called Marcellum, where there was a royal palace magnificently built, together with baths, fountains and gardens. Masters were appointed to teach them letters, and the sciences, and such exercises as were agreeable to their age ; they were instructed in the holy Scriptures ; and as they shewed tokens of piety, were placed amongst the Clergy, and the order of Lecturers was conferred upon them.

THE Emperor Constantius gave great power to the eunuchs of his palace, the chief of whom was Eusebius the chamberlain, a vain, covetous, unjust and cruel man, who from a mean extraction had raised himself to govern the Emperor. This Eusebius fell into Arianism by the persuasion of the Priest, whom Constantine the Great had intrusted with his Will, and who by that means had acquired great authority and free liberty of entering into the palace : he had even infected the mind of the Empress with his heresy. The Emperor also began to doubt what he should believe concerning this new opinion ; every body in the palace disputed about it, the women, the eunuchs, and the very guards : From this the disease spread into private families, into other cities and distant provinces ; for the disturbance which these disputes caused, excited every body to enquire into the subject, and enter into dispute : However, Illyrium and the rest of the West, had no share in it ; but continued steadfast in the Nicene faith. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis conceived at that time great hopes, and resolved to put a Bishop of their party at Alexandria, that they might hinder St. Athanasius from coming thither again.

BUT the Emperor Constantine the young did not give them the opportunity ; for in the year 338 he sent back St. Athanasius to his Church, with a letter addressed to the Catholick people of Alexandria, wherein he says, that the holy Bishop had been sent into Gaul, lest by the fury of his enemies he should remain exposed to a misfortune which would admit of no remedy : that it was the intention of Constantine the Great to restore him to his church, if he had not been prevented by death. When Athanasius comes amongst you, added he, he will inform you how much we have honoured him ; and you need not be surprized at it, seeing we were induced to it by your affliction, of which we were sensible, and by the venerable presence of that great man. My dear brethren, may the divine providence preserve him to you. Given at Treves the fifteenth of the calends of July ; that is to say, on the seventeenth of June. The Emperor Constantius durst not oppose the return of St. Athanasius, who set out from Treves after two years and four months banishment. He passed through Syria, arrived in Egypt, and entered again into Alexandria, where he was received with incredible joy by every body, viz. the Clergy, with the people

people of the city and country, who ran in crouds to see him. All the churches A. D. 338.
resounded with prayers and thanksgiving. The rest of the Bishops who had
been banished from their Sees were also re-established in them; among others
Asclepas of Gaza, and Marcellus of Ancyra. The Arians complained greatly
of the return of Athanasius, as being an act contrary to Church discipline, say-
ing, that he could not be restored or re-established but by the decree of a
council, since he had been banished by the council of Tyre.

THEY wrote letters to the three Emperors, accusing him of several crimes, IV.
of which this was the first, viz. for having violated the canons in entering again *New calum-*
into his See without an order of council. They accused him likewise for rais- *nies against*
ing tumults and seditions upon his return; of being the cause of tears and *St. Athanasi-*
groans among the people, who, said they, received him with regret, for ha- *us.*
ving robbed the churches of Alexandria; for committing violences and mur- *Ap. Ath.*
der; and misapplying the charitable donations founded by the Emperor Con- *P. 724.*
stantine for the subsistence of widows and Ecclesiastical persons in Libya, and *Ath. p. 737.*
some parts of Egypt; and that he sold for his own use the corn appointed for
that purpose; of which he had the distribution: They likewise obtained a let-
ter from the Emperor Constantius, which supported this last head of the ac-
cusation: But these calumnies had no great effect, either upon Constans, or
Constantine, although the Eusebians had sent deputies to support them; for *Ad. solit.*
St. Athanasius sent also some of his Clergy with letters, which justified him *p. 815.*
and covered his enemies with confusion.

THE Eusebians sent Macarius the Priest with Martyrius and Hesychius two *Apol. ad*
Deacons to Rome, who carried letters to Julius the Bishop, wherein not *Const.*
only St. Athanasius, but also Asclepas of Gaza, and Marcellus of Ancyra were *p. 675. D.*
accused. These deputies made solicitations in favour of Pistus, whom the *Julius P. ap.*
Eusebians designed for Bishop of Alexandria; but he never was in possession *Ath. apol. 2.*
of it; they would have engaged the Bishop of Rome to write to him, as be- *p. 743.*
ing in communion with him. St. Athanasius also sent certain Priests to Rome; *Epiph. Hær.*
but as soon as Macarius knew that they were arrived, fearing lest he should be *69. n. 8.*
shamefully convicted about the matter of Pistus, retired in the night, though
sick, although Julius expected him. The deputies of St. Athanasius being
arrived, informed the Bishop of Rome that this pretended Bishop Pistus was
one of the chief disciples of Arius; that he and Secundus of Ptolemais who
had ordained him, had been excommunicated by St. Alexander, and after-
wards by the council of Nice; neither durst the Deacon Martyrius deny or *Jul. ap. Ath.*
contradict it. They confounded the Eusebians upon every head of the accu- *Apol. 2.*
sation, in a publick conference, in the presence of Julius. At length the de- *p. 741.*
puties of the Eusebians besought him to assemble a council, and order Atha- *Ad. solit.*
nasion and his accusers to appear there, declaring that they reserved their proofs *p. 819.*
to be then produced. Julius accepted the proposal; wrote to both parties, *Anno 340.*
summoning St. Athanasius in particular.

CONSTANTINE the younger did not live long, after restoring St. Athana- V.
sius. There was a dispute between him and Constans concerning Africa and *The death of*
Italy. Constans concealed his resentment for three years, waiting for an op- *Constantine*
portunity to surprize his brother: At length, seeing him enter upon his do- *the younger.*
minions, he sent troops under pretence of assisting Constantius in the Persian *Socr. ibid.*
war. Those took the advantage of Constantine and killed him near Aquileia, *c. 5.*
under the consulship of Acyndinus and Proculus, in the year 340. Constant *Zosim. l. 2.*
p. 691.
joined *Victor. epist.*

joined to his own share that of Constantine, and the whole Empire was reduced to two parts, viz. the Eastern and Western. The death of Constantine deprived St. Athanasius and the whole Church of a very powerful protector.

VI.
The death of
Eusebius of
Cæsarea—
His doctrine.
Soc. ii. c. 14.
Sozom. iii.
c. 2.
iv. vit. c. 49.]

ABOUT this time, namely in the year 340, Eusebius of Pamphylia, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine died; he was the most learned man that the Church had in his time. Besides the works which I have mentioned, namely, the Treatise against Hierocles; the Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration; his Chronicon and Ecclesiastical History; besides these, in the latter part of his life he composed a large treatise against Marcellus of Ancyra; the Life of the Emperor Constantine, or rather his Elogium, and a Panegyrick, which is as it were an abridgment of it: this he pronounced in his presence at the solemnity of the thirtieth year of his reign. These works we have; but we have lost the thirty books against Porphyrius and many others. It is chiefly by the work against Marcellus that we may judge of the doctrine of Eusebius concerning the Divine Word; for this work was written after the Arians had started their question, and were condemned at the council of Nice; in the height of the disputes, and upon that subjects which is there thoroughly considered.

Theod. lib. 1.
c. 9.

Ibid. c. 10.
iii.

Theod. c. 2.
p. 150. D.

Prov. viii. 22.

Theod. c. 8.
iv. Demonst.
c. 2.

V. Demon.
p. 214. C.

It is divided into five books; the two first are entitled simply, *Against Marcellus of Ancyra*, and contain scarce any thing else but the exposition of his doctrine, which is sufficient, as Eusebius pretends, to convict him of sabellianism. The three other books are intituled, *Of Ecclesiastical Theology*, and are addressed to Flaccillus Bishop of Antioch. In these Eusebius refutes Marcellus, opposing to him the doctrine which he calls that of the Catholick Church. It is very near the same which he had proposed in his other works, particularly in the Evangelical Demonstration. He condemns those who asserted that the Word was a creature, and derived from nothing; for, says he, how could he be the Son and the only Son of GOD, if he was of the same nature with all other creatures? And besides, those who place two *Hypostases*, the one not begotten, the other created out of nothing, do well preserve the unity of GOD; but according to them there is no only Son; he is neither LORD nor GOD, and has nothing in common with the Divinity of the Father. And elsewhere explaining this famous passage, where according to the Greek version Wisdom says, The LORD has * created me; he says, If any one will affirm that he was created, let him not say, that he passed from non-existence to existence, or that he was taken out of nothing, after the manner of other creatures, as some have impiously thought. He afterwards learnedly explains this passage according to the Hebrew, which shews that he was not ignorant of that language.

HE says, that the Son of GOD is the fountain of Life, Light, and even Reason it self. He spoke thus in his Evangelical Demonstration, adding, that he is beauty and goodness it self, if it be allowed to bestow those names on what is produced. In the same work, he said, It is dangerous to say simply, that the Son was derived from nothing, like other productions; for the generation of the Son is of a different nature from the creation made by the Son. These words are so much the more remarkable, because he wrote them in the council of Nice. And in the same work he says, that we must not think that the Son was not in being at a certain time, and afterwards produced; but that he

was

* In our version possessed. See notes above.

was before all time, always pre-existing and co-existing with the Father. This doctrine is quite contrary to that of Arius, who accused St. Alexander of saying, *Always the Father, always the Son*. Eusebius says besides in his theology, that the Father declared his Son LORD, SAVIOUR, and GOD of all things, and partaker of his throne. All this seems to justify the faith of Eusebius. Sup. lib. 10.
Lib. 1. c. 11.

HOWEVER, in writing to the Bishop Euphrasion, he did not scruple to say plainly, that CHRIST is not really GOD; and we find several dangerous expressions in that same work against Marcellus. He seems to make a difference between the Divinity of the Son, and that of the Father; for, says he, if they are afraid lest we assert two GODS, let them know, that even in confessing that the Son is GOD, there is but one only GOD, namely, he who alone is without beginning and unbegotten, who possesses the Divinity as peculiar to himself, and who is the cause that the Son is, and that he is such as he is: He never says, according to the language received afterwards into the Church, that the Father and the Son are but one GOD. He does not use the term *Consubstantial*; and when he received it at the council of Nice, it was in a sense which does not establish a perfect equality, as we have seen in his letter. On the contrary, he accuses Marcellus of sabellanism, because he said, that before the creation of the world there was none but GOD alone; and that GOD and his Word were one and the same thing; which every Catholic says at this day. Eusebius pretends, that to speak thus is to deny the Hypostases of the Son, and to place him in his Father, as an accedent put into its subject. According to this principle, he will not allow that the sovereign GOD was incarnate, because he gives this title to the Father only. He seems to make an inequality between the Father and the Son, saying, It is not necessary to suppose two GODS in supposing two Hypostases; for we do not hold them to be both equal in dignity, nor without beginning, nor unbegotten; wherefore, the Son himself teaches that the Father is also his GOD. He says afterwards, that we render not Divine honour to the Son, but because of the Father; whom we honour by him as a king in his image: And elsewhere, that the Son acknowledges his Father as the only true GOD; because, though he himself be the true GOD; he is so but as the image; and the title of *Only* is agreeable to the Father, as being the original. He still seems to make an inequality between the Father and the Son, saying, That the Son is neither the Sovereign GOD, nor one of the angels, but that he is between the two, and the Mediator of the Father and the Angels. He speaks after the like manner in his Evangelical Demonstration; and pretends to prove, that it was necessary that GOD should produce a middle power above all the rest, to lessen the infinite disproportion which is betwixt Him and the creature. In the same work he calls the Son the Minister and Instrument of the creation. He calls him likewise a work *δημιουργία*. He says that the Father exists and subsists before the generation of the Son; so that he alone is unbegotten. He says that the Son is not an inseparable accident, as brightness from light, but subsists by the will of the Father, who produced him by a deliberate purpose. Lastly, what appears less excusable, he says, that the Holy Ghost is neither GOD nor Son, but one of the things made by the Son; this he says in the piece against Marcellus: However, we may put a favourable construction upon most of the expressions of Eusebius, if we consider that, in his time although the doctrine of the Church was certain, her language upon this sublime mystery was not entirely

Ap. Euf. iii.
Theol. c. 4.
p. 168. C.

tirely formed ; and all were not agreed upon proper terms, to oppose the subtilties of heresy. Arius Marcellus of Ancyra reproached Asterius for admitting of two distinct persons in the Trinity, because the Greek word *πρόσωπον* which signifies Person, was not universally received in this matter. It may be said, moreover, that Eusebius does not distinguish sufficiently what belongs to JESUS CHRIST according to the Divine nature, and according to the humane.

Sup. lib. 10.
n. 34. n. 42

Vid. Testi-
mon. de
Euf.
Ap. Valef.

Socr. ii. hist.
c. 4.

VII.
The death of
St. Alexander
of Constanti-
nople. Paul
made Bishop
afterwards
Eusebius.
Socr. ii. c. 6.
Soz. iii. c. 3.
V. Pagi, 340.
n. 9.
Ath. ad solit.
p. 813.

Ath. ibid.

Socr. ii. c. 7.
Sozom. iii.
c. 4.

Socr. v. hist.
c. 7

BUT though the doctrine of Eusebius of Cæsarea might be excused, it is hard to justify his conduct. He is marked from the beginning among the Bishops, who took Arius under their protection against St. Alexander of Alexandria. He does not say a word of this famous dispute in his Ecclesiastical History ; and that it may not be said that he ended his history when it began, he speaks nothing plainly of it in the life of Constantine, saying only in general, that there was a division in the Church, principally in Egypt, without ever explaining the cause of it ; and it might seem according to him, that in the council of Nice no other important question was treated of than that of Easter. In relating the laws of Constantine against Hereticks, he makes no mention of that which condemned the writings of Arius to be burnt. Speaking of the council of Tyre, he says not a word of the process of St. Athanasius, who was the subject of it. This affected silence gives better authority to these among the antients, who have accused him of Arianism, than to those who would have justified him from it. Acacius also, his disciple and successor in the See of Cæsarea, became afterwards one of the chief of the Arians. This Acacius was lame, and retained a surname given him upon this occasion ; he was a man of wit and learning, and composed several works ; amongst others, The Life of his predecessor Eusebius.

ABOUT the same time St. Alexander of Constantinople died, aged ninety-eight years, having been a Bishop twenty three. When he was dying, his Clergy asked him, to whom they ought to intrust the government of the Church, after him. If you seek, said he, a man of exemplary life, and one capable of instructing you, ye have Paul : If you look for one skilful in managing affairs abroad, and keeping commerce with the great, joined to a religious appearance, Macedonius is better. Paul was originally of Thessalonica, as yet but young, though very prudent for his age : he had been banished by Constantine the Great at the request of the Arians. Macedonius was old, and had been a great while a Deacon. As long as St. Alexander lived, the Catholicks prevailed at Constantinople ; at his death the Arians got uppermost, thinking their party strong enough to elect Macedonius ; which caused some disorders ; for the Catholicks demanded Paul, and carried it at this time. Paul was then ordained Bishop of Constantinople in the Basilicon of peace, which was afterwards joined to St. Sophia. Macedonius found at first a kind of an accusation against him ; but he quitted it, united himself again, and being ordained Priest, served under him in that quality. As the election of Paul was made in the absence of the Emperor Constantius, he was extremely provoked when he came to Constantinople, pretending that he was unworthy of the Bishoprick ; and by the faction of his enemies he assembled a council, wherein he was deposed, and Eusebius of Nicomedia put in his stead, who was thus transferred a second time, contrary to the rules of the Church. After this the Arians were masters of Constantinople for the space of forty years.

IN the mean time a council of about a hundred Bishops assembled at Alexandria from Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis, who unanimously wrote a synodical letter to all the Catholick Bishops in the world. They complained at first, that the Eusebians did not cease persecuting St. Athanasius; that they procured him to be banished, and would have put him to death; that after his return, they sent a letter filled with new invented calumnies to the three Emperors; in which they accuse him with nothing less than committing murder. If these accusations were true, say they, they would be guilty of violating the rules of Christianity, by carrying an accusation of murder against the Bishops to the Emperor; but they are only lies and calumnies, and we are ashamed at our being obliged to answer them. Then they begin to justify him, saying, Murders and imprisonings are far from our Church. Athanasius has not delivered any body to the executioner, nor put any body in prison: Our sanctuary continues pure, as it has always been; he glories only in the blood of JESUS CHRIST. Athanasius has neither put Priest nor Deacon to death; nor is he author either of murder or banishment. His enemies acknowledge plainly in their letter, that it is the Prefect of Egypt who has condemned several persons; yet are not they ashamed to ascribe these accusations to St. Athanasius, who was not then arrived at Alexandria, but in Syria upon his return from banishment. These proceedings have not been carried on upon any Ecclesiastical account, as ye may see by the acts which we send you; for we have made a strict search, knowing that the Eusebians wrote them. By this ye may judge of the preceeding calumnies.

AFTERWARDS they give an account of things from the beginning of the persecutions which St. Athanasius had suffered, viz. That the Arians had hated him ever since Arius was deposed, because of the esteem which Alexander his Bishop had for him, while he was yet a Deacon: That their hatred increased at the council of Nice, where by experience they knew his zeal: That seeing him raised to the Bishoprick, and the declared enemy of heresy, they had let their malice appear, stirring up the Emperor against him, threatening him to hold councils as they afterwards did at Tyre: Then they came to the calumnies advanced against St. Athanasius; the first of which was, that six or seven Bishops had ordained him privately. On the contrary, say they, we are witnesses, together with all the city and the whole province, that all the people of the Catholick Church with one voice, demanded Athanasius for their Bishop; that the greatest part of us ordained him in the sight of all the people; concerning which, we are more worthy of belief, than those who were not present.

BUT Eusebius finds fault with the ordination of Athanasius, he who perhaps never had orders; and who, if he received them, has made them void. He was first at Berytus, which he left to come to Nicomedia, both contrary to law. His desire of the second made him neglect the affection which he ought to have born to the first; neither has he kept the second which he had unjustly usurped; he leaves that to invade the place of another, placing religion in riches and the greatness of cities, and despising the portion which is given him by the appointment of GOD. The Bishops of Egypt speak this of the last translation of Eusebius to Constantinople, and continue: He knows not that the LORD is in the midst of two or three assembled in his name; nor does he think of what the Apostles says: Not boasting of other men's labours;

VIII.
A council at
Alexandria
in favour of
St. Athanasi-
us.
Ath. 2. ap.
p. 720. B.
Id. ad Afric.
p. 940. D.
2 Ap. p. 723.
B.
p. 724. A.
p. 725. A.

Sup. lib. 111.
n. 29.

Matth. xviii.
20.
2 Cor. x. 15.

A. D. 340. bours ; and this precept which he gives : If thou art bound unto a wife, seek
 1 Cor. vii. 27. not to be loosed : For if this is said of a wife, how much more ought it to be
 understood of a Church ? whosoever is once tied there by a Bishoprick, should
 seek no more, lest he be found an adulterer, according to the holy Scriptures.
 Such were at that time the maxims of the holy Bishops concerning translations.
 They proceed to the council of Tyre, and shew how the faction of Eusebius
 prevailed there, being supported by Count Dionysius and the secular power ;
 how St. Athanasius was obliged to retire, and complain to the Emperor ; as
 also the new calumny which the Eusebians laid to his charge concerning the
 corn for Constantinople ; they affirmed that an assembly acting by the autho-
 rity of a prince cannot be called a council, where Bishops were forced to be
 present by his orders ; and where a Count and soldiers were as guards for the
 Bishops. They justify St. Athanasius from the murder of Arsenius and from
 the chalice of Ischyra ; about which these words are remarkable : Since there
 was neither church there, nor Priest to offer sacrifice, and that the day did not
 require it, not being Sunday, how could a mystick cup be broken there ? A-
 bundance of cups are broken in houses, and in the market without impiety,
 but it is impious willingly to break a mystick cup ; but this is only found with
 lawful Priests. Have you a right to present it to the people ? Have you re-
 ceived it according to the rule of the Church ? Sure, if he who breaks a
 chalice is impious, he who profanes the blood of JESUS CHRIST is much
 more impious.

p. 731. D.

THEN passing to the deputies who were sent from the council of Tyre to
 get information in the Marcotis, they represent their irregular proceedings.
 p. 737. D. The sacred ministers, say they, were excluded, and they informed themselves
 of pagans, concerning a church, a table, and a cup, which are sacred things ;
 and what is worse, they called pagans for witnesses : They represent the out-
 rages which were committed at Alexandria, by the authority of Philagrius the
 Prefect, saying, that four Priests of that city were banished who had not been
 p. 737. C. at Tyre. They clear St. Athanasius from the fresh calumny of having sold and
 applied to his own use the corn which Constantine the Great had given for the
 sustenance of widows, in Libya, and several cantons of Egypt, though indeed
 the distribution was still continued, and St. Athanasius had only the trouble
 of it.

p. 338. A.

THE Bishops of Egypt add, We have sent you the testimony of the Bi-
 shops of Libya, Pentapolis, and Egypt, to let you know the calumny, which
 the Eusebians have invented, on purpose to establish the Arian heresy, and to
 frighten those who stand up in defence of the truth ; but thanks to your piety,
 who have often subscribed an anathema against the Arians, not allowing them
 a place in the Church. As to the Eusebians they are easily convicted ; for af-
 ter their first writings concerning the Arians, of which we have sent you co-
 pies, they openly support, in opposition to the Catholick Church, those very
 Arians whom she has anathematized, and have given them a Bishop : It is pro-
 bable that the letter here speaks of Pistus. It goes on : They divide the
 Church by threatening and terror, that they may establish ministers of their im-
 piety every where ; they send even Deacons to the Arians, who were pub-
 licly received into their assemblies ; they write to them and receive answers,
 rending the Church by this communication : They send letters every where,
 to establish their heresy, as you may learn from what they have written to the
 Bishops of Rome, and perhaps to your selves.

THERE-

THEREFORE being now assembled, we write and conjure you to receive this testimony, sympathizing with our brother Athanasius; and to excite your zeal against the Eusebians, the authors of this enterprize, to the end that no such thing may happen for the future, we demand justice for so many crimes, according to that word of the Apostle, Put away * *the evil* from amongst you; 1 Cor. v. 13. for their actions render them unworthy of the communion of the faithful. If they continue to write to you against St. Athanasius, give no ear to them; for whatever proceeds from them is a lye. If their letters should bear the names of some Egyptian Bishops, be ye sure that these are none of us, but Meletians; continually contriving schism and sedition: They, without reason, ordain men who are intirely Pagans, and do things which we are ashamed to write; but ye may learn them of those who bring this letter. Thus ended the letter of the Egyptian Bishops, sent to all other Bishops, and particularly to Julius A. Bishop of Rome; they added several acts to justify what they had advanced; namely the tryal of those whom the governour of Egypt had caused to be punished before the return of St. Athanasius; the letter which Constantine the Great had written, when he knew that Arsenius was still alive; that of Alexander of Thessalonica, together with the recantation of Ischyrras, and the protests of the Clergy of Alexandria and the Marcotis; as also the certificates of several Bishops of Egypt and Libya, that St. Athanasius had faithfully distributed the corn belonging to the widows; the letter of the Eusebians in favour of the Arians. Several other Bishops wrote to Julius Bishop of Rome in favour of St. Athanasius.

A. D. 349.

1 Cor. v. 13.

Ath. p. 379.

Ap. Ath. p. 745. D.

IX.
A prophecy of
St. Anthony.
Vita Ant.
c. 28. p. 497.
D.

Inf. n. 14.

IN the mean time St. Anthony had a revelation of what should happen to the Church of Alexandria. One day as he was sitting, he fell as it were into an ecstasy, and continued a great while in contemplation, groaning from time to time. An hour afterwards he turned towards those that were by; he groaned, he trembled, and rose to pray; and falling upon his knees he continued a considerable time in that posture, and at last rose up weeping. Those that stood by trembling, and being seized with fear, asked him what was the matter; and pressed him so much that at length they forced him to speak. After a sigh, he says to them, O my children, it is better that I should die, before what I have seen is fulfilled. When they still urged him, he says weeping, The wrath of GOD is about to fall upon the Church, which is to be delivered to men like unto brute beasts; for I have seen the holy table surrounded by mules, who by their kicking overthrew what was upon it; as when these animals jump and leap about in disorder. Doubtless you have heard my groans. I heard a voice, which said, My altar shall be profaned. This is what that holy old man then said; and two years afterwards his prophecy was fulfilled in our sight: Nevertheless, from that time he comforted his disciples, adding, Be not discouraged, my children; though the LORD is angry, yet he will pardon us, and the Church will regain her usual beauty and splendor: ye shall see those that are persecuted re-established, impiety shut up in her dungeon, and the Catholick faith freely preached every where; only be not infected by the Arians, that doctrine proceeds not from the Apostles, but from demons and their father the devil; it is barren and unreasonable, like the mules. Thus spoke St. Anthony, describing the character of Arianism, which denied the fruitfulness of the Divine nature, and the Divinity of the Word.

VOL. II.

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THE

* In our version wicked person; the original is τὸν πονηρὸν.

A. D. 341. **X.** **The council of Antioch. The dedication.** **Soc. i. c. 8.** **Sozom. iij. c. 5.** **Palad. vii.** **Chryf. p. 78.** **Soc. ii. c. 8.** **Soz. ii. c. 6.** **V. Valef. hift.** THE magnificent church which Constantine the Great had begun at Antioch, was not finished till ten years after, viz. in the fifth year of the reign of his children and 341 of JESUS CHRIST: The fifth, tenth, and twentieth years of their reigns was celebrated with great solemnity; so on this occasion they were desirous of dedicating that church; and to that end, a great number of Bishops were assembled at Antioch. Eusebius of Constantinople, who could not live in peace, made this a pretence to hold a great council and execute his malicious designs against St. Athanasius. There came thither ninety-seven Bishops, most of whom were Catholicks, but forty of them Arians. The provinces from which they assembled were Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Isauria, Cappadocia, Bithynia and Thrace. The most noted Bishops were Eusebius of Constantinople, Dianæus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Flaccillus of Antioch, Theodore of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Maris of Chalcedon, Acacius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Eudoxius of Germanicia in Syria, George of Laodicea, Theophronius of Tyana. Among these were four metropolitans, viz. Antioch, Heraclea, and the two Cæsarea's; Marcellus of Ancyra metropolitan of Gallatia was the fifth, if it is true that he assisted at this council, as we have reason to believe. St. Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem refused to come, remembering how he had been drawn in to subscribe the condemnation of St. Athanasius. There came not one Bishop from Italy, nor the West, nor any body from Julius Bishop of Rome, though there be a canon, forbidding the Churches to enact any thing without the consent of the Bishop of Rome. These are the words of Socrates, which are to be understood of general ordinances, and not of particular regulations.

Ath. de Syn. n. 891. D. **Soc. ii. c. 10.** **Soz. iii. c. 5.** THIS council of Antioch was held under the consulship of Marcellinus and Probinus in the year 341, in the month of September. The Emperor Constantius was there in person. As the Eusebian Bishops were accused of heresy by all the rest, they drew up a confession of faith in form of letter, which they presented to them, that they might make no difficulty in communicating with them. It was conceived in these terms: We have not been followers of Arius; how should we, being Bishops, follow a Priest? nor have we received any other profession of faith than that which was proposed at the beginning; but we have examined and tried his faith, and have received him rather than followed him, as ye shall see by what we are about to say. We have learned from the beginning, to believe in one GOD only, the Sovereign, Creator and Preserver of all things intelligible and sensible; and in one only Son of GOD, subsisting before all ages, and co-existing with the Father who begat him; by whom all things were made both visible and invisible: Who in the last days descended according to the good pleasure of his father, took flesh of the holy virgin, and accomplished all the will of his father; suffered, was raised again, and hath returned to heaven; who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead; who remains King and GOD throughout all ages: We believe also in the Holy Ghost: And if that is necessary to be added: We believe likewise the resurrection of the flesh, and the life eternal. This form was so conceived as to satisfy both the Catholicks and the Arians. It contained nothing but what both were agreed upon; and no term was made use of which was not in Scripture; it was there neither said, that the Son was *co-eternal* or *consubstantial* with the Father, nor that *he was not*.

not. The Eusebians took care to send this letter to all the Bishops in every city; and there is reason to believe that those who were at Antioch remained satisfied with it, since they communicated with them. A. D. 341.

AFTER the ceremony of the dedication, the affairs of the Church were treated of, and especially what related to faith. No mention was made of the heresy which said that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were of a different substance; namely, that of Arius who was already condemned, and seemingly rejected by every body; but they assembled in opposition to the heresy, which after the council of Nice, went so far as to affirm, that these were only three names ascribed to the Father: For one of the Bishops was suspected of this error; and it appeared afterwards that it was Marcellus of Ancyra who was accused of sabellianism. To condemn this heresy, they proposed a confession of Faith made formerly by the martyr St. Lucian, which they said was found in his own hand-writing. It was conceived in these terms, and approved of by all the ninety-seven Bishops. Hilar. de Syn. P. 333, 334. Sozom. iii. c. 5.

ACCORDING to the tradition of the Gospel and the Apostles, we believe in one only GOD the Father Almighty, the Creator of all things: And in one LORD JESUS CHRIST the only Son of GOD, by whom all things were made; who was begotten of the Father before all ages; GOD of GOD; the Whole of the Whole; One of One; Perfect of Perfect; King of Kings; Lord of Lords; the living Word, Wisdom, Life, true Light; the Way, Truth, and Resurrection; the Shepherd, the Gate; immoveable and unalterable; the unchangeable image of the Deity; of the essence, power, will and glory of the Father; the first-born of every creature; who was at the beginning in GOD, GOD the Word, as is said in the Gospel: And the Word was GOD; by whom all things were made; and in whom all things subsist; who in the last days descended from on high; was born of a virgin according to the Scriptures, and made man; the Mediator between GOD and men; the Apostle of our faith, and author of Life. And a little after: We believe also in the Holy Ghost, who is given to the faithful for their consolation, sanctification and perfection. As our LORD JESUS CHRIST commanded his Disciples, saying, Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It is plain, that this is of a Father who is really a Father, of a Son who is really a Son, of a Holy Ghost who is really Holy Ghost. These are not simple names given in vain; but they expressly signify the substance, order, and glory proper to every one of these who are named; so that these are three things in respect to subsistence, but one in respect to concord. And afterwards: If any one teach, that there ever was a time or an age before the Son was begotten, let him be anathema. And if any one say, that the Son is a creature, as one of the creatures, or a production as another production, and does not conform himself to the tradition of Scripture, let him be anathema. XI. A form of Faith. Ath. de Syn. p. 892. D. Hilar. de Syn. p. 333. Socr. ii. c. 10.

THE holy Bishops who approved this confession of faith, had nothing in view, but the error which eluded the truth of the divine persons, by the plurality of names, which it attributed to the Father only: Therefore they mentioned three *hypotheses* to signify by this expression persons subsisting; not to separate the substance of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by difference of essence. In this form there is nothing which shews the difference of essence and nature between the Father and the Son; inasmuch as it is said,

A.D. 341. GOD of GOD, the Whole of Whole, Perfect of Perfect. The expression *One* is used to exclude any idea's of the generation of men; and it is said King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to shew the equality of power; and in order to exclude all manner of difference, it is said the immoveable and unalterable image of the Divinity, of the essence and glory of the Father, shewing, that he is born of him, without any alteration of the Divine nature in the one or the other. Thus St. Hilarius explained this confession of faith some years afterwards, shewing it to be entirely Catholick, the Greek word *ousia* he translates *essence*, which is oftener rendred *substance*; but makes use of the term *subsistence* for the Greek word *υποστασις*, which I have rendred *substance*. This form was afterwards very famous, chiefly amongst those who not being properly Arians, rejected the term *consubstantial*.

Ath. de Syn.
p. 394.

NEVERTHELESS as the length of this form rendred it a little obscure, Theophronius Bishop of Tyana proposed another which was shorter; it was conceived in these words, GOD knows, and I take him to witness, that upon my soul I believe thus: In GOD the Father Almighty, Creator of the Universe, of whom are all things; and in his only Son GOD the Word, Power, and Wisdom, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, by whom every thing exists, begotten of the Father before all ages, perfect GOD of perfect GOD, who is hypostatically in GOD; and who descended in the latter days, and was born of a virgin, and whatever else relates to the incarnation. Then he adds: And in the Holy Ghost the Comforter; the Spirit of truth; whom GOD by his prophets promised to spread upon his servants, whom the LORD promised to send unto his disciples, and has actually sent him. If any one teach or think any thing contrary to this faith, let him be anathema: Whether he hold the opinion of Marcellus of Ancyra, or Sabellius or Paul of Samosata; let him be anathema, he and all those who communicate with him. Theophronius having composed this confession of faith, laid it before the council, where all the Bishops received it, and subscribed to it. It contains two things in particular; the first that it explains the distinction of persons, without diversity of substance, more clearly than the foregoing, saying, that the Word is hypostatically in GOD, that is to say, subsisting by itself, and not as an accident in its subject. The other thing particular in it is naming the Bishop whose suspected belief gave occasion to these confessions of faith, namely Marcellus of Ancyra, and the two ancient hereticks whom he was accused of following.

XII.
The canons of
the council of
Antioch.
Con. Antioch.
tom. 2. coun.
p. 361.

THE council having thus regulated what related to faith, composed twenty-five canons of discipline, which are received by the whole Church. The first ordains, that those who persist in not observing the decree of the council of Nice concerning Easter, be excommunicated and banished from the Church, though they be only laicks; but if Clerks, that is to say Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, the council declares them henceforth strangers to the Church, as loaded not only with their own sin, but that of the people whom they pervert, by separating themselves, and observing Easter with the Jews; they are not only deposed, but deprived of all the external honours which the Clergy enjoys; and those who dare communicate with them after their deposition, incur the same penalty. We here see a censure absolutely pronounced, without waiting for judgment, and extended to those who communicated with the guilty.

THE

THE second canon condemns those who entered into the church, and heard the holy Scriptures; but through a spirit of disobedience, either would not partake in prayer with the people, or refused the communion of the Eucharist. They shall be banished from the Church till they confess their sin, begging to obtain pardon, and shewing fruits of repentance. It is not permitted to communicate with such as are excommunicated, nor to assemble in houses at prayer with those who do not pray with the Church; nor to receive into one Church such as frequent not the assemblies of another. If a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or any other of the Clergy is found communicating with the excommunicated, he shall be also excommunicated. These two first canons were probably made upon account of the schismatical Audians, who began at the same time with the Arians; for they observe their Easter with the Jews, without observing the decree of the council of Nice; they prayed with none but those who were of their sect; and pretended to forgive sins by a simple ceremony, without observing the time prescribed for penance, according to the laws of the Church. The fifth canon still relates to schismatics, and is to this purpose: If a Priest or Deacon, contemning his Bishop, separate himself from the Church, hold an assembly apart and erect an altar, refusing to obey his Bishop, being called back once and twice; let him be absolutely deposed, without hopes of being restored. If he continue to disturb the Church, he must be suppressed by outward force, as a seditious person. This is what we now call imploring the assistance of the secular power. The council adds: He who is excommunicated by his Bishop shall not be received by any other, until he is justified in a council, and has there obtained a more favourable judgment. This rule is common to Clerks and Laicks. No stranger shall be received without letters of peace. The Priests of the country shall give none, nor other canonical letters, excepting to the neighbouring Bishops; but the *Choriepiscopi* may give letters of peace.

Sup. lib. 10.

a. 44.

Epiph. Har.

70.

Theod. Har.

fab. iv. c. 10.

can. 6.

can. 7.

can. 8.

can. 3.

can. Nic. 15.

16.

can. 11.

can. 21.

of.

As to the settlement and residence of Ecclesiasticks, the council of Antioch, according to the appointment of that of Nice, pronounceth thus: If any Priest, Deacon, or other Clerk, leave his diocese to go into another; and stay a long time, settling himself there; he shall no longer exercise his function; especially if he refuse to return into the diocese when called back by his Bishop: But if he persevere in disobedience, he shall be absolutely deposed, without hopes of being restored; and if another Bishop receives him who is deposed upon this account, he shall be punished by the council, as guilty of a breach of the laws of the Church. If a Bishop, a Priest, or any other Clerk, endeavour to go to the Emperor, with the consent of, and letters from the Bishops of the province, and especially from the metropolitan, let him be deprived, not only of his communion, but of his dignity; for having the assurance to importune the Emperors ears, contrary to the laws of the Church. If any necessary affair obliges him to go to him, let him do it by the advice of the metropolitan and other Bishops of the province, carrying their letters with him.

It is particularly enacted against translations of Bishops: That no Bishop remove from one diocese to another, either willingly, or yielding to the violence of the people, or a necessity imposed upon him by the Bishops; but let him stay in the Church which he has first received from God for his portion, as hath been already ordained. Here is understood the fifteenth canon of Nice; all pretences of eluding it being cut off, as being forced either by the affection

A. D. 344

of the people, or choice of the Bishops. This canon makes it appear, that Eusebius of Constantinople did not command at this council of Antioch, unless perhaps having satisfied his own ambition, he willingly consented to confine that of others.

can. 16.

If a vacant Bishop take possession of a vacant Church, and usurp the See, without a lawful council, let him be banished, even though chosen by all the people of the Church which he has invaded. A legal or perfect council is that

can. 17.

where the metropolitan is present. If a Bishop having received imposition of hands, refuse to go and serve the Church which is trusted to him, let him be

can. 18.

excommunicated until he obey; or till the council of the province ordain otherwise. If an ordained Bishop cannot take possession of his Church, either by a refusal of the people, or any other cause not proceeding from him, he shall enjoy his honour and functions, provided he meddle not with the affairs of that Church where he assists in divine offices, and submit himself to the ordonances of the provincial council. This is what the sixteenth canon calls a vacant Bishop, and it does not say that the people for whom he was designed must be forced to receive him: So mild and free was the government of the Churches.

can. 19.

THE Bishop shall not be ordained but in a council, in presence of the metropolitan, and all the Bishops of the province, whom the metropolitan shall assemble by his letters. It is better that they all be there present; but if that be difficult, at least the greatest part of them must be there, or give their consent by letters, that the ordination may be lawful; otherwise it will avail nothing: But if the orders are given according to this rule, and only some obstinate persons resist them, the plurality of voices shall carry it. The council of Arles, and that of Nice had formerly ordered the same thing. The council of Antioch proceeds: It is not allowed in a Bishop to create his successor, even at his death. If he does it the ordination shall be void: And this rule shall be observed, That no one be promoted to the dignity of Bishop after the decease of the first, but he who is found worthy by the opinion of the Bishops assembled in council. Origen had before taken notice of this abuse, that Bishops pretend to create their successors. It is true, nevertheless, that great regard was often had in this matter to the judgment of a holy Bishop.

Conc. Arles. i.
can. 20.
Nic. can. 4.
can. 23.

In numer.
hom. 22.

XIII.
The rest of the
canons of
Antioch:
can. 10.

Vid. Conc.
Ancy. c. 13.
Con. Neoces.
can. 14.
can. 13.

IN opposition to the endeavours that might be made for superiority, the council would have those who live in towns or villages, or who are called *Chorepiscopi*, although they had received the ordination of Bishops to know the bounds of their power, and to rest contented with the government of the Churches which are subject to them. They may appoint Lecturers, Sub-deacons, and Exorcists; but not Priests or Deacons, without the Bishop of the city upon which they depend. He that presumes to violate this rule, shall be deposed: The *Chorepiscopus* shall be ordained by the Bishop of the city. This canon seems to give the *Chorepiscopi* the character of Bishop, which is a matter of some difficulty. The thirteenth is to this purpose, viz. That no Bishop presume to remove from one province into another, and therein ordain any one to Ecclesiastical functions, even if he bring others with him, if he be not sent for by letters from the Metropolitan and Bishops of the province into which he goes. If he goes to ordain, without being sent for, or to dispose of Ecclesiastical affairs which do not belong to him, whatever he doth shall be void; and as a punishment for his unreasonable presumption, he is forthwith deposed by

by the holy council. Be it known also to the Bishops of every province, that A. D. 341.
the metropolitan has also the care of the whole province; because all those can. 9.
who have business assemble from all parts to the chief city: Wherefore it has Nic. can. 4.
been thought proper that he precede them in honour; and that nothing con-
siderable be transacted without him, according to the ancient rule observed by
our fathers. Every Bishop has power only over his own diocese, that is to say,
the city and territories depending thereupon. He ought to govern it accord-
ing to his conscience; he may ordain Priests and Deacons, and judge in pri-
vate matters; but shall do nothing beyond this without the advice of the me-
tropolitan, nor the metropolitan without the advice of others.

CONCERNING Ecclesiastical judgments: It has been thought proper can. 20.
that the Bishops of every province assemble in council twice a year, having
notice given them by the metropolitan. The first council shall be held four
weeks after Easter; the second on the ides of October, which is the tenth of
Hyperberetea. The Priests shall come to these councils, with the Deacons;
and all those who think they have received any wrong, and justice shall be
done them; but private councils are not allowed to be held without the me-
tropolitan. The two yearly councils had already been ordained at Nice; only Nic. can. 5.
the time was different. The council of Antioch adds: If a Bishop is accused, can. 14. Ant.
and the voices of the other Bishops of the province be divided, so that some
judge him innocent, others guilty; the Metropolitan shall send for some of
the Bishops of the neighbouring province to decide that difficulty, and confirm
the judgment with those of his own province. But if a Bishop be condemn- can. 15.
ed by the universal suffrage of all the Bishops in the province; he cannot af-
terwards be judged by others, and this judgment shall stand. If a Bishop de- can. 4.
posed by a council, or a Priest or Deacon deposed by his Bishop, presumes to
concern himself in the ministry to serve as before; he can never hope to be re-
stored by another council; nor shall his defence be again heard. Even all these
who communicate with him shall be banished from the Church, especially if
they know of his condemnation. This canon, though just in itself, seems to
have been artfully proposed by the Eusebians, that it might prevail against St.
Athanasius, which it did, as well as that which follows. If a Priest or Dea- can. 12.
con, deposed by his Bishop, or a Bishop deposed by a council, importune the
ears of the Emperor, instead of laying his case before a greater council, he
shall be unworthy of pardon; his defence shall not be heard, nor can he hope
to be re-established.

As to the temporalities of churches: That what belongs to the churches can. 24.
may be preserved with all the care and fidelity imaginable before God, who
sees and judges all men, they ought to be governed by the judgment and au-
thority of the Bishop to whom all the people and the souls of the faithful are
committed. What belongs to the church ought to be known, particularly by
the Priests and Deacons; and nothing should be hid from them: So that if
the Bishop happens to die, they may know exactly what belongs to the church,
to the end, that nothing be lost or mislaid, and that what properly belongs to
the Bishop, be not disturbed, under pretence of its belonging to the church:
For it is just before God and men, that what properly belongs to the Bishop
be given to whomsoever he shall leave it, and to preserve to the Church what
belongs to her. She ought not to sustain any loss; nor should the interest of
the

A. D. 341. the Church be a pretence for seizing upon what belongs to the Bishop, giving trouble to those who belong to him, and rendering his memory odious.

can. 25.

THE Bishop should have the disposal of the church revenues, in order to distribute them to all those who want, after the most religious manner, and in the fear of GOD. He may take for his own use, if he has occasion, what is necessary for himself and the brethren whom he entertains; so that they want nothing, according to the word of the holy apostle, Having food and rayment,

1 Tim. vi. 8.

let us therewith be content. If he is not contented with that, and applies the goods of the Church to his private use; and if no Priest or Deacon partake with him in the administration of the Church revenues; or if he gives authority to his domestick relations, brethren or children, so that the affairs of the Church be secretly damaged by him, he shall give an account thereof to the provincial council: Moreover, if the Bishop or his Priests have an ill reputation, applying what belongs to the Church to their own use, so that the poor suffer, and religion be thereby despised, they shall also be corrected according to the judgment of a council. This canon seems not to allow the Bishop, and consequently no other Clerks, the use of Church goods, only in case of necessity, and when they cannot subsist otherwise. These are the twenty-five

To. 2. conc.
p. 560.

canons of the council of Antioch. They were attended with a synodical letter in the name of the whole council, directed to the Bishops of all provinces, desiring that they might be confirmed by their consent. And as the discipline of them was holy and apostolical, they were actually received by the whole Church.

XIV.

Gregory the
intruder into
Alexandria.

HOWEVER the Eusebians took occasion from them to raise a new persecution against St. Athanasius. The fourth and twelfth canon take away all hopes of being restored from a deposed Bishop, if he has not forborn the exercising of his functions; or if he has applied himself to the Emperor. They pretended that he was guilty of both these; because, being deposed at Tyre, he had complained to Constantine the Great, and afterwards entred again into his church, without being re-established by a council. Perhaps too, they of these two canons made a new one, which they supposed to be made by the whole council. However that be, forty of them who were there got together, and authorised by the presence of the Emperor, pressed the ordination of a Bishop

V. Pagi.
Anno 341.
n. 32, &c.

Socr. ii. c. 3.
Sozom. iii.
c. 5.

at Alexandria, instead of Athanasius as being deposed; and it was for that end chiefly that they had procured this council. They renewed the old calumnies against him, even those which had been advanced at Tyre, proposing immediately that Eusebius should succeed him, who was afterwards Bishop of Emes-
sus. He was a native of Edessa in Mesopotamia, and of a noble family; from his youth he had studied the holy Scriptures, and was afterwards instructed in the Grecian learning at Edessa; and at length Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Eusebius of Caesarea had explained the sacred writings to him. Being at Antioch

Soc. ii. c. 9.

Sup. xi. n. 49.

when Eustathius was deposed, he staid with Euphronius who succeeded him: He went to Alexandria, avoiding the honour of priesthood, and there studied philosophy. Returning to Antioch, he lived with Flaccillus the successor of Euphronius; and this was his state when Eusebius of Constantinople proposed him for Alexandria. But knowing how St. Athanasius was beloved by his people, he refused this Bishoprick, and was sent to Emesus. His ordination occasioned some disorder, because he was cried down as being a mathematician, that is to say, an

astrolo-

astrologer; and he was forced to go away. He retired to Laodicea, where George was Bishop, who having brought him back to Antioch, caused him to be re-established at Emesus, by the means of Flaccillus and Narcissus. He was also accused of holding the errors of Sabellius; but this happened a long time after. The Emperor Constantius carried him with him, when he marched against the Barbarians, and it is reported that he wrought miracles, which occasioned his being placed in some Martyrologies. He died under this Emperor, and was buried at Antioch, having composed a great number of books in an elegant stile, and pieces written very rhetorical; they were chiefly pieces written against the Jews, the Gentiles, the Novatians; and short homilies upon the Gospels; but none of them are now extant.

A. D. 341.

Hier. in catal;
script.

EUSEBIUS of Emesus having refused the See of Alexandria, the Eusebians proposed Gregory, and actually ordained him. This Gregory was born in Cappadocia, and had studied some time at Alexandria, where St. Athanasius received him kindly, confiding in him, and treating him as his son; yet notwithstanding this he was accused of having a share in the calumny concerning the murder of Arsenius. The Eusebians having ordained him contrary to all rule, for a Church that was not vacant, and where they had no power, made use of the Emperor's authority to put him in possession. They prevailed with him to write letters, and to make Philagrius a second time Præfect of Egypt, whose skill in persecuting the Catholicks they had tried before, when they made their information in the Marcôtis. He was Gregory's countryman, an apostate, and dissolute in his manners: with him the Emperor sent an eunuch called Arfacius, and soldiers to assist them by force. The præfect immediately produced the letters in form of an edict, importing, that Gregory of Cappadocia came from court to succeed Athanasius. Every body was troubled at this news, which they neither expected nor had heard of. The Catholic people assembled with great haste into the churches, complaining loudly to the other judges and the whole city, and representing that never any accusation nor complaint had been given in by the faithful against St. Athanasius, and that this was a trick of the Arians: That allowing Athanasius had been accused of any crime, he should have been judged legally, and his successor should have been appointed according to custom.

Soc. ii. c. 10.

Greg. Naz.
orat. 22.
p. 681. C.

Ath. ad solit.
p. 815. C.

Sup. lib. 11.
n. 29.

Ath. ad orthod.
p. 944.

PHILAGRIUS the Præfect gained the pagan people, with the Jews and unruly multitude by promises, which he afterwards performed. He assembled the shepherds and the most insolent of young men from the publick places, and stirring them up, sent them in great numbers with swords and staves against the people that were assembled in the churches: They rushed into that which bore the name of Quirinus, set fire to the Baptisterion, and stripped the virgins, treating them shamefully, and they were in danger of their lives if they resisted them. Several Monks were trampled under foot and killed. Some of them were forfeited as slaves, others killed with swords and staves, and some beaten and wounded; the holy mysteries were carried away, and thrown upon the ground by the pagans, who sacrificed birds and pine apples upon the holy tables; they also burnt the holy Scriptures which were found in the church, praising their idols, and blaspheming the name of JESUS CHRIST. The Jews and Pagans entring into the Baptisterion, being stripped naked, said and acted such shameful things as modesty forbids to relate. Certain wicked wretches imitating the persecution, took the virgins and women who observed

Epiph. Jul.
Ap. Ath. Apol.
2. p. 394.
c. 751.

Ad. Orthod.
p. 945.

A. D. 341.

a state of continence, dragging them along, in order to force them to blaspheme and deny the LORD; and when they refused, they beat them and trampled them under foot. The church was abandoned as a prey; some took away whatever they found; others divided the goods left therein by some private persons. Abundance of wine being there, they drank it, spilt, or took it away: They pillaged the oyl, taking away the gates and rails; they set the lamps upon the ground against the wall, lighting the candles of the church in honour of their idols. They seized both Priests and Laicks, and brought the virgins unveiled before the governour's tribunal, and put them in prison. Some were sold as slaves, and others whipt; and the virgins and the officers of the Church were deprived of their subsistence.

ALL this was done in Lent, near the feast of Easter. On Good Friday Gregory entred into a church with the governour and certain pagans; and seeing that the people abhorred his violent intrusion, he obliged the governour to cause thirty-four persons as well virgins as married women, and some considerable men to be scourged and imprisoned. One of these virgins amongst the rest was whipt, holding a psalter in her hand, which was torn by the hangman. They would have done the same in another church, where St. Athanasius usually lodged on these days, that they might take him and destroy him: But finding himself discovered, and fearing lest they should commit the same violence in this church as in the others, he stole away from his people before Gregory came thither, and embarked for Rome, that he might assist at the council which was to be held there. Gregory did not even regard the festival of Easter, but caused several Catholicks to be imprisoned on that holy day. He took possession of all the Churches, so that the people and the Catholick Clergy were forced either not to enter into them, or else to communicate with the Arians.

GREGORY would not even suffer the Catholicks to pray in their houses; he accused them to the governour, and watched the sacred officers so strictly, that several private persons who were in extremity could not be baptized, and the sick were deprived of consolation, which afflicted them more than their illness; but they chose rather to omit it, than to receive the hands of the Arians upon their heads. Lest these violences should be known, Gregory caused strict orders to be given to the masters of ships, and even to the passengers, not to speak against him, but on the contrary to carry letters from him; which some refused, and were for that reason imprisoned, chained, and tormented. He also got a decree, written by the governour, addressed to the Emperor, as in the name of the people, against St. Athanasius, laying such calumnies to his charge as were not only sufficient to condemn him to banishment, but death. This decree was subscribed by the Pagans and the keepers of the idols, and likewise by the Arians.

IN the mean time the Eusebians wrote to Philagrius, that he should accompany Gregory in a visit over all Egypt. Bishops were whipt and put in irons. Sarapammon a Bishop and Confessor was banished. Potamo likewise a Bishop and Confessor, who had lost an eye in the persecution, was beaten on the neck till they thought him dead; he could scarcely be recovered after some hours by the help of remedies; but died some time after, having the glory of twice suffering martyrdom. This is the same Potamo Bishop of Heraclea, who had assisted at the council of Nice, and afterwards at that of Tyre. The Church honours

honours his memory on the eighteenth of May. Many other Bishops and A. D. 341.
Hermits were beaten; and during these executions Gregory sat with an offi- Martyrol. 18.
cer named Balacius who bore the title of Duke. After this he invited all the Ath. 16, 817.
people to communicate with him, not minding the contradiction, of abusing
them as wicked persons, and then offering them his communion as saints. He
persecuted the aunt of St. Athanasius, so far as not to allow her to be buried
when she died; and she had continued unburied, if those who hindered it had
not put her under ground, as if she had belonged to them. He took away the
alms which were given to the poor prisoners, causing the vessels in which the
wine and oyl was carried, to be broken. This is a part of Gregory's cruelties.

As he depended only upon the secular power, he esteemed the friendship of XV.
the magistrates more honourable than that of the Bishops and Monks. When St. Anthony
he received letters from the Emperor, from a governour, or a judge, he was declares for
overjoyed, making presents to those who brought them; but when St. An- St. Athana-
thony wrote to him from his mountain, he shewed nothing but contempt, and sius.
was the cause of that which the duke Balacius likewise shewed: For St. An- Vit. Ant. c. 30.
thony being informed of the cruelties which he committed to serve the Arians, P. 500. A.
even in beating the virgins, and in stripping and whipping the Monks, he
wrote to him in these terms: I see the wrath of God coming upon thee; cease
therefore from persecuting the Christians, lest it overtake thee; for it is ready
to fall. Balacius fell into a laughter, threw the letter upon the ground, and
spate upon it; he abused those who had brought it, charging them to tell
Anthony by way of answer, Since thou takest care of thy Monks, I shall
come to thee also. Five days were not past when the divine vengeance was
shewed upon him. He was going to Chezca with Nestorius Vicar of Egypt,
which was the first stage from Alexandria, both mounted upon the tamest
horses that Balacius had in his stable. They were not yet arrived at their lodg-
ing, when the horses began to play together, as is usual; but of a sudden that
of Nestorius, which was the tamest, fell upon Balacius, bit him and tore his
thigh: he was brought back to the city, and died in three days, every body
wondering at the sudden accomplishment of St. Anthony's prophecy; for the
other officers had a wonderful respect for him. All the judges intreated him to c. 29. p. 499.
descend from the mountain, because their business hindered them from going
thither to him. They only begged to see him; and when he excused him-
self, they sent him criminals led by soldiers. Thus forced by the pity of their
complaints, he came to the outward mountain, and his coming was not in
vain. He advised the judges to prefer justice to every thing; to fear God,
and to remember, that as they judge, so they should be judged; but nothing
was so dear to him as to abide in the mountain. One day being obliged to
descend at the intreaty of a captain, who bore the title of Duke, he gave him
good advice in few words; and when the Duke pressed him to stay longer,
he said, As fishes die by being long out of water, so Monks lose their zeal by
staying with you; we must make haste to return to the mountain, as the fish
to the sea.

St. Anthony was then ninety years old, and thought there was no perfect XVI.
Monk in the desert but himself. Whilst he slept in the night, it was revealed The death of
to him, that one a little further was still more excellent, whom he ought to St. Paul the
visit. As soon as the day appeared, the good old man supported upon his staff, Hermit.
not knowing whither he went, only trusting that God would let him see his Hier. vit. Paul.
servant;

A. D. 341. servant ; and indeed as he had revealed him to him, so he caused him to find the place of his abode ; and the third day early in the morning, he arrived at the cave where St. Paul the first Hermit had retired ninety years before. St. Anthony saw nothing at first, the entry was so obscure. He advanced softly, stopping sometimes to listen, walking lightly and holding his breath. At last he saw a light at a distance, which caused him to hasten ; his foot struck against a stone which made a noise. Then St. Paul shut his door which was open, and bolted it. St. Anthony lay prostrate before it, and staid there till noon, intreating him to open it, and saying to him, You know who I am, from whence I come, and for what cause. I know that I do not deserve to see you ; nevertheless I will not go away without seeing you. I shall die at your gate ; at least you shall bury my body. Paul replied, You should not demand by threatening : Do you wonder that I receive you not, since you come only to die ?

Sup. lib. 5.
a. 48.

THEN he opened his door smiling ; they embraced, saluting by their names, though they had never seen each other before, and mutually rendered thanks to GOD. After the holy kiss they sat down, and Paul began thus, This is he whom you have taken so much pains to search for ; a body consumed with old age ; covered with white dishevelled hair ; a man who must soon be reduced to dust. But, tell me, how does mankind proceed ? Do they still make new buildings in ancient cities ? How is the world governed ? Do they still adore demons ? As they discoursed in this manner, they saw a Raven perch upon a tree, which flying gently, came and laid a whole loaf before them, then flew away. Ha ! says St. Paul, see the goodness of the LORD, who has sent us food ; for these sixty years have I received half a loaf daily ; but upon your coming JESUS CHRIST has doubled the portion. Having said prayers, they sat down upon the brink of a fountain : They disputed till the evening who should break the bread. Paul alleged hospitality, and Anthony age. They agreed at last to draw it asunder. Afterwards they put their mouths to the fountain to drink a little water, and past the night in watching and prayer.

WHEN day was come, St. Paul said to Anthony, Brother, I knew long ago that you staid in this country, and GOD promised me that I should see you ; but since the hour of my repose is come, he hath sent you to cover my body with earth. Then St. Anthony weeping and sighing, intreated him not to leave him, but to take him with him. He replied, You must not seek what is advantageous to you ; the Brethren still want to be instructed by your example. Wherefore I intreat you, if it is not too much trouble, go fetch the cloak which Athanasius the Bishop gave you, to wrap my body in it ; not that St. Paul cared whether his body was buried or no ; but he had a mind to spare St. Anthony the affliction of seeing him die. St. Anthony, surprized at what he had told him of St. Athanasius, and the cloak, thought he saw JESUS CHRIST present in him, and durst not make any reply ; but weeping, kissed his eyes and his hands, and returned to the monastery with more haste, than his body, exhausted with fasting and old age, could well bear. Two of his disciples, who had long served him, came to him, and said, Father, where have you staid so long ? He replied, Ah ! unhappy sinner that I am, I bear only the false name of Monk. I have seen Elias ; I have seen John in the desert ; I have seen Paul in paradise. He said no more, but beating his breast, drew

drew the cloak out of his cell. His disciples intreated him to explain himself; but he said to them, There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent. A. D. 341.
Eccles. i j. 7.

THEN he went out, without taking any food, and returned by the same way, having Paul continually in his mind, and before his eyes, and being apprehensive of what happened. The next day, when he had walked three hours, he saw Paul raised on high, covered with a shining white, in the midst of angels, prophets and apostles. Immediately falling prostrate upon his face, he threw sand upon his head, and said, weeping, Paul, why did you leave me? I have not bid you farewell; why did I know you so late, to lose you so soon? he seemed to fly the remaining part of the way; and when he came to the cave, found the body kneeling, with the head upright, and the hands extended on high. He thought at first that he was alive and still prayed, and began to pray likewise; but not hearing him sigh according to custom, in prayer, he embraced him, weeping, and found that he was only in the posture of prayer. He wrapped up the body, drawing it out, and singing hymns and psalms according to the tradition of the Church: But he was afflicted when he could find no instrument to dig the earth; and was in doubt whether to return to the monastery, or stay, when two lions ran from the bottom of the desert, with their hair erect. At first he groaned; but the thoughts of God strengthened him; they came directly to the body of St. Paul, and fawning upon him with their tails, lay down at his feet roaring, as a testimony of their grief. Then they began near it to dig the earth with their paws, and throwing out the sand, they made a grave big enough to hold a man. Then as demanding their reward, they came couching and hanging their ears to St. Anthony, who knew that they demanded his blessing, and said, LORD, without whose will a sparrow does not fall to the ground, give them what thou knowest agreeable to them; then making a sign with his hand, he commanded them to depart. After they were gone he interred the body, and threw earth upon it according to custom. The next day he took the coat which St. Paul had made of palm leaves, interwoven like basket work, and returning to his monastery with this rich inheritance, related to his disciples every thing that had happened: He always afterwards put on St. Paul's coat on great holy days, such as Easter and Whitsuntide. Math. x. 29.

St. Anthony also received great consolation by the news which he frequently learned from St. Hilario. He wrote to him, and gladly received his letters; and when sick people came to him from Syria, Why have ye wearied yourselves to come so far, said he, seeing you have my son Hilario with you? Hilario began to work miracles after he had been two and twenty years in the desert, viz. in the year 329. One of the first was that miraculous cure of the three sons of Elpidius, who was afterwards *præfectus prætorii*, and who returned to see St. Anthony with them and his wife Anstinata a Christian, and remarkable for her virtue: his children were seized with a double tertian fever at Gaza, which was so violent that the physicians despaired of their lives. The mother being afflicted, came to the desert riding upon an ass, together with certain women and eunuchs, to find this Saint; who, though he had made a resolution not to enter any place that was inhabited, he at last yielded to her intreaties, and came to Gaza, and approaching the beds of the three children, he called upon JESUS CHRIST, and immediately the sweat ran from their bodies, burning with heat, in such abundance that they seemed three fountains: they XVII.
The miracles
of St. Hilario.
Vita S. Hilar.
c. 19.
Sup. lib. 10.
n. 9.
c. 2.

A. D. 341. they took nourishment, knew their mother, blessing GOD and kissing the hands of the saint. When the noise of this miracle was spread abroad, the people of Syria and Egypt flocked to see Hilario. Several became Christians, and many embraced a monastical life. No monasteries being as yet in Palestine and Syria, saint Hilario became the founder of them, as St. Anthony of those in Egypt.

c. 10.

St. Hilario restored sight to a woman of the town of Facidia, near Rincorura in Egypt; she had been blind ten years, and had spent all that she had upon physicians. If you had given it to the poor, said he, JESUS CHRIST the true physician would have cured you; then spitting upon her eyes, she was cured. He delivered many that were possessed; and amongst others one called

c. 13.

Orion, who was tormented by a legion of devils: He being cured, came to the monastery with his wife and children, and brought with him considerable presents. Have not you read, said the saint, what happened to Gehazi and Si-

2 Kings v. 20.

27.

Act. viij. 18.

mon? to the one who would have sold the grace of the Holy Ghost; and the other who would have bought it: And when Orion said to him, weeping, Take and give to the poor. He replied, You may distribute your riches better, who go through the cities and know the poor. Why should I desire the riches of another when I have left my own? Poverty is often made a pretence for avarice; charity is without deceit; no one can give more than by reserving nothing to himself. Orion continued sad, lying upon the sand. St. Hilario said to him, Do not afflict your self, my son; what I do, I do for you and for myself. If I take this I shall offend GOD, and the legion of devils will enter into you again.

c. 15.

Boch. Chan.

lib. 2, c. 12.

p. 824.

A citizen of Majuma called Italicus, who was a Christian, fed horses to run in the circus, against a Duumvir of Gaza, who adored *Marnas*; this was the name of the idol of Gaza, which in the Syrian language signifies *Lord of men*. Italicus knowing that his adversary made use of witchcraft to stop his horses, came to St. Hilario and begged his assistance. The venerable old man, who thought it ridiculous to have recourse to prayers on so trifling an occasion, said to him, smiling, Why give you not rather the prices of your horses to the poor, for the salvation of your soul. Italicus replied, That it was a publick office, to which he was forced; that being a Christian he could not have recourse to magick, and therefore had recourse to a servant of JESUS CHRIST against the inhabitants of Gaza, enemies of GOD, who insulted the Church. At the intreaty of the Brethren, St. Hilario caused an earthen cup to be filled with water, and drinking gave it to him. Italicus sprinkled the stable with it, as also the horses, the coachmen, the chariot and barriers. The people were in great suspense; for his adversary had published the matter, in order to ridicule him. When the signal was given, the horses of Italicus seemed to fly, whilst the others seemed to be fettered. There arose a great cry, and the pagans themselves shouted out, saying, *Marnas* is vanquished by JESUS CHRIST. Those that were conquered, furiously demanded Hilario the Christian magician to be delivered to them, that they might punish him; but many infidels were converted. The saint also delivered a girl in Gaza, whom a young man had inspired with love, by words and strange figures engraved upon a copper plate, which he had put under her door, bound with a thread. The devil pretended to be tied by these charms; but St. Hilario delivered the girl, without permitting them either to seek the young man, or the mark of witchcraft, saying,

that

that it was not necessary that he should drive away the devil to destroy the charm, nor give credit to his words that were always deceitful. The reputation of St. Hilario spread so far, that one of the guards of Constantius the Emperor, called the *Candidati*, because of their white habit, came also to him, that he might be delivered from a devil which had tormented him from his childhood. The Emperor allowed him publick carriages, and gave him letters for the consul of Palestine. Thus he arrived at Gaza with a great train; for these guards who served about the person of the prince, held a considerable rank. He addressed himself to the *Decurio* of the place, demanding where Hilario the Monk lived. They brought him to the place, both to honour him, and to appease the saint whom they had abused; for they were afraid lest the Emperor had sent these officers to punish them for it. The good old man who walked upon the sand, repeating psalms, stopped when he saw this great multitude coming towards him, saluted them all, giving them his blessing with his hand. An hour afterwards he dispatched all the rest, keeping none but the Candidate, and such slaves and officers as were with him; for by his countenance and eyes, he knew what it was that brought him thither: He was of the nation of Franks, which might be seen by his fair complexion, and light hair. He understood no other language but the latin, and his mother tongue, which was the German. The saint spoke to him in Syriack; he was immediately lifted up, so that he hardly touched the ground with his feet; and crying out in a frightful manner, he replied in Syriack, according to the idiom of Palestine, pronouncing it exactly with the accent and aspirations. The saint examined him likewise in Greek, that his interpreters might understand him, who understood none but That and the Latin tongue. The devil declared how he entred into him, and pretended that he was forced by magical operations. St. Hilario said, I care not how thou hast entred; but in the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, I command thee to come out. The Frank being cured through simplicity offered him ten pounds of gold; and St. Hilario presented him with a barley loaf, saying, that those who were nourished in this manner, despised gold like dirt.

His example having produced a great number of monasteries all over Palestine, he visited them on certain days before the time of vintage; for these Monks had vines which they dressed. All the Brethren joined to accompany him in this visit, carrying with them their provision; they sometimes assembled to the number of two thousand: But in time every town freely offered the Monks of their neighbourhood entertainment for these holy guests. St. Hilario omitted visiting none of the Brethren, how inconsiderable soever they were, and drew up a memorial of his visitation, setting down the places where he was to lodge, and those which he only past through. In one of these visits he came to Eleusa in Idumea, on the day when all the people were assembled in the temple of Venus to celebrate her festival; for the Sarazens adored this goddess, because of the planet which bears her name. When they knew that St. Hilario passed by, he having delivered many of their nation who were possessed, they flocked together with their wives and children to meet him, bowing their heads, and crying *Barec*, which in Syriack signifies *Bless us*. He received them with mildness and humility, conjuring them to adore GOD rather than stones. At the same time the saint looking up towards Heaven, shed tears, promising that he would often come to see them if they believed in

JESUS

A. D. 341.
c. 17.XVIII.
St. Hilario's
visitation.
c. 19.
c. 21.

c. 20.

An. 341. **JESUS CHRIST.** They would not allow him to go away till he had marked out the plan of a church for them, and till their Priest, who then wore a garland in honour of their idols, became a catechumen.

XIX. **IN** the mean time St. Athanasius wrote an epistle to all the orthodox Bishops, informing them of what had passed at the intrusion of Gregory. He begins with the history of that levite, who when his wife died of the hardships which she had undergone, cut her in twelve pieces, which he sent to every one of the tribes of Israel. He compares the present persecution to this sad accident, exhorting all the Bishops to reunite upon this occasion, and support the Church, that a stop might be put to the corruption of discipline and faith: For, says he, both are in danger, if God does not suddenly make use of you to punish these crimes. It is not now that these canons have been given to the Churches; we have received them by a wise and powerful tradition from our fore fathers. The faith is not now begun, it came to us by the LORD from his disciples: Lest then what has been preserved in the Churches until now perish in our days, and we be called to an account for our stewardship, exert yourselves my Brethren as stewards of the mysteries of God, and as beholding what belongs to you taken away by strangers. Ye may inform your selves farther of those who bring this letter; but I thought myself obliged to give you a short hint of it, that ye may see that the like hath never happened in the Church since the ascension of our SAVIOUR.

p. 944. D. **HE** proceeds to the intrusion of Gregory; whom he says had been sent to the Arians by Eusebians, or rather by Eusebius himself. He shews how regular his ordination was, saying, If there was any complaint against me, it was necessary, according to the canons and the words of St. Paul, That the people should be assembled in the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, with the spirit of ordination: That all things should be examined regularly, and in the presence of the people and Clergy who demanded a Bishop; and not that a stranger come, as having bought the name of Bishop, to intrude himself by force and the authority of secular judges, upon people who neither require him nor know him, nor any thing that has past. This would be to render the canons void, and to give the pagans room to suspect, that ordinations are not made according to the divine law, but by canvassing and power. He afterwards describes the entry of Gregory, and the cruelties committed there, and how he himself was forced to fly to save his life, and how the Clergy and people were persecuted, to oblige them to communicate with Gregory. Then he adds:

p. 948. D. **GREGORY** is then an Arian, and sent by the Arians; for no body else demanded him; wherefore as a hireling and a stranger, he uses the Catholick people barbarously, by the means of the governour. Ye know that the Eusebians had formerly ordained Pistus for the Arians; who, when I wrote to you of him, was justly rejected and anathematized by as many of you as are Catholick Bishops: Wherefore they have now sent Gregory to the same Arians. And lest they should receive any disgrace by the letters which we write to you against them; they have employed the secular power against us, that being masters of the Churches they may seem to evade the suspicion of Arianism: But they are still deceived; for no body has joined Gregory but only hereticks, and those who have been turned out of the Church for their crimes, or such as dissemble for fear of the governour. This the Eusebians have been meditating and contriving a long time.

Sup. n. 4.

IN this manner he stirs them up to take the common cause into consideration: When you are established in your Church, says he, placed in an assembly of the people without any complaint against you; if any one came with an order from the Emperor to seize your place, should you not take it ill? Would you not demand justice? You ought not then to bear this indignity, lest by passing it over in silence, the evil should quickly reach other churches; and the office of teaching amongst us become a merchandize and a temporal concern. And afterwards: If last year, before all this happened, our Brethren at Rome demanded a council to remedy what had before happened; how much greater occasion have ye to be enraged at so many new violences? He concludes his letter with begging the Bishops not to receive those of Gregory, if he writes to them, but to tear them, and use the bearers disdainfully, as impious persons and ministers of iniquity. If he even writes to you, says he, in a peaceable manner, I mean not as a Bishop, but as a private believer, receive not his letters; for those who bring them do it only for fear of the governour. Suffer not your selves to be prepossessed by what the Eusebians may write in favour of him: Besides, Gregory cannot deny that he is an Arian, since Ammon, who subscribes his letter, has been banished from the Church long ago by the blessed Alexander, and that chiefly for his impiety. I intreat you by all manner of arguments to write me an answer, and to condemn the impious, that our Clergy and people may rejoice at your union, and that the guilty may be stirred up to repentance.

St. Athanasius arriving at Rome, was well received there by the several persons of distinction, among others by Eutropia, aunt to the Emperors, as also by Abuterius and Sperantius, and Julius the Bishop, who afterwards returned thanks to God for the acquaintance of so great men. He had succeeded Mark, who died on the seventh of October 337. The holy See was vacant four months, Julius being elected on the eighteenth of January 337; so that he governed the Church of Rome about four years. St. Athanasius left the care of his affairs to the Church, his chief employment being to assist at the sacred offices. He had brought certain Monks with him, among others Ammonius and Isidore. Ammonius had so little curiosity, that he did not visit one of the magnificent buildings at Rome, but only the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. Afterwards, when they drew him by force to make him a Bishop, he fled, and cut off his right ear, that by his deformity he might escape being ordained. Isidore was very learned in the holy Scriptures, and had great knowledge in divine matters; and his extraordinary mildness procured him the respect even of the Pagans. He was afterwards a Priest, and chief of the hospital at Alexandria; he might have been twenty-three years old when he came to Rome, and he died when he was eighty-five. St. Athanasius began to make the monastical profession known there, chiefly by a piece which he had composed of the Life of St. Anthony, though this saint was still alive. Till then, that profession was despised as being new; it was unknown even to the Roman ladies. Marcella was the first who embraced it, though she never went out of Rome. St. Athanasius continued there eighteen months, waiting for the Eusebians to no purpose.

IN the mean time Julius wrote to them, inviting them to come to a council at Rome, which their deputies had demanded; he appointed a certain day on which they were to meet, otherwise they would render themselves suspected; c. 2.

A. D. 342.

p. 950. A.

XX.

St. Athanasius at Rome, Athan. apol. i. 677. D. 678.

A. Mart. 7. Oct. Pagi. an. 336. n. 16. p. 675. D.

Socr. iv. hist. c. 23. Sub. fin. Pal. Lan. siac. c. 1.

Hier. epist. 16. ad Princ.

Ep. Jul. ap. Ath. p. 748. B.

Ap. 2. p. 739. Ad solit. p. 816. Sozom. iii. ed; c. 2.

A. D. 342.

Athan. de
Synod. p. 894.
895.Athan. ad sol.
p. 813. A.
Marcel. libel.
ad Epiph.
Hær. 72. n. 2.
Ep. Jul. ap.
Ath. p. 751.
A.
Soc. ii. c. 15.Sozom. iii.
c. 8.XXI.
St. Paul re-
established at
Constantino-
ple, and ba-
nished again.
Epiph. Hær.
69. n. 5.
Soc. ii. c. 12.
Sozom. iii.
c. 7.

Socr. ii. c. 13.

ed; his letter was addressed only to these who had written by Martyrius and Hefychius, and only in his own name, although he was very sure that all the Bishops of Italy and the neighbouring provinces were of the same opinion. He sent this letter by two of his Priests Elpidius and Philoxenus, who found the Eusebians still at Antioch, who were extremely surprized to hear that St. Athanasius was at Rome; for they did not expect that he would go thither: Besides, they knew that this council at Rome would be a judicature truly Ecclesiastical; that neither Count nor soldiers would be at the gates, nor orders from the Emperor. Therefore, the fear and reproach of their conscience hindered them from going thither: They detained the Priests whom the Bishop of Rome sent, beyond the time that was appointed; and in the mean time drew up a fourth confession of faith some months after the former; wherein they inserted nothing expressly that was not Catholick, but suppressed the word *Consubstantial*; although they seemed to have made this form as well as the first, with a design to cleanse themselves from any suspicion of Arianism.

MARCELLUS of Ancyra, who had been lately condemned at Antioch, came also to Rome; and Julius made no difficulty to communicate with him, because he had shewn his faith by opposing the Arians in the council of Nice. He staid fifteen months at Rome waiting for his adversaries in vain. Besides St. Athanasius and Marcellus, many Bishops of Thrace, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and several Priests of Alexandria and other places came to Rome. Amongst these Bishops are mentioned Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople, who were persecuted and banished from their Sees by the Arian faction. All the oppressed Bishops had recourse to the † Bishop of Rome, because the dignity and prerogative of his See gave him a privilege to take care of all the Churches. Thus Socrates and Sozomen, Greek authors, speak of him, and are consequently not to be suspected of flattering the Church of Rome.

EUSEBIUS of Constantinople did not long survive the council of Antioch, and he must have been very old, being already old when Arianism began twenty years before. The Arian party did not die with him; these who assisted him in supporting it, put themselves at the head of it, viz. Theognis of Nice, Maris of Calcedon, Theodore of Heraclea, Ursatius of Syngidon, and Valens of Mursa in the higher Pannonia. After the death of Eusebius, the Catholick people of Constantinople re-established Paul in that See, from which he had been unjustly banished; but the Arians under the conduct of Theognis and Theodore ordained Macedonius in another Church. The people of both parties were so hot, that it came to a sedition and a kind of civil war: there were continual battles, wherein several persons perished.

THIS disorder came to the ears of Constantius the Emperor, who was then at Antioch; and as he was sending Hermogenes master of the Militia into Thrace, he gave him orders to banish Paul as he passed through. Hermogenes coming to Constantinople, put the people all in confusion, thinking to execute his orders by violence: The people rose and defended their Bishops, as it was their duty. And when Hermogenes insisted to take him away by force of arms, the multitude enraged, as it happens on these occasions, resisted him furiously, burned his house, killed him, and dragged him through the city. This disorder happened under the consulship of the two Emperors, which was the third of Constantius, and the second of Constans, that is to say, in the year

342. Constantius being informed of the murder of Hermogenes, mounted his horse, departed from Antioch, and came to Constantinople with the utmost haste, notwithstanding the snow and rain, which shews that it was in winter. He put no body to death, but suffered himself to be appeased by the tears of the people, and intreaties of the senate, who presented themselves to him, being contented with punishing the people, by taking away half of the corn which his father had given them as a gratuity, and which came from Alexandria, viz. forty thousand measures instead of eighty thousand: But he banished Paul out of the city; but however without confirming the election of Macedonius, being dissatisfied that they had ordained him without his consent, and looking both upon him and Paul as the cause of the sedition. He left him as he was, allowing him to hold assemblies in the church where he was ordained, and then returned to Antioch.

THE Eusebians were assembled there; for they were so called long after the death of Eusebius; and they retained the deputies of Julius, Elpidius and Philoxenus still there. At length they sent them back in the month of January with a letter; in which they excused their going to the council at Rome, under pretence of the Persian war, the length of the journey, and the shortness of the time appointed, complaining of the calling of this council, as injurious to these which had been already held upon the same accounts, viz. that of Tyre against St. Athanasius; that of Constantinople against Marcellus of Ancyra, and the rest of the same stamp. They complained likewise that the Bishop of Rome had received to Communion with him these two Bishops, who as they pretended were condemned. They acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Church, taking notice at the same time that the Gospel began in the East. They affirmed, that the power of Bishops was equal, and ought not to be regulated by the greatness of cities. The stile of this whole letter was artful and full of ridicule, contention, ostentation, and vain eloquence. Elpidius and Philoxenus brought this letter, returning to Rome grieved for what they had seen at Antioch, and on account of the cruelties which they heard had been committed at Alexandria.

JULIUS having received this letter from those of the East, and read it very seriously, kept it by him without shewing it, still hoping that some body would come from them, and that he should not be obliged to publish it; for he knew how much it would grieve several who were at Rome. At length being assured that those of the East would not come, he assembled a council of about fifty Bishops to determine the cause of St. Athanasius and others who were come to complain of the Eusebians. It is said, that St. Paul of Constantinople, when banished by the Emperor, had come thither also. The council was held at Rome, in the church where Vitalis the Priest usually assembled the people, that is to say, where he was Minister according to the modern term; this Priest had been one of St. Silvester's deputies at the council of Nice.

THE cause of St. Athanasius was examined a-new in this council. The Bishop of Rome's conduct was approved of, with respect to the Eusebians, and the letter which he had written to them by Elpidius and Philoxenus, and the patience with which he had waited on them. They refusing to come to the council, after their deputies had required it, rendered them suspected; and when their letter was publickly read, every body was so astonished, that

A. D. 342.
Litan. Basi-
lick. p. 128.

XXII.
The council of
Rome.
Ath. ap.
p. 744. D.
Epist. Jul.
ibid. p. 740.
&c.

Ath. ad solit.
p. 818. A.
Socr. ii.
Sozom. iii. c.
Ath. apol.
p. 739. C.

A. D. 342. they could scarcely believe it was written by them, it appeared so different from
 Sup. n. 8. that spirit of sincerity and charity which reigned in Ecclesiastical persons. On
 the contrary they had great regard to the letter of the council held two years
 before at Alexandria, where St. Athanasius was justified by the testimony of a
 hundred Bishops. Diverse other Bishops, several Priests, and many Deacons,
 came to Rome from the Mareotis, and elsewhere, to defend St. Athanasius.
 They represented the cruelty of the Eusebians in a moving manner, and in par-
 ticular the late outrages committed upon Gregory's account; bringing with
 them the letters of the Bishops and Priests of Egypt, who complained that
 they had been hindered from coming to the council. These prejudices were
 very favourable to St. Athanasius.

At the bottom they found no proof of the accusations formed against him;
 Arsenus, for whose death they accused him being still alive. Ischyra had nei-
 ther chalice broken, nor altar overturned, as he himself acknowledged, and as
 the informations which his accusers themselves had made in the Mareotis, and
 which they had sent to the Bishop of Rome, testified; and it appeared very
 plain upon reading them, how little truth was in them. Thus the proceedings
 of the council of Tyre, upon which that of Antioch was grounded, being
 found intirely unjust and irregular; St. Athanasius was declared innocent, and
 confirmed in the communion of the Church as a legal Bishop.

XXIII.
*The profession
 of faith of
 Marcellus of
 Ancyra.*
 Epiph. Hær.
 72. n. 2.
 Ep. Jul. ap.
 Ath. apol. 2.
 p. 750. B.

THEY also examined the cause of Marcellus of Ancyra; and it is probable
 that a letter in form of a memorial to the Bishop of Rome was read in this
 council, to satisfy the demand which he had made concerning the explanation
 of his faith. The memorial was conceived in these terms: To my very holy
 colleague Julius, salvation in JESUS CHRIST. Forasmuch as some of those who
 were condemned for errors in points of faith, whom I convicted in the council
 of Nice, have had the assurance to write to your holiness, accusing me, as if I
 myself entertained opinions contrary to these of the Church, I thought it neces-
 sary to come to Rome, and intreat you to send for them; to the end, that I
 might convince them face to face, that what they have written against me is
 false; that they still persist in their former errors, and that they have made surpriz-
 ing attempts both against the Church and against us who govern it: But since
 they would not come, notwithstanding that you have sent Priests to them, and
 that I have waited at Rome full fifteen months; I thought it necessary before
 I departed to give you my profession of faith, written with my own hand, in
 all truth, as I have learned it in the holy Scriptures; and to represent to you
 the wicked discourses which they make use of to seduce their hearers.

AFTERWARDS he accuses them of saying, that our LORD JESUS
 CHRIST is not the true Word of GOD; but that there is another Word,
 another Wisdom, and another Virtue, by whom he being made, was called
 the Word, Wisdom and Virtue: For which reason they attribute another *by-*
postasis to him, different from that of the Father. They said, that the Father
 existed before the Son; and did not acknowledge that he came from GOD,
 but only as all other things: That there was a time in which he did not exist,
 and that he is a created being, and a work. For my part, says he, I believe
 in one GOD, and his only Son the Word, always co-existing with the Fa-
 ther; who never began to be; who is truly of GOD, uncreated, not made;
 but always existing and reigning with GOD the Father: He is the Son, the
 Virtue, the Wisdom; the proper and true Word of GOD, our LORD
 JESUS

Ibid. c. 3.

JESUS CHRIST. And afterwards, We have learned from the holy Scriptures, that the Divinity of the Father and the Son is indivisible; for if any one separates the Son, that is to say the Word, from the Almighty God, he must either believe that there are two Gods, which is far from the true doctrine; or confess that the Word is not God, which is as far distant from the Catholick faith, since the Evangelist says, *And the Word was God.* For my part I am surely informed that the Son is the Virtue of the Father, not to be separated nor divided; for **JESUS CHRIST** himself says, I am in the Father, and the Father in me. And in another place, I and the Father are one. And elsewhere: He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. This is the faith which I have taken from the holy Scriptures, and received from our spiritual Fathers: I preach it in the Church of God; I give it you now in writing, and keep a copy by me; and I beg that you would insert this in the letter which you write to the Bishops, lest some of those who do not know me well should be deceived in giving credit to what my enemies have written. Such was the memorial of Marcellus of Ancyra.

WITH this the council was satisfied; they declared Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, innocent, unjustly condemned and wrongfully deposed. It is probable, that the other Bishops who came to complain, were re-established; and by the advice of them all, Julius Bishop of Rome wrote to those of the East in these terms: Julius to Danius, Flaccillus, Narcissus, Eusebius, Maris, Macedonius, Theodorus, and the rest of our dear Brethren who wrote to us from Antioch, together with them, salvation in our LORD. Danius or Dianæus, who is here mentioned first was Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and Eusebius was probably the Bishop of Emesus. After this title the letter begins thus, I have read the letter which the Priests Elpidius and Philoxenus brought me; and I am astonished, that since I have written to you in charity and sincerity of heart, that you have answered me in a stile so different from it, breathing nothing but contention, and shewing pride and vanity. These ways are far from the Christian Faith; since I wrote to you in charity, you should have answered in the same manner, and not in the spirit of wrangling: For, was it not a mark of charity to send Priests to you to sympathize with the afflicted, and to exhort those who had written to me to come and regulate all their affairs with speed, that the sufferings of the Brethren, and all the complaints which they made against you might cease?

AND afterwards: If he who dictated your letter, sought the glory of eloquence, this motive would agree better with others. In Ecclesiastical affairs, we seek not for ostentation of words; but apostolical canons, and a carefulness not to give scandal to any body. If your letter proceeds from the wrath and animosity which some mean spirits have conceived against one another, they should not have let the sun go down upon their wrath, nor have carried it so far as to shew it in writing: For, after all, what occasion did I give you in my letter? Is it because I invited you to a council? ye ought rather to rejoyce at it. These who are well assured of their conduct, take it not amiss if others examine into it; not fearing that others should judge that to be unjust which they have once rightly determined. Wherefore the great council of Nice has allowed, that the decrees of one council be examined by another, to the end that the judges having before their eyes the determination which may ensue, may be more exact in examining affairs, and that the parties may not think that

A. D. 342.

Jo. i.

John xiv. 10.

John x. 30.

John xiv. 9.

XXIV.

The letter of Julius Bishop of Rome.

Ap. Ath. 2.

p. 736. &

tom. 2.

concil. p. 493.

Soz. iii. c. 5.

ibid. c. 6.

p. 740. C.

A, D. 342. that they were judged by passion. Ye cannot properly reject this rule; for what hath once passed as a custom in the Church, and been confirmed by councils, ought not to be abolished by a small number.

Sup. n. 4. HE represents to them how unreasonable they were, to complain because they were invited to this council, which their own deputies had demanded, the Priest Macarius, and the Deacons Martyrius and Hefychius, upon finding themselves confounded by the deputies of Athanasius. From this he proceeds to another complaint: Every council, said the Eusebians, ought to have an unquestionable authority; it is a dishonour to the judge to have his determination examined by others; which they said chiefly to support the councils of Tyre and Constantinople. To which Julius answers thus, See, my dear Brethren, who these are that dishonour a council, and overthrow judgments already given: And not to charge any in particular, I shall only insist upon what has been already done, and which cannot be heard without horror. The Arians which Alexander of Alexandria, of blessed memory, had driven out of the Church, who were not only excommunicated in every city, but anathematized by the whole council of Nice, and whose crime was so great, because they did not attack a man, but even JESUS CHRIST the Son of the living God: It is said, that these Arians rejected and stigmatized by the whole Church, are now received. I do not believe, that even ye your selves can hear it without indignation. He adds afterwards, that Gregory, the pretended Bishop of Alexandria had sent to him to Rome Carponas a noted Arian, and others also; and that their own deputies Macarius, Martyrius and Hefychius, obliged him to write to Pistus, whom they had nominated Bishop of Alexandria before Gregory. Who then, said he, are those who dishonour the councils? if not, these who reckon the votes of three hundred Bishops nothing? For the heresy of the Arians has been condemned by all the Bishops in the world; but Athanasius and Marcellus have many who both speak and write in their behalf. Testimony has been given us, that Marcellus resisted the Arians in the council of Nice; that Athanasius had not even been condemned in the council of Tyre, and that he was not present in Marcotis, where they pretend to have made their proceedings against him. But ye know, my dear Brethren, that what is done in the absence of one of the parties, is of no force, and to be suspected. Notwithstanding all this, that we might be informed of the truth, and not entertain any prejudice against you, nor those who have written in your favour; we have invited them all to come, that it might be thoroughly examined in a council, and neither the innocent condemned, nor the guilty absolved.

p. 743. B.
Sup. n. 4.

WE need not wonder that the Bishop of Rome writing to the Eusebians, speaks of the Arians as abominable hereticks, and universally rejected; they durst not deny it openly; and as the utmost endeavours of their faction tended only to re-establish, or rather to maintain that heresy, they took care not to say nor acknowledge that they were Arians. This appears by the first profession of faith which they delivered at Antioch, at the time of the dedication; for they then seemed to have no other design but the condemning Athanasius, Marcellus, and the rest of their enemies, and hindring them from returning to their Sees.

THE Eusebians, in order to magnify the authority of their councils, had alledged the authority of those who condemned Novatius and Paul of Samosata. Julius replies, that these examples confirm the authority of the council of

of Nice : that the Arians which it condemned were no less hereticks than the Novatians or Paulianists. He reproaches them with another attempt against the council of Nice, viz. the translation of Bishops : and in order to confound them retorts upon them what they had advanced to weaken the authority of the Roman Church. If ye truly believe, said he, that the Episcopal dignity is every where equal ; and if, as ye say, ye esteem not Bishops for the largeness of cities, he to whom a small one was intrusted, should have staid there, without going to that which was not committed to his charge ; or slighting that which he had received from GOD, and even GOD himself who had placed him there, seeking the vain glory of men.

THEY complained of the shortness of the time which he had appointed for their coming to the council : He shews, that this is only a pretence, since they did not so much as set out, but retained his Priests till the month of January : this then is only a proof that they were doubtful of their cause. They complained also that he had only written to Eusebius, and not to all of them. He says, that he ought only to answer such as had written to him ; and adds, Ye must know that though I alone have written, it is not only my private opinion, but that of all the Bishops in Italy, and this country. I would not have them all write, lest I should trouble you with too many letters ; but besides this the Bishops did assemble on the day appointed, and were all of the same mind. We see that the letter of Julius was the result of the Roman council, and that he doth not ascribe the decisive power to himself alone.

COMING afterwards to the main point, he shews that it was neither lightly nor unjustly that he received Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra into the communion of the Church. Eusebius, says he, had written to me before, against Athanasius, and ye your selves have just written to me ; but several Bishops of Egypt, and other provinces have written to me in his favour. In the first place, the letters which ye wrote against him contradict one another, the second not agreeing with the first ; so that they prove nothing. Moreover, if ye would have your letters believed, we ought also to believe those in favour of him ; so much the rather, because ye were absent, and these who defend him being upon the spot, know what passed there, are personally acquainted with him, render testimony of his conduct, and assure us that it is all calumny. Here he explains the affair of Arsenius and that of Ischyas, as they have been already related ; shewing, that the calumny of the Eusebians appeared from their own information at the Mareotis : There he ridicules the absurdity of pretending, that Ischyas, who was sick in bed behind the door of a little chamber had celebrated the sacrifice, because that he must then be standing before the altar ; and because they produced a catechumen for a witness ; for when the time of oblation was come, the catechumens were obliged to retire. We were astonished, added he, that this information was made concerning the cup and the sacred table, before the governour and his attendants, before Pagans and Jews. This seemed at first incredible to us, but the acts confirm us in the belief of it. Priests are not allowed to assist there, they who are the ministers of the sacraments ; and information is made concerning the body and blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST before a secular judge, catechumens being present, and which is worse, even Jews and Pagans, the enemies of Christianity. If he had been guilty of any crime, he should have been lawfully examined by Ecclesiastical persons and in the Church.

HE

XXV:

The continuation of Julius's letter. p. 745.

Sup. lib. 6. n. 46, 47, 48. p. 747. C.

p. 750. A.

A. D. 342.

P. 748. C.

HE forgets not to enlarge upon the irregularity of Gregory's ordination. Judge, says he, who have acted contrary to the canons; we who received a man so perfectly cleared, or those who at Antioch, thirty-six days journey distant, gave the name of Bishop to a stranger, and sent him with a guard of soldiers to Alexandria. This was not done whilst Athanasius was in Gaul, for then it ought to have been done, had he been truly condemned: However, he at his return found his Church vacant, and was received there. Now I know not how all this happened. For in the first place, to say truth, after we had written for a council to be held, ye should not have prevented the determination of it. Here he blames the precipitate measures of the council of Antioch. In the next place, Such a novelty should not have been introduced into the Church; for, what is there like this in the canons, or apostolical tradition? that the Church being in peace, and so many Bishops living in union with Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria, Gregory a stranger should be sent, who was not baptized there, nor known, nor demanded, either by the Priests, Bishops, or people; that he should be ordained at Antioch and sent to Alexandria, not with the Priests or Deacons of the city, nor the Bishops of Egypt, but with soldiers; for this they who came hither affirmed, complaining of it. Even supposing that Athanasius had been found guilty after the council, the ordination should not have been made in that manner, contrary to the laws and rules of the Church. The Bishops of the province should have ordained a man of the same Church from amongst the Priests or Clerks belonging to it: If the like had been done against any one of you, would you not exclaim against it? would you not demand justice? My dear Brethren, we speak to you in truth, as in the presence of God, this conduct is neither holy, lawful, nor Ecclesiastical. These are the rules of elections, according to the testimony of this holy Bishop.

P. 751. B.

COMING to Marcellus of Ancyra, he testifies, that he is intirely satisfied with his faith, and finds it conformable to that of the Catholick Church; then he adds, He hath assured us, that he always entertained the same sentiments; and our Priests who assisted at the council of Nice have given testimony that he was orthodox. He adds, that they had committed the same

P. 750. D.

outrages at Ancyra as at Alexandria, as Marcellus and others had informed him; and proceeds thus, Such grievous complaints have been made against some of you, whom I shall not mention, that I cannot think of writing to them; perhaps ye may be elsewhere informed of them. It is chiefly therefore upon that account that I have written to you, inviting you to come, that I might tell you by word of mouth, and that all might be corrected and re-established. This ought to excite you to come, lest it be suspected that ye cannot justify your selves.

P. 753. B.

HE afterwards exhorts them to correct all these disorders, saying amongst other things, O my brethren, the judgments of the Church are no more according to the gospel; they now proceed to banishment and death. If Athanasius and Marcellus were guilty, ye should have written to us all, that judgment might have been rendred by all; for they were Bishops and Churches that suffered, and not common Churches, but these which the Apostles themselves have governed. Why did not they write to us, especially concerning the city of Alexandria? Are ye ignorant that it was the custom to write to us immediately, and that the decision must come from hence. If there were any suspicions

suspensions of the Bishop of that place then, ye ought to have written to our A.D. 342. Church: But now without informing us, and after having done what ye desired, ye require our approbation without knowing the cause. These are not the ordinances of Paul; this is not the tradition of our fathers, it is a new kind of conduct. I beg you to take it in good part, it being for the publick good that I write to you: I declare to you what we have learned from the blessed Apostle Peter; and I believe it to be so well known to every body, that I should not have written it, had not this happened. We ought carefully to observe here what Julius says concerning Ecclesiastical determinations, and the authority of the Church of Rome, without which, important affairs cannot be decided; such as the deposing the Bishops of the principal Churches and apostolical Sees. But we must also observe that he does not ascribe this privilege to himself only, but to his Church; and these words, Ye ought to write to us all, seem to extend farther, viz. to all the Bishops of Italy, and perhaps of all the West, it being the custom to consult them on these occasions; as St. Ambrose, with the other Bishops of Italy testify, in a letter written to the Emperor Theodosius the Great, forty years afterwards. What evidently appears is, that the force of Ecclesiastical determinations proceeded from the universal consent that was given to them. Julius concludes his letter without any threatening, but only by advising those of the East not to do the like for the future, and rather to write against the authors of these disorders; to the end, says he, that we may not be exposed to the laughter of Pagans, and especially to the wrath of God, to whom every one of us must give an account at the day of judgment. We have no other original of this letter but the Greek, mentioned by St. Athanasius; and as he does not say that it was a translation, we may suppose that it was written thus; for the Bishop of Rome did not stand in need of interpreters and secretaries.

Ambros. Epist. 13. Nova ed. p. 816.

Vales. Obser. Eccl. lib. 1, c. 8.

JULIUS seeing that his letter had no effect, informed the Emperor Constantians of the injustice which had been done to St. Athanasius and Paul Bishop of Constantinople. The Emperor being moved at it, wrote to his brother Constantius, intreating him to send three Bishops to give an account of the deposing of Paul and Athanasius. Constantius sent four to him, viz. Narcissus of Neronias, Theodorus of Heraclea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Mark of Arethusa in Syria; who came into Gaul where the Emperor was, as deputies from the council of Antioch. Maximin of Treves would not receive them; and they refused to accept of a conference with St. Athanasius, pretending to justify their proceedings, and support the judgment of those of the East. And when their profession of faith was demanded, they concealed that which had been published at Antioch, viz. the second, presenting the last to Constantians the Emperor, which was composed some months afterwards. Thus he saw that they had persecuted these two Bishops without a cause, and that it was for no crime as they pretended, that they refused their communion, but because they did not agree with them in point of doctrine; which obliged the Emperor to send them back without allowing himself to be persuaded by their discourses.

XXVI. Deputis sent from those of the East to Constantians. Soer. ij. c. 18. Sozom. iii. c. 10. Athan. de Syn. p. 397. D.

WE meet with certain laws which were made at the same time by the two Emperors against idolatry. One of Constantius in 341, which forbids sacrifices; the other in the year following, addressed to the Præfect of Rome, and consequently made by Constantians; which ordains that the Temples which are without the city, should remain entire; because of the shews which had taken their

XXVII. Laws against idolatry. L. 2. Cod. Theod. de Pagan. L. 3. ibid. Vid. Gothof.

A.D. 342. their rise from them, and of which he would not deprive the people: but moreover he desires that all superstition be abolished. By another law of this year 342, the Emperor ordains, that the Temples be shut every where, and that no body be allowed to approach them; forbidding sacrifices under pain of death and confiscation of goods; and threatening the governors of provinces with the same punishment, if they neglect to punish these crimes.

XXVIII.
The persecuti-
on in Persia.
St. Simeon
and St. Uth-
zadius.
Sozom. ii.
c. 8, 9.
Acta. Sincer.
p. 632.

IN the mean time Sapor king of Persia grievously persecuted the Christians who were very numerous in his kingdom. It is thought that the faith was brought into this country by the intercourse which Osirhoene and Armenia had with Persia; and that in time it increased so much that here were several Churches. This greatly afflicted the *Magi*, they having had the management of the religion of the Persians, from the rise of this nation, being as it were a sacred race, where the priesthood was preserved by succession. The Jews being naturally enemies to the Christians were also jealous of their success. Simon surnamed the Fuller, otherwise *Jombapheus*, was Archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the two royal cities of Persia, distant from one another, not above ten leagues, or thirty miles: Seleucia was also called Salec. Simeon was accused before king Sapor, for being a friend to the Roman Emperor, and discovering the affairs of the Persians to him. Sapor being persuaded of this calumny, began to load the Christians with excessive taxes, that he might reduce them to insupportable poverty; for he knew that the greatest part of them accustomed themselves to contemn riches; and he committed the exaction of these taxes to unmerciful men. Afterwards he ordered the Priests and Ministers of GOD to be put to the sword, their churches to be destroyed, and their treasures confiscated, and that Simeon should be brought to him as a traitor against religion and the state. This persecution began on the seventh year of Constantius, and the 343d of JESUS CHRIST. The *Magi*, by the assistance of the Jews, quickly destroyed the churches.

SIMEON was taken and brought to the king loaded with chains. He did not prostrate himself before him as he was wont to do; at which Sapor extremely irritated, asks him the cause. Simeon replied, At other times I was not brought chained to deny the true GOD; wherefore I followed without resisting the custom of honouring the regal dignity: Now I dare not do it, forasmuch as I come to fight for religion. When he had thus spoken, the king commanded him to adore the sun, promising him great rewards if he consented; if not threatening to destroy him and all the Christians with him. He continuing steadfast, the king ordered him to be kept some time in prison, in hopes that he might change his mind. An old eunuch called Uthozadius, who had educated king Sapor in his childhood, and who was chief of the household, sitting at the door of the palace, when Simeon was carried to prison, rose and prostrated himself before him. Simeon reproached him vehemently in an angry manner, and went on turning away his face, because Uthazadius who was a Christian, had allowed himself to be forced some time before to adore the sun. Whereupon the eunuch weeping bitterly, presently laid aside the white habit which he wore, taking a black one as a sign of mourning, and remained sitting before the palace, groaning and shedding tears. Alas, said he, what must I expect of GOD whom I have renounced, since upon his account Simeon my old friend now turns away without speaking to me.

SAPOR

SAPOR having heard this, sent for Usthazadius and asked him the cause of A. D. 343. his mourning, and if any misfortune had happened in his house? No, my lord, replied he, but I wish to GOD that instead of what hath happened, all manner of misfortunes had befallen me. I am grieved that I live and behold the sun, whom I adored in appearance, out of complaisance to you. I doubly deserve death; for having betrayed JESUS CHRIST, and deceived you. Afterwards, he swore by the Creator of heaven and earth, that he would never change his opinion any more. The king surprized at this unexpected alteration, was the more irritated at the Christians, thinking that they had gained him over by enchantment. Nevertheless the compassion which he had for this old man, made him seem sometimes mild, sometimes cruel, endeavouring to gain him. But Usthazadius still protested that he would never be so mad as to adore the creature instead of the Creator. Then Sapor falling again into a rage, ordered his head to be cut off. As the executioners carried him away, he intreated them to stay a little, because he had something to say to the king; and calling one of the most faithful of the eunuchs, he charged him to say unto Sapor, I have no need of any body's testimony, to assure you of the affection with which I have served both you and your father before you from my youth up; you are sufficiently informed of it. The only recompence which I demand is, that these who know not the occasion of my death, may not think that I have been punished for betraying the state, or for any other crime. Wherefore I intreat you, that the publick cryer may declare, that the head of Usthazadius was cut off, not for being an evil man, but a Christian; and because he would not renounce his GOD to obey the king. Usthazadius desired in this manner to repair the scandal which he had given, in adoring the sun; and Sapor granted his request, thinking to frighten the Christians; when they should see that he did not even spare an old man, and a faithful servant, by whom he had been educated.

SIMEON, who was in prison, being informed of the martyrdom of Usthazadius, gave thanks to GOD for it; and the next day being Good Friday, the king commanded that he also should die by the sword; for, being brought before him again, he spoke very boldly concerning religion, and would neither adore him nor the sun. The same day, viz. Good Friday, the king also commanded a hundred other Christian prisoners to be put to death; and Simeon to be executed last, after seeing them all die: these were Bishops, Priests, and Clerks of several orders. As they were brought to suffer, the chief of the magicians came up, asking them, if they would live, and follow the religion of their prince, by adoring the sun. Not one of them accepted of life at this rate; and being at the place of execution, the officers began to cut off their heads. In the mean time, Simeon standing in the midst, exhorted them to constancy, speaking to them of death and the resurrection; and proving from Scripture, that such a death is true life, and that real death is to abandon GOD through cowardice; and that the most excellent of all good works is to die for GOD's sake. After the hundred martyrs were executed, Simeon also suffered with Abdechalas and Ananias, both old men and Priests of his Church, who were taken with him, and had been fellow-prisoners with him.

THE overseer of the king's workmen was present; and seeing Ananias *Cap. ii.* tremble as he prepared for punishment, My father, says he, shut your eyes a little,

A.D. 343. a little, and take courage; you are going to see the light of JESUS CHRIST. He had scarcely said this, when he was taken and brought to the king; and as he confessed that he was a Christian, and spoke freely in favour of that religion, and of the martyrs; the king being enraged, ordered him to be put to death by a new kind of punishment. The executioners pierced his throat by the wind-pipe, and from thence drew out his tongue; his daughter, a virgin, consecrated to GOD, was accused and put to death at the same time.

XXIX.
Other mar-
tyrs—St. Sa-
doth.
St. Tharbula.

THE following year likewise, on a Good-Friday, Sapor published an edict throughout Persia, which condemned to death, not only Ecclesiastical persons, but all such as confessed themselves to be Christians. It is said, that at that time, an innumerable multitude were put to the sword; for the *Magi* carefully searched all the cities and villages for those who were hidden, whilst others discovered themselves voluntarily, lest they should seem by their silence to renounce JESUS CHRIST. All Christians being unmercifully put to death, several of them were executed, even in the palace; to the very eunuch Azada, a very great favourite with the king, and at whose death he was grievously afflicted: Whereupon he forbade the Christians in general to be put to death, confining himself to the Ecclesiasticks.

Acta Sincer.
p. 642.

THE successor of St. Simeon in the Bishoprick of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, was St. Sadoth or Sadoth, that is to say, a friend to the king; and indeed he was filled with the love of the heavenly King. He assembled his Priests and Deacons, who kept themselves concealed for fear of the persecution, and related to them a dream which he had had, in these words, I saw last night a ladder of light, which reached the heavens; upon the top of it was the holy Bishop Simeon, in exceeding great glory, and I stood below upon the ground. He said joyfully to me, Come up Sadoth, come up, fear nothing; I ascended yesterday, and you must come up to day. I thought from that time, that I was called to the confession of JESUS CHRIST; and I understand, that I must suffer martyrdom this year, as he did the last. He afterwards began to exhort his Clergy to condemn death, and to seek eternal glory.

KING Sapor came to Seleucia that year; they informed him of Sadoth, who caused himself to be brought to him, with his Clergy and other Ecclesiasticks of the neighbouring country, both Monks and Nuns; in all, to the number of a hundred and twenty-eight persons. They were loaded with chains, and sent to a dark and loathsome prison, where they continued five months, suffering greatly. Their legs were tied with cords, and their shoulders and reins pressed with pieces of wood, in order to extend them; so that their bones cracked as when faggots are pressed together. Whilst they were tormented, they said to them, Adore the sun, obey the king, and ye shall live. St. Sadoth answered for all the rest, that they adored the Creator, and not the sun which is his work, nor the fire which the Persians also adored. At last, they were condemned to be beheaded; and when they were brought out of the city, they ceased not from praising GOD till they were all executed. St. Sadoth was brought loaded with chains into a country called Bethuza, to the city Bethlapat, or Bethlabad, and had his head cut off there. The Latins honour these holy martyrs on the twenty-first of February, and the Greeks on the nineteenth of October.

Cap. 12.

AT the same time the queen fell sick; and the Jews accused the sisters of the Bishop St. Simeon of having poisoned her, to be revenged for the death of their

their brother. There were two of them; the one a sacred virgin called Tharbula or Pherbuta; the other a widow, who had renounced second marriage. The queen easily believed this calumny; as well from a natural inclination which sick people have to give ear to any extraordinary remedy, as from a particular confidence which she placed in the Jews; for she was of their opinion, and practised their ceremonies. The two virgins were therefore taken, and with them Tharbula's servant, who was also a virgin: They were brought to the palace, and sent to be tried by the *Magi*. The *Mauptez*, for so the pontiff of the *Magi* was called, came to examine them, with two other officers. When they spoke to them of poisoning, accusing them of it, Pherbuta replied, that the Law of God condemns poisoners to death, as well as idolaters, and that they were no more guilty of that crime than of denying God. And when it was said, that they did it in revenge for their brother, Pherbuta said, Ah! what evil have ye done to my brother? It is true, you have put him to death through envy, but he lives and reigns in heaven. After this examination they were sent to prison.

PHERBUTA was very beautiful, and one of the *Magi* was enamoured with her. He therefore sent privately on the next day to tell her, that if she would be his wife, he would obtain pardon of the king both for her and her companions; but she refused it with disdain and indignation, saying, that she was the spouse of JESUS CHRIST, and did not fear death, which would joyn her again to her dear brother. The judges made their report to the king, as if the martyrs had been convicted of poisoning; and the king ordered their lives to be saved if they would adore the sun; which, they refusing, it was referred to the *Magi* to assign their punishment, who said, that the queen could not be cured but by passing through their bodies cut asunder. Whereupon, these holy women were brought before the gate of the city, each of them being tied to two posts, to one by the neck, and to the other by the feet; and being thus stretched, they were cut in the midst with sithes; then fixing three great posts on each side of the street, they hung up half their bodies upon them. The queen was brought into this street, and they caused her to pass in the midst of this cruel slaughter, followed by a great multitude of people; for it was upon a day that the king received a certain tribute; moreover, cutting victims asunder, in order to pass through them, was an ancient ceremony in the East, and which was used in covenants, and approved even in Scripture. We find also, that the Macedonians pretended to purify their army, by causing them to pass through the two parts of a dog cut asunder.

As Sapor allowed none to be put to death on account of religion, but only Ecclesiastical persons, the *Magi* ran up and down through all Persia, persecuting the Bishops and Priests, especially in the province of Adiabene, the greatest part of the inhabitants being Christians; for it was upon the frontiers of the Romans. The Bishop Acepimas, with several of his Clergy, were taken. Afterwards the *Magi* having consulted about it, were contented with seizing the Prelate, sending the rest back, and spoiling them of their goods. A Priest named James, voluntarily followed Acepimas, and prevailed with the *Magi* to be put in prison with him. He joyfully performed for him all the service that he wanted, because of his great age; he dressed his wound, and comforted him as much as he could; for, a little after he was taken, the *Magi* whipt him cruelly with raw thongs, in order to force him to adore the sun; and when

A.D. 344

Acta Sinc.
p. 639.

Genes. xv. 10.
Jer. xxxiv. 18.
Lev. lib. 11.
cap. 6. x. c. 9.

XXX.
Other mar-
tyrs, St. Acep-
imas, &c.

Soz. ii. c. 13.

A. D. 344. when he would not yield, they sent him back to prison. Another Priest called Aithalas, with Azadan and Abdiesu, Deacons, were also put in prison on account of religion, after they had been barbarously whipt by the *Magi*. *Abdiesu* signifies the servant of JESUS. A long time after, the chief of the *Magi* spoke to king Sapor of these prisoners, who allowed him to punish them as he thought fit, if they did not adore the sun. The *Magi* declared this order to them; and when they positively answered, that they would never betray JESUS CHRIST, he tortured them unmercifully. The Bishop Acepsimas died persevering constantly in the confession of the faith; and the Armenians, who were hostages among the Persians, took away his body and buried it privately. The rest, though they had suffered no less, lived beyond all expectation; and as they did not change their opinion, were sent back into prison. Aithalas was one of them, whose shoulder bone was disjoyned by stretching whilst they beat him; his hands hung down, being mortified, so that he could not take no nourishment but what was put into his mouth.

Cap. 14.

UNDER this same reign, a prodigious number of Priests, Deacons, Monks, Virgins, and other persons, consecrated to religion, suffered martyrdom. The names of twenty-three Bishops are preserved, amongst whom was Dausas and Milles. Dausas was taken by the Persians, in a place called Zabdea, and suffered martyrdom with Marcabdes, one of the *Chorepiscopi*, and his Clerks, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, who were also taken captives. Milles at first carried arms in Persia; then he embraced the apostolical life, and was ordained Bishop of a city in that country. He suffered there greatly, without converting any body, being often dragged and beaten; so that he retired dissatisfied, leaving his curse upon that city. A little while after, the chief of the city having offended the king, he sent an army thither with three hundred elephants. The city was overthrown, and made fit for the plough. In the mean time Milles went out of devotion to Jerusalem, carrying only a bag which contained the Gospels; from thence he past into Egypt to visit the Monks, and at last suffered martyrdom; and certain Syrians have written his life, which was full of miracles. There was a great number of other martyrs in Persia, who suffered very cruel torments; for the country was fruitful of such inventions. The names of sixteen thousand, both men and women, are preserved; the rest were so numerous that they could never be known, notwithstanding the endeavours the Persians, the Assyrians, and the inhabitants of Edepa took.

XXXI.
The mission of
Theophilus
the Indian.
Philostorg.
lib. iij. c. 4.
5, 6.

CHRISTIANITY still continued its progress from the Roman empire; and the Emperor Constantius took care to extend it, by an embassy which he sent to the people which were called at that time *Homeritæ*, inhabiting the utmost parts of Arabia Felix towards the ocean, and who were said to be the ancient Sabæans. They observed circumcision on the eighth day, as descended from Abraham by Ketura; but however, adored the sun and moon with the demons of the country, and abundance of Jews were mixed with them. Constantius sent ambassadors thither with magnificent presents, to gain the chief of the nation; amongst other things two hundred very fine horses from Cappadocia, intreating him to allow churches to be built for the Romans, who travelled thither, and such of the country as should be converted; the ambassadors carried enough with them to defray the charges of these buildings. One of the principal persons in this embassy was Theophilus an Indian, who having been

been sent as a hostage to Constantine the Great, when very young, by the inhabitants of the island Diu, his country, had staid long among the Romans, and embraced the monastick life with a great reputation of virtue. Eusebius of Nicomedia had ordained him Deacon; and upon account of this embassy, the Arians conferred the dignity of Bishop upon him, for he was of their party; and perhaps they procured him this mission only through jealousy of what Frumentius had done beyond the Red Sea in Æthiopia, who had been assisted by St. Athanasius: But it is certain that Theophilus the Indian was of their party, and that they extolled him to the skies, ascribing the gift of miracles to him. A.D. 344. Sup. lib. 2. n. 38.

THE embassy had great success, notwithstanding the resistance of the Jews. The Prince of the Homeritæ being converted, caused three Churches to be built, not at the Emperor's charges, but his own; one in the capital city of the whole nation, called Dabar or Tadar; another at Adane or Aden, which was the city where the Romans carried on their trade to the ocean; and the third at the city of the Persian trade, at the mouth of the Persick gulf. Theophilus having dedicated these churches, and placed there as many of the proper ornaments as he could, went over into the island Diu his native country, and from thence into other parts of the Indies, where he reformed certain abuses in religious discipline; for they heard the Gospel read sitting, and did several other things contrary to the canons. At last, from the greater Arabia he went over to the other side of the Red Sea, amongst the Æthiopian Auxumitæ, where Frumentius was Bishop: Being returned from these travels, he received great honour from the Emperor Constantius, and retained the title of Bishop, not being fixed to any particular Church. A.D. 345.

THE Eusebians assembled at Antioch, after having sent to those of the West the fourth form of faith which has been mentioned, viz. in the year 345. In this council they made another new one, which because of its length was called *Macrothichoi* or *Long Lines*, and which contains nothing that can be absolutely condemned. It begins with an exposition of faith, composed almost word for word from holy Scripture, without mentioning the word *Consubstantial* or *Substance*. Afterwards it condemns those who say, that the Son is derived from nothing, or from another *hypostasis*, and not of GOD; and that there was an age, or a time wherein he was not in being. They condemn also those who say, that there are three GODS, or that JESUS CHRIST is not GOD; or that before all ages he was neither the CHRIST, nor the Son of GOD; or, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the same; or, that the Son is not begotten; or, that the Father did not beget him by his will; that is to say, as they afterwards explain it, we must not say that he begot him involuntarily, being forced by necessity. They say, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are three things, or three persons. They condemn Paul of Samosata, who denied that JESUS CHRIST was GOD before all ages, and said, that he was only a mere man, who by his merit had been made GOD; but they acknowledge, that he is of his own nature, true and perfect GOD; who being GOD became man, without losing what he was. XXXII. The long formula of those of the East. Athan. de Syn. p. 295. Soc. ii. c. 19. Zosim. iii. c. 11. V. Pagi. An. 344. n. 2.

THEY condemn also those who stile him the simple word of GOD, without any proper subsistence; as being in another, sometimes as a word pronounced, and sometimes, as a word conceived, not allowing him to be before all ages, nor CHRIST, nor the Son of GOD, nor his image, nor a mediator; but

A.D. 345. but that he became CHRIST and the Son of GOD since the incarnation, that is, about four hundred years since ; that his reign began then, and must end at the day of judgment. Such say, they are the followers of Marcellus and Photinus of Ancyra : And after refuting this, they add, We believe that JESUS CHRIST hath received no new dignity, but that he was always perfect, and in all things like his Father. We condemn also those who say, that the same is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, applying the three names to one only and the same person ; since by the incarnation, they render comprehensible and passible, the Father who is incomprehensible and impassible. These are they whom the Romans call *Patropassians*, and we *Sabellians*. They conclude with these words, We were obliged to make this exposition of faith longer, after that which we gave in brief : We do it not out of vanity, but to take away all suspicion from those who know not our sentiments ; and to let those of the West know the calumny of hereticks, and the pure doctrine of those of the East, grounded upon the firm testimony of the Scriptures.

Hier. Script. PHOTINUS who is here condemned with Marcellus of Ancyra, was Bishop
Soz. ii. c. 18. of Syrmium, the capital city of Illyria : He was born in Galacia in the very
Sev. Jul. city of Ancyra, and had been instructed by Marcellus, whose Deacon he was
p. 11. for some time ; he had an easy way of speaking, was eloquent and persuasive,
Vincent. which gained him great power over his people after he was made Bishop : But
Lirin, com. 1. his life was corrupted, and his doctrine soon became so too, insomuch as to be-
Epiph. Hær. 71. come a heretick : He denied the Trinity, acknowledging but one operation or
Hilar. Fragm. energy in the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost. According to him, the
p. 411. R. Father alone was GOD ; the Holy Ghost did not subsist personally ; the
Edit. Paris, CHRIST and Son of GOD was not before Mary, and was not GOD, but a
1605. mere man, born nevertheless of a virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost.
Inf. n. 39. Thus he joyned together the errors of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. This
is the first council wherein we find him condemned ; but he was often con-
demned afterwards ; and as his name signifies in Greek the *Enlightened*, the
ancients often call him *Scotinus*, which signifies *Dark*.

XXXIII. THOSE of the East sent their long formulary to the West, by Eudoxius of
The council of Germanicia, Macedonius of Mopsuesta, Martyrius, Demophilus, and certain
Milan. other Bishops. They found several Western Bishops assembled at Milan, where
Socr. ii. 20. the Emperor Constans was ; who had caused St. Athanasius to come thither
Sozom. iii. also. The Western Bishops refused to subscribe this new form, however pres-
c. 11. fiding the deputies from the East were, alledging that they were satisfied with
Ath. Syn. the Nicene faith without searching any farther. On the contrary, they pressed
p. 695. D. the deputies from the East to condemn the doctrine of Arius, which they re-
Ap. 1. p. 676. fused, and went away in anger from the council of Milan. This happened in
A. the year 346. St. Athanasius came to this council without knowing the oc-
Epist. 2. casion of it ; and was informed that certain Bishops had intreated the Emperor
Liberii ad Const. Constans to write to his brother Constantius, that a council of the East and
Pagi. 344. West might be assembled, to reunite the Church which was divided, and to
n. 3. &c. re-establish Athanasius and Paul in their Sees ; as Constans had often desired
Ap. 1. ibid. Constantius by letters, but to no purpose. Constantius yielded to this propo-
Socr. ii. c. 20. sal of a council, and they agreed that it should be held at Sardica in Illyria,
Soz. ii. c. 11. the chief city of the Daci, upon the borders of the two empires. The Bishops
Epist. Pseudo- who contributed most to excite the Emperor Constans to demand this council
fyn, ap. Hilar. Frag. & tom. 3 concil, were Julius, Hosius, and St. Maximin of Treves.
p. 700.

THE council was accordingly held at Sardica by the common consent and A.D. 347. by the order of both the Emperors, in the eleventh year after the death of XXXIV. Constantine the Great, under the consulship of Rufinus and Eusebius, viz. 347. The council of Sardica. Ath. Ap. 2. p. 754. C. Soc. ii. c. 20. Sozom. iii. c. 11. Inscript. epist. Syn. & epist. Pseudosynod. Ath. ad solit. p. 819. D. Athan. ad solit. p. 818. B. Synodica ad Jul.

The Bishops assembled from above thirty-five provinces, amongst others, from Italy, Spain, Gaul, Africa, Pannonia, Dacia, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, the Cyclades, Crete, Phrygia, and other provinces of Asia minor; Cappadocia, Galatia, Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Arabia, Thebais, and Egypt. The number of Bishops was about a hundred and seventy, an hundred of the West, and the rest from the East. The most remarkable were, the great Hosius of Corduba, Protogenes of Sardica, Protasius of Milan, Severus of Ravenna, Lucillus of Verona, Januarius of Beneventum, Vincent of Capua, Verissimus of Lyons, Maximin of Treves, Euphratas of Cologne, Gratus of Carthage. St. Athanasius, Asclepas of Gaza, and Marcellus of Ancyra were likewise there, being the principal cause of the council. Julius Bishop of Rome excused his being there, lest the schismatics and hereticks taking advantage of his absence, should injure his flock; and his excuse was approved of by the council. He sent in his place the Priests Archidamas and Philoxenus, with Leo the Deacon.

AMONGST those of the East, or rather the Eusebians, the chief Bishops were Theodorus of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Stephen of Antioch, Acacius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Menophantus of Ephesus, Ursatius and Valens, Quintianus of Gaza, Marcus of Arethusa, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Basil of Ancyra, Callinicus of Pelusium a Meletian, and the famous Ischyrras. They brought with them two Counts, Musonius and Hesychius, who bore the office of *Castrensis*: this was an officer of the Emperor's chamber. The Eusebians thought according to custom, that they should prevail in the council by secular power; and these hopes made them very eager to come thither.

BUT when they saw that those of the West had only Hosius at their head, and that this council would be a determination purely Ecclesiastical, without the help of any count or soldiers, they were surprized and troubled with a remorse of conscience. They had imagined that St. Athanasius, and the rest that were accused, durst not even present themselves; and yet they saw them appear boldly. They observed that persons were come from divers Churches with proofs ready to accuse them themselves; that some of those whom they had banished, presented themselves with the chains with which they had been loaded; that Bishops came to speak for others who were still in banishment; that the relations and friends of those who were put to death, presented themselves; that other Bishops related how by calumnies they had been put in terror of their life, and that some of their brethren actually perished; amongst others, the Bishop Theodulus, who died as he was endeavouring to escape. Some shewed the wounds which they had received, while others complained of the hunger which they had suffered; and this not only private persons, but whole Churches, whose deputies gave an account of the cruelty of the soldiers and rabble, the threatnings of judges, and the forging of false letters; the virgins being stript, the sacred ministers imprisoned, nay, and churches burned; and all this to force the Catholics to communicate with the Arians. The Eusebians saw also that two Eastern Bishops, Arius and Macarius of Petra in Palestine, and Asterius of Petra in Arabia, having travelled with them, left them

Cong. Gloss. Gr. & Gloss. Lat. Ath. 2 Ap. p. 754. D. Et ad solit. p. 818. C.

Epist. Syn. ad omn. epist. ap. Athan. p. 762. B.

A.D. 347. and joyned those of the West, after they had discovered their tricks and alarms to them.

Ad solit.
p. 818.

PERCEIVING all this, they resolved to come to Sardica, to shew that they had confidence in their cause; but being arrived there, they shut themselves up in the palace where they lodged, saying among themselves, We came for one thing and find another; we brought Counts, and judgment is given without them; we shall certainly be condemned. Ye all know the orders of the Emperors. Athanasius has the proceedings in the Marcotis, which will serve to justify him and condemn us. Why then do we delay? let us find out pretences for retiring; it is better to fly, however shameful that be, than to be condemned as calumniators. By flying we may still support our party. If they condemn us in our absence, we have the protection of the Emperor, who will not allow us to be banished from our churches. Such were the thoughts of the Eusebians. Hosius and the other Bishops often spoke to them, extolling the confidence of Athanasius and the rest that were accused. If you fear the sentence, said they, why did you come? Ye should rather not have come than afterwards retire. Here is Athanasius, and these whom ye accused in their absence; who present themselves, that ye may convict them, if ye can do it. If ye seem to do it and cannot, ye are manifest calumniators; and the council will pass sentence against you as such.

Epist. Syn.
ad Alex.
Item. ep.
ad omnes
episc.
Epist.
Pseudo-syn.

THE Fathers of the council often represented all this to the Eastern Bishops both by word of mouth and in writing; but the first pretence that they made use of, for not joyning them was, that they communicated with Athanasius, Marcellus, and the rest that were accused: That they sate and conferred with them in the church, where the council was probably held according to custom, celebrating the divine mysteries with them. They required the Western Bishops to begin, by separating them from their communion. These maintained that this was neither proper, nor possible to be done; inasmuch as St. Athanasius had the judgment of Julius Bishop of Rome in his favour, which was given after a thorough information of the cause, and the testimony of eighty Bishops. Those of the East pretended, that Athanasius, Marcellus, and the rest of whom they complained, were judged by councils from which there could be no appeal, especially considering that the greater part of the witnesses, judges, and other necessary persons were dead. They were answered, that the council of Sardica assembled to examine these pretended judgments: that Athanasius presented himself to be judged, whereas he had been condemned in his absence; and that the proceedings against him were repealed.

Epist. Hos. ap.
in Egypt.
Ath. ad solit.
p. 839.

UPON which, those of the East were forced to say, Since of six Bishops, who got information in the Marcotis, five are still alive; let some Bishops be sent from each party, to the places where Athanasius committed these crimes; if they be found false we shall be condemned, and not be thought worthy to make complaints either to the Emperors, the council, or to any Bishop; but if they are found true, ye shall be condemned, and be deemed unworthy, ye who have communicated with Athanasius since his condemnation. But the Western Bishops refused this proposal, which was only designed to elude the judgment, and multiply useless proceedings: Besides, as Gregory was master came to Hosius in the church where he staid, he desired them to declare what they

they had to say against Athanasius, bidding them to speak boldly; and assuring them that they might expect a very equitable determination. This he did once or twice, adding, that if they would not speak before the whole council, they might explain themselves to him alone. I promise you, said he, that if Athanasius be found guilty, we shall absolutely reject him; and even granting that he should be found innocent, and should convict you of calumny, I engage to carry him into Spain with me, if you cannot resolve to receive him. St. Athanasius consented to this proposal; but his enemies were so diffident of their cause, that they rejected this as well as the former.

BESIDES the council was well informed of their ill intentions by Macarius and Asterius, who had left them, after coming with them from the East. These two Bishops reported, that the Eusebians formed several assemblies in certain places by the way, and that they resolved when they arrived at Sardica, not to submit to any judgment; nor to assemble with the council: But that having signified their having been present by a protest, they would immediately retire. Accordingly when they arrived, they did not allow those who came from the East with them to enter into council, nor even to approach the church where it was held: for several Eastern Bishops were steadfast in the sound doctrine, who would have separated themselves, had not they retained them by threatnings and promises. This Macarius and Asterius testified, complaining of the violence which they themselves had suffered.

THE Eusebians being no longer able to excuse themselves, and the day appointed for the sentence being expired; they said, that they were obliged to withdraw, because the Emperor had written to them to celebrate his victory over the Persians; nor were they ashamed to send this excuse by Eustathius a Priest of the Church of Sardica. The council no longer doubting their ill intentions, wrote to them plainly thus, Either come to defend the accusations which are laid to your charge, particularly as calumniators; or know that the council will condemn you as guilty, and declare those who are with Athanasius innocent, and free from all reproach. Their conscience pressing them more than this letter, they hasted away and withdrew to Philippopolis in Thrace.

IN this council three things were to be treated of, viz. the Catholick faith; the causes of these whom the Eusebians accused; and the complaints made against the Eusebians themselves. A proposal was made to draw up a new confession of faith; this was warmly urged by some, but was rejected by the council with indignation. They decreed, that nothing should be written concerning the faith, and that they should be satisfied with the Nicene creed, because nothing was deficient in it; and because by drawing up another form, they might seem to judge this symbol imperfect, and give a pretence to those who were inclined to write frequent confessions of faith. These who made this proposal, nevertheless drew up a form, which some people afterwards published under the name of the council of Sardica.

ST. Athanasius's cause was treated of; and although the flight of his adversaries sufficiently justified him, their accusations were examined anew, as far as could be done in their absence. As to the murder of Arsenius, the calumny was very evident, since every body knew that he was alive, and that he had shewed himself. Proper informations, made by his adversaries themselves in the Mareotis, destroyed their pretences concerning the broken chalice of Ischyra; and besides, two Priests, formerly Meletians, and afterwards received by St. Alexander,

Synod. ap.
Athanas. p. 763.
C.

XXXV.
*The retreat
of the Eastern
Bishops, and
the judgment
of the council.*
Sozom. iii.
c. 11.
Athanas. ad
Solit. p. 319.

Synodica
ad Jul. Athanas.
ad Antioch.
p. 576. C.

Ap. Theod. ii.
c. 3.

Epist. Syn.
ad Alex. ap.
Athanas. p. 757.
758.
Item. ad
omn. Episc.
Ibid. p. 763.

A.D. 347. Alexander, testified that Ischyra had never been a Priest, even in the time of Meletius; so that they acknowledged the justice of the sentence pronounced at Rome by Julius in favour of St. Athanasius, and the truth of the testimony which eighty Egyptian Bishops gave of him. His cause was found to have no difficulty in it, and all the Bishops acknowledged him innocent, and confirmed him in the communion of the Church. They declared moreover, four Priests of Alexandria innocent, whom the Eusebians had persecuted and obliged to fly to save their lives; these were Aphthonius, Athanasius the son of Capito, Paul, and Plution. All their names, excepting that of Paul, are found in the protest against the information of the Marcotis, which shews how they adhered to St. Athanasius.

Epist. Pseudo.
syn.
Ap. Ath.
p. 764. C.

Sup. lib. 11.
a. 40.

Synod. ad
omn.

Syn. ad Jul.

Syn. ad om.
p. 766.

THE council examined the cause of Marcellus of Ancyra: And as the Eusebians raised their accusation from what he wrote against Asterius, and which, as they pretended was full of heresy, the council caused this writing to be read, and found that he only advanced by way of question, what they pretended that he maintained. By reading what went before, and what followed, they found him orthodox; for he did not say as they alledged, that the Word of God had taken its beginning from the holy virgin Mary, nor that his reign should end; but that his reign was without beginning, and without end; and so the council declared him innocent. Asclepas of Gaza related the proceedings carried on at Gaza in presence of his accusers, and of Eusebius of Cæsarea; and his innocence appeared by those who had accused him at the same council, which, upon calumnies raised against him, deposed St. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. Then the Fathers of the council of Sardica declared Asclepas fully justified.

THEY came afterwards to the third question which they were to decide, and which was undoubtedly the most considerable, viz. the complaints formed on all sides against the Eusebians. The most capital was that which Julius Bishop of Rome had before enlarged upon in his letter, viz. that they communicated with the Arians condemned at the council of Nice, and who were particularly mentioned; and that they had not only received them into the Church, but also raised the Deacons to be Priests, and the Priests to be Bishops. In every particular their design of re-establishing that heresy plainly appeared; for all the cruelties which they had committed at Alexandria, or elsewhere, were against these only who refused to communicate with the Arians. They were convicted of calumny by the justification of these whom they would have destroyed. Theognis in particular was convicted for having counterfeited letters against Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, that he might exasperate the Emperors against them: the letters were read in council; and those who had been at that time Deacons to Theognis shewed them to be false. They proved that Valens would have left his Church of Mursa to usurp that of Aquileia, it being much more considerable; and that in a sedition excited upon this account, a Bishop called Viator was so pressed and trampled under foot, that he died at Aquileia three days after.

THEN the council pronounced sentence of condemnation against the heads of this faction, whom the Church had so long tolerated, viz. Theodorus of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Stephen of Antioch, George of Laodicea, Acacius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Menophantus of Ephesus, Ursatius of Singidon, and Valens of Mursa. These eight were deposed and excommunicated; that

that is to say, deprived not only of their Bishopricks, but of the communion of the faithful. They treated in the same manner the three usurpers of the Sees of St. Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, viz. Gregory of Alexandria, Basil of Ancyra, and Quintianus of Gaza. They forbid acknowledging them as Bishops, having any communication with them, receiving their letters, or writing to them. A. D. 347.

SUCH was the judgment of the council of Sardica, which it declared by four synodical letters; one to the Emperors, another to all the Bishops, the third to Julius Bishop of Rome in particular; and the fourth to the Churches whose Bishops were re-established. We have the letter addressed to the Church of Alexandria, the letter to all the Bishops, and that to Julius; but that which was written to the Emperors is lost. It contained an account of all that had past, intreating the Emperors to put a stop to the persecution raised by the Arians, and to hinder the magistrates who ought only to take care of secular affairs, from judging the Clergy, and making use of their authority to disturb the faithful, under pretence of Ecclesiastical affairs. XXXVI.
The letters of
the council of
Sardica.
Ap. Ath. apol.
2. p. 756. ap.
Theod. ii.
c. 8.
Epist. Synod.
ad Alex.

THE letter to Julius approves of his reasons for not coming to the council; adding, that it is very proper that the Bishops every where should lay their affairs before the Church, † meaning the See of St. Peter. They relate briefly what passed in the council upon the three points of which they had treated, viz. the Faith, the persecuted Bishops, and the crimes of the Arians; for, say they, the Emperors allowed every thing to be examined anew: Besides this, the Fathers refer to the original acts and writings, and to the account which the Legates would give him by word of mouth, and to the letter to the Emperors, of which they sent him a copy. They intreated him to let all this be known in writing to the Bishops of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, lest through ignorance they should receive letters from those whom the council had excommunicated. To. 2. conc.
p. 660.

THE letter to the Church of Alexandria imports, that the council approved of the justice and exactness of the judgment passed by Julius in favour of St. Athanasius; which shews that the council had examined it. Afterwards, they explain at length the proofs of the calumny of the Eusebians, both as to the manner of proceeding, and the grounds of the accusations: They exhort the church of Alexandria above all things to preserve the Catholick faith; for which, and for their Bishop Athanasius, they ought to suffer all manner of persecutions, looking upon them as a kind of martyrdom. They declare the deposing of Gregory, or rather that his ordination was null, exhorting all those who have communicated with him through fear or deceit, to abandon him and reunite themselves to the Catholick Church. To this letter they joyned a copy of that to all the Bishops; to the end, say the Fathers of the council, that ye may give your consent to what we have decreed. Lastly, the letter to all the Bishops contains a full account of all that passed in the council, as has been related; for it is chiefly there that we find the history of it. It ends with these words, Take care, dear Brethren, to give your consent to our council, as being present in spirit, and to signify it by your subscription, that an uniformity of opinions may be preserved amongst all our colleagues. Some have joyned to this letter the profession of faith which had been proposed, and was rejected by the council; but this ought not to be admitted. To. 2. conc.
p. 664. & ap.
Ath. p. 756.

Tom. 2.
conc. p. 670.
Ap. Ath.
p. 760.
ap. Hilar.
Fragm.
Ap. Theod. ii.
c. 8.

† The words *C'est à dire, au siege de St. Pierre*, are added by our author. See notes, Vol. I. upon this head.

A.D. 347. THE council of Sardica made likewise twenty canons relating to discipline, proposed by divers Bishops; but the most part by Hosius, and approved by all the rest. The two first are against translations of Bishops, in these words, Hosius Bishop of Corduba said, That a pernicious custom must absolutely be rooted out, and all Bishops be prohibited from passing from their own city to another. None have been found to pass from a greater to a less; therefore, it is evident that they are induced to it by avarice and ambition. If ye all approve of it, this abuse shall be more severely punished; so that whoever commits it, shall not even partake of lay communion. They all replied, We approve it. Hosius added, If any one be found so mad as to excuse himself, and maintain, that he received letters from the people; it is manifest, that some of those, whose faith is not sincere, may have been corrupted by money, to cry out in the Church, demanding him for Bishop. These artifices must be absolutely condemned; so that such a person shall not receive lay communion even at his death. Ordain this if ye all approve of it. The council answered, We approve it. In this the council of Sardica derogates from that of Nice, which determined not to refuse the communion to any who should demand it at the hour of death.

Can. 5. lat. Hosius proposed besides this, a canon concerning the ordination of Bishops: If only one Bishop remains in a province which had more, and he neglect to come and ordain one, the people being already assembled; the Bishops of the neighbouring province must invite him to meet them, that a Bishop may be ordained to fill one of the vacant Sees; if he answer not their letter, let them satisfy the people, and perform the ordination without him. Moreover, it must not be allowed to ordain a Bishop in a village, or little town, where only one Priest may suffice, that the name and dignity of Bishop may not be debased. Those then who are invited from the neighbouring provinces, must not ordain them, but in cities which have had them before, or that are so large and populous as to want them. That we may not mistake these words, *Large and populous cities*, we must observe what those are which the council thinks unworthy of a Bishop; those where one Priest is sufficient. We need not therefore be surprized at the great number of Bishopricks which we find in every well-inhabited country, in these first ages of the Church. Besides, the pretended ordination of Ischyra seems to have given place to this canon.

Can. 13. lat. 10. Gr. THE enterprizes of the Eusebians might have been the occasion of this other. If a rich man, an advocate, or a man of business is required for a Bishop, he must not be ordained till after he has performed the offices of Reader, Deacon, and Priest. He shall pass through all these degrees, and continue a long time in them, that his faith, modesty, and gravity of deportment may be approved; and then he may be raised to the dignity of Bishop, if he be found worthy of it: For it is not allowed slightly to ordain Neophytes. Bishops are also forbidden to solicit the Clergy belonging to their Brethren; and in general, to ordain them without the consent of their Bishops; because, say they, such proceedings are commonly the sources of divisions.

XXXVIII. THERE are several canons in this council concerning the residence of Bishops, and particularly against their journeys to court; a new abuse introduced only since the conversion of the Emperors. Hosius thus complains of it, Our importunity, our officiousness, and unjust demands, lessen the credit and authority which we ought to have: For there are Bishops who never cease from coming

coming to court, especially Africans. They disdain, we know very well, the A.D. 347. wholesome advices of our brother Gratus. This was the Bishop of Carthage who was present at the council. Hosius goes on: The affairs which they carry to court are of no use to the Church; for they demand offices and secular dignities for other persons. It is commendable in the Bishops to intercede for widows or orphans that are destitute; for those who are in distress have frequently recourse to the Church; or for such criminals as are condemned to banishment, or some other penalty. Decree then, if ye think proper, that Bishops go not to court but upon such accounts; or when they are sent for by letters from the Emperor. They all said, We desire it, let it be decreed.

Hosius added, To take away the pretences for going to court from the Bishops, it is better that those who solicit in these affairs of charity do it by a Deacon, whose presence will be attended with less odium, and who can bring back an answer more speedily. It was accordingly so ordained. They added, that the Bishops of every province should send their requests, and the Deacon who was charged with them, to the metropolitan, that he might give him letters of recommendation, addressed to the Bishops of the cities where the Emperor was. If a Bishop has friends at court, let him not be hindered from recommending any proper and convenient matter to them by his Deacon. These who come to Rome, shall present the requests with which they are charged to the Bishop of Rome, that he may examine whether they be just and proper, and take care to send them to court. These regulations were universally approved. Can. 9. lat. 3. Gr.

GAUDENTIUS Bishop of Naipa in Moesia, added: That it was necessary to restrain those by fear who would not observe these regulations, and to order, that whoever knowingly transgressed them, should be deposed from his Bishoprick. And in order to execute this, continued he, let every one of us who are upon the canal, for so the highways were called; let every one, I say, who shall see a Bishop pass, enquire where he is going, and the cause of his journey. If he is going to court, let him see if he be invited; but if he goes to court to make such solicitations as have been mentioned, let him not subscribe his letters, nor even receive him to communion with him. This advice was approved of by every one of them. Only Hosius added a restriction to it: That these who, before they knew this decree of the council, should arrive at towns situated upon the high road, might be warned by the Bishop of the place; and that he who was thus warned, should send his Deacon from this place, and return to his Diocese. Can. 11. lat. 20 Gr.

Hosius complained of another abuse. Sometimes, says he, a Bishop comes into another diocese, or into another province, and stays a long time there through ambition; because, perhaps, the Bishop of the place has not so great a talent of instructing as he; and the strange Bishop often preaches to make the other despised, and himself desired and translated to that place. Regulate then the time which they should stay; for it is inhumane not to receive a Bishop, and dangerous to suffer him too long. I remember that our Brethren have formerly decreed in a council, that if a Laick passed three Sundays, meaning three weeks, without coming to the assembly of the city where he stayed, he should be deprived of communion. If this be decreed for Laicks, it is much more proper that a Bishop should not absent himself so long from his Church, without great necessity. This advice was universally approved. It is thought that this council, whereof Hosius speaks, was the council of Elvira, where Can. 12. lat. 11. gr.

A. D. 347. where he assisted about two and forty years before ; for we find in it, the decree which he here mentions. He added this other canon, which was also approved of. Some Bishops have but a small revenue in their own diocese, and a greater elsewhere, with which they may assist the poor. They may be allowed to continue three weeks in the place where their estates lie, in order to gather the produce ; and that this Bishop may not pass a Sunday without going to Church, let him celebrate divine service in the nearest church, where a Priest was wont to do it ; but let him not go too often to the church of the city where the Bishop resides ; but, however, without prejudicing his own interest, lest he be suspected of ambition. This rule of being only three weeks absent was extended to the Priests and Deacons, upon its being represented by Aëtius Bishop of Thessalonica, that in his city, which was large, and the metropolis of Macedonia, Bishops often came from other countries ; and that after a long stay they could scarcely be prevailed upon to return home. But upon the remonstrance of Olympius Bishop of Enos in Thrace, this exception was added, in favour of Bishops who were persecuted and unjustly banished from their Sees, for defending the truth : That they should be allowed to stay in another place, until they had liberty to return home, because they deserved all manner of good treatment. The injustice of the Arians rendered these cases too common.

XXXIX. *Canons upon Ecclesiastical judgments.* *Can. lat. 16. gr. 13.* THEY confirmed what had been before decreed : That a Deacon, a Priest, or any other Clerk excommunicated by his Bishop, should not be received by another ; and that the Bishop who knowing him to be excommunicated should receive him to communion with him, in contempt of his brother, should give an account of it to the assembly of Bishops. Hosius added, If a Bishop, giving way to his passion more than he ought, being angry with a Priest or Deacon, excommunicate him, he that is excommunicated may address himself to the neighbouring Bishops, and ought to be heard. The Bishop who condemned him must not take it amiss, that the matter is examined by a number ; but before this examination, no body must presume to converse with the condemned person. If the Bishops find that the Clergy despise their Bishop, or use him insolently, they must be reprimanded severely ; for as the Bishop ought to testify a sincere charity to his Clergy, so ought they to be truly subject to him.

Can. 3. THEY moreover regulated the manner of judging Bishops ; and this is the most remarkable canon of the council of Sardica. In consequence of the two first which forbade translations, and to take from Bishops the occasions of unnecessary journeys, Hosius said, We must add, that no Bishop pass from one province to another where Bishops are, unless invited by his Brethren ; for we design not to shut up the gate of charity. And to take away all manner of pretences, he adds, If two Bishops of a province have any difference between them, either of the two may take the Bishop of the neighbouring province for judge. If a Bishop being condemned, be assured that he hath right on his side, and desire to be judged again in a council, let us honour, if ye think proper, the memory of St. Peter the apostle ; let these who have examined the cause write to Julius Bishop of Rome : If he thinks meet to renew the judgment, let him appoint judges : If he think that there is no room for an appeal, they must stand to his judgment. The council approved of this proposal. The Bishop Gaudentius added, That during this appeal, no Bishop should be appointed in the place of him who was deposed, until the Bishop of Rome had judged the cause.

To

To make the foregoing canon the more clear, Hosius added: When a Bishop, deposed by the provincial council, shall appeal and have recourse to the Bishop of Rome; if he thinks proper that the affair be examined again, he shall write to the Bishops of the neighbouring provinces, that they may be judges of it. And if the deposed Bishop desire the Bishop of Rome to depute a Priest from himself, he may do it, and send commissioners to judge by his authority, together with the Bishops; but if he think the determination of the Bishops sufficient in this affair, he may do whatever his wisdom shall suggest to him. The judgment which Julius with the council of Rome had rendered in favour of St. Athanasius, seems to have given place to this canon; and we see that the Bishop of Rome complained that they had judged St. Athanasius without writing to him of it. Such was the true council of Sardica. Besides the present Bishops, many others subscribed it upon copies which were sent to them, of whom St. Athanasius reckons above three hundred.

IN the mean time those of the East who withdrew from Sardica, staid at Philippopolis in Thrace, upon the territories of Constantius near Constantino-ple, and pretending to be a true council, wrote a letter addressed to Gregory usurper of the See of Alexandria, to Amphion of Nicomedia, Donatus the schismatical Bishop of Carthage, Didier of Campania, Fortunatus of Naples, Eutychius of Ariminum, Maximus of Salona in Dalmatia; and in general, say they, to all the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Catholick church; for so they call them according to the usual stile of each party. They say, that they assembled at Sardica from several provinces of the East, which they reckon up, and had there celebrated a council. They begin by boasting of their great zeal for the Church, and the stability of her judgments; and enter upon the matter from Marcellus of Ancyra, for whose condemnation they had the best grounds. They accuse him for renewing the heresies of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, saying, that in the council of Constantinople, held under Constantine the Great, having been often warned of his errors, and reproved in vain, he was legally condemned. They come afterwards to St. Athanasius, accusing him of sacrilege and prophaning the holy mysteries; of breaking with his own hands a sacred chalice, and an altar; of overthrowing the sacerdotal chair; of demolishing the church to its foundation, and imprisoning the Priests. All this is the calumny of Ischyra. They pass that of Arsenius slightly over; but they charge St. Athanasius with violence committed at the feast of Easter, upon his own account, nor is it easy to guess from whence this pretence could arise; for they ought not to speak in this place of what preceeded his banishment, since they add, that for all these crimes a council was first designed at Cæsarea; then held at Tyre; where the Bishops assembled from several provinces, who would not judge slightly, and sent worthy persons from among them; who being upon the spot, and having seen the truth with their eyes, made their report to the council: this was the deputation into the Mareotis: That after Athanasius was condemned face to face, he fled and appealed to the Emperor, who upon examination having discovered his crimes, sent him into banishment.

BUT, continue they, having obtained leave to return, and coming back from Gaul to Alexandria, he committed crimes worse than the former. In all his way, he disturbed the Church, re-establishing Bishops that were condemned, and promising to re-establish others; putting infidels in the place of Bishops,

A.D. 347.

Can. 7. lat.
gr. 5.

Sup. n. 24.

Ap. 2. p. 720.
C.

XL.

The pretended
council of
Philippopo-
lis.

Soz. iij. c. 11.

Tom. 2.

conc. p. 669.
ex Hil. Frag.

Sup. lib. 11.
n. 57.

A. D. 347. shops, whilst the true Pastors were yet alive, and this by force, and by the arms of the Gentiles, acting like one in despair, without any regard to the laws. At last a holy Bishop being put in his stead by the decree of a council, he brought Gentiles thither, burnt the Temple of God, broke the altar, and fled away privately. They speak of the intrusion of Gregory, and ascribe to St. Athanasius the cruelties committed upon this account, charging him with the crimes of his enemy.

THEY accuse in the same manner Paul of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople, of several crimes, cruelties, and also sacrilege, as may be seen in their letter. But the evidence of their calumnies against St. Athanasius may serve for a specimen to judge of the rest, of which we are not so well informed. They return to him, saying, that he went over several countries, deceiving good Bishops by his artifices and flattery, and particularly the Egyptians, who were not acquainted with his crimes, begging favourable letters from them, which disturb the peace of the Churches. But, added they, the recommendations of these who were neither judges, nor present when Athanasius was examined, ought to be of no weight in opposition to the determination given long ago by a council of holy Bishops. At last, seeing that all this was useless to him, he went to Rome to find Julius and some other Bishops of Italy, whom he seduced by letters filled with forgeries, and their having so easily received him to their communion, is the reason that they undertook his defence, in order to defend their own conduct. All the rest who were convicted of crimes, have now joined themselves to Marcellus and Athanasius, as particularly Asclepas, deposed seventeen years ago, viz. at the council of Antioch in 330. Paul, Lucius, and all such as are like them. They assemble together in strange countries, not in the places where they had committed their crimes, nor in the neighbourhood, nor where their accusers were, but in far distant countries, justifying themselves before those who knew them not; and persuading them not to believe their judges. This is their cunning; they know that several of their judges, accusers, and witnesses are dead, and therefore would return after so many judgments, believing that length of time would conceal their crimes, and seeking to defend themselves before us, who have neither accused nor judged them; they who could not defend themselves when they had their accusers face to face.

Sup. lib. 11.
p. 43.

XLI.
Complaints against the
council of
Sardica.

ATHANASIUS went into Italy and Gaul, soliciting this judgment. Julius Bishop of Rome, Maximin of Treves, Hosius, and several others, wrongfully gave their consent to it; and obtained, by the Emperor's goodness, that a council should be held at Sardica. We came thither, called by letters from the Emperor; and being arrived, we were informed that Athanasius, Marcellus, and all the criminals justly condemned and deposed by the judgment of councils, sat in the midst of the Church with Hosius and Protogenes; that they spake there, and which is worse, celebrated the divine mysteries. Protogenes was not ashamed to communicate with Athanasius, whose heresy he had condemned four times in council, both by word of mouth, and by subscribing the decree of the Bishops. They also accuse St. Athanasius for condemning Asclepas, and Paul for condemning St. Athanasius; but we find no proof of these facts elsewhere.

As to us, continued those of the East, we adhering to the discipline of the Church, ordered those who were with Protogenes and Hosius to exclude from their

their assembly those who were condemned, and not to communicate with sinners; and afterwards to hear with us what our Fathers had decreed against them. They would not separate themselves from their communion, authorizing the heresy of Marcellus, the crimes of Athanasius, and others; preferring them to the faith and peace of the Church. We cannot perceive the reason of it, unless it be that they are afraid of condemning themselves by rejecting them, because they had communicated with them. They pretended besides, to introduce a new error, preferring the judgment of some Western Bishops to the Eastern councils, making themselves judges of judges, and calling in question the judgment of those who are already with God. Those of the East might in the same manner destroy what the Western Bishops have done; but we adhere to the rules which our Fathers have left us: What has been decreed by lawful councils ought to remain firm; the Church cannot alter it, for she has not received such power from God. Those of the East confirmed what had been determined at Rome, by the councils against Novatus, Sabellius and Valentinus; and all confirmed what was decreed in the East against Paul of Samosata. We here see the rise of the jealousy conceived by the Eastern Bishops against those of the West; of which we may see the terrible effects throughout all the following history.

A.D. 347.

THEY continue: We have often intreated them not to overthrow this tradition, despising the law of God, and that they would not continue to put the whole world into confusion for the sake of two or three criminals, who ought to yield of their own accord, if any fear, or any seed of religion remained in them; and say with the Prophet, Cast me into the sea, seeing I am Jon. i. 32. the cause of the storm. And even granting that they were not guilty, every body ought to reject them with horror; because they rend the unity of the Church, by adhering to their dignity, and by their extravagant ambition. It is for them that we have been obliged to leave the care of our people, the preaching of the Gospel, and to come so far, notwithstanding our great age and bodily infirmities; so that some of us have been left sick on the road; and it is upon their account that the publick carriages are destroyed. The people murmur at it; and the Brethren expect with impatience throughout the provinces, what the end of these evils may be. Therefore, after having intreated Hosius and Protogenes to reject them for several days; we offered to send again upon the spot to the five Bishops which were left of those that went to the Marcotis, submitting ourselves to be no more heard, if the accusations were not true; but they would not accept of it. On the contrary they treated us as schismatics, exciting the people against us, and stirring up the city to sedition.

SEEING things in this condition, we resolved to return every one to his own home, and to write to you from Sardica, to inform you of what passed declaring our judgment to you. It is not impossible but that they might have written this letter at Sardica, although they did not publish it till after their retreat to Philippopolis. However that be, this is their pretended sentence. We eighty Bishops expressly declare to you, lest any of you should be surprized by communicating with Hosius, Protogenes, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, Paul, Julius, or any of these condemned and rejected by the Church, or their adherents; that ye neither write to them, nor receive their letters. They afterwards add, Gaudentius of Naïssa and Maximin of Treves; and these are the reasons which they give for their sentence. They condemn Julius Bishop of

XLII.

The excommunication against Julius, Hosius, &c.

A.D. 347. Rome as author of this mischief; because he first communicated with Athanasius and the rest that were condemned. They condemn Hosius upon the same account; and moreover for having persecuted a certain person called Mark, and defended certain wicked Bishops whom they name; but we know not the foundation of these calumnies. They condemn Maximin, because he would not receive the Bishops who were sent into Gaul, (these were the deputies of the council of Antioch in 342.) for having first communicated with Paul of Constantinople; and of being the cause that he was called back, and of the murders which were the consequence of it. They say that Protogenes had condemned himself, having often subscribed the condemnation of Marcellus; that Gaudentius had not followed his predecessor Cyriacus, who subscribed to the condemnation of the guilty; and that he had the assurance to defend Paul.

AND because, say they, that these who were with Hosius would have destroyed the Catholick faith, by introducing the heresy of Marcellus; we have been obliged to draw up a confession of faith, which we intreat ye all to subscribe, as well as our decrees, as soon as ye shall receive our letters. They afterwards place their confession of faith, which contains nothing remarkable but the affected omission of the term *Consubstantial*. This letter is subscribed by seventy one Bishops, the chief of which are Stephen of Antioch, who is the first, Menophantus of Ephesus, Acacius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Theodorus of Heraclea, Quintianus of Gaza, Marcus of Arethusa, Dion or rather Dianus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Basil of Ancyra, Eudemon of Tanis, and Calinius of Pelusa, both Meletians; the famous Ischyas of the Mareotis, Narcissus of Irenopolis, Eutychius of Philippopolis, and Valens of Mursa. This letter was addressed, among others, to Donatus the schismatical Bishop of Carthage, to draw him over to the Arian party; which did not hinder the Donatists from continuing in the true doctrine, upon this point of the consubstantiality of the Word: Only they took the advantage of this letter, to shew that they were united in communion with those of the East, making it pass under the name of the council of Sardica; and it must be acknowledged that this council was afterwards prejudicial to the true council. Those who would not acknowledge these canons, particularly that concerning appeals to Rome, treated it as a council of Arians; and those who asserted the validity of these canons ascribed them to the council of Nice, looking upon that of Sardica as a consequence of it. At last, the council of Sardica was cried down for absolving Marcellus of Ancyra, whose reputation still continues suspicious as to doctrine. St. Athanasius himself having discovered several novelties in his discourses, which had given occasion to the errors of Photinus, separated from his communion; and St. Epiphanius says, that having one day asked St. Athanasius what he thought of him, he replied, smiling, that he was not far from being guilty of malicious wickedness.

AFTER these two councils, the East was for some time divided from the West, the bounds of their communion being these of the Empire; namely, Mount Tifouquis, which is between Thrace and Illyria. Till that time, that is to say, in the East, those who differed in matters of faith, did not however cease to communicate together; but on this side towards the West there was no communion with hereticks, the Church was pure, preserving the doctrine which she had received from her fore-fathers, without disputes or divisions. It

is certain, that Auxentius Bishop of Milan, Ursatius, and Valens, endeavour- A.D. 347.
ed to establish Arianism; but the Bishop of Rome, and the rest of the Bishops
carefully resisted them. The disorder was greater in the East, where they dis-
puted concerning the term *Consubstantial*, several being only shocked at the
word, and persisting in opposing it, only because they had at first engaged
themselves in the dispute. Others by disputing, gained such a habit of believ-
ing what they maintained, that they could not now change their opinion;
others struck with the inconveniency of dispute, fell into that excessive com-
pliance, and embraced any party, according as they were drawn by interest or
friendship; others despising these disputes as frivolous, peaceably followed the
faith of Nice. The greatest number adhered to it, particularly the Monks
who began at that time to be remarkable for their sanctity.

THOSE whom the council of Sardica had condemned, redoubled their XLIII.
The cruelties
of the Arians.
Athan. ad
solit. p. 820.
cruelties. The Clergy of Adrianople would not communicate with them as
they passed by that way, looking upon them as fugitives and criminals. They
complained of it to the Emperor Constantius, and caused two laicks to be be-
headed who were employed in the armory of that city; and this by the means C.
of Philagrius, who had been made Count once more. The tombs of these
martyrs are to be seen before the city; for the Church honours them as such
on the eleventh of February, with St. Lucius their Bishop, who died also upon
this account. As he spoke with great freedom against the Arians, refuting their Ibid. p. 821.
heresy, they caused him to be loaded with two iron chains, which were fastned to
his neck and hands, sending him thus into banishment, where he died: they
were suspected also of having hastned his death. They caused a Bishop named Soz. vj. c. 2.
Diodorus to be banished; he was probably the Bishop of Tenedos, who sub-
scribed to the council of Sardica. They persecuted Olympius of Enos, and
Theodulus of Trajanopolis, both in Thrace. The Emperor surprized by the
calumnies of Eusebius, had formerly condemned them by writing, to depart
from their cities and Churches, and to be punished with death wherever they
should be found: they put him in mind of this order, and hastned the execution
of it.

THEY caused two Bishops who had left them at Sardica, to be sent into
the Higher Libya, viz. Arius and Asterius; the one of Petra in Palestine, the
other of Petra in Arabia; and their banishment was accompanied with severe
treatment. As they had a particular ill will to St. Athanasius, they caused
two Priests and three Deacons to be banished into Armenia from Alexandria;
they caused orders to be written to guard the harbours and entries of towns,
lest St. Athanasius should make use of this liberty which the council had given
him to return: They wrote also to the judges of Alexandria, that if Athanasius
or any of the Priests whom they named, were found in the city, or upon his
territories, he should cause them to be beheaded. They procured the publick
carriages to go to several places; and when they found any body who reproach-
ed them for their flight, or detested their heresy, they caused them to be
whipt, imprisoned, or banished. This terror made a great number of hypo-
crites; and many fled into the desarts, rather than they would fall into their
hands. This is what passed in the East.

IN the West, a little after the council of Sardica, and in the same year 347, XLIV.
The second
council of Mil-
lan.
a council was held at Milan, where the Emperor Constans resided, to seek
remedy for this division of the Churches, and means to execute the decree of
Sardica,

A.D. 347. Sardica, and condemn Photinus. He had been before condemned by the Eusebians at Antioch, in 345, but not yet in the West; where he had a considerable dignity, being Bishop of Syrmium the metropolis of Illyria. This council was also numerous, being gathered from this province and that of Italy whose metropolis was Milan; and the Priests of the Roman Church assisted there also. Ursacius and Valens, who, although they were Bishops, were ignorant and changeable, seeing themselves condemned and deposed by those of the West, amongst whom they were situated, had a mind to take the opportunity of this council to get themselves absolved, and pretended to abjure Arianism, by a writing which they presented to the council signed with their hands, and begging pardon for their fault; the council pardoned them, and restored them to their communion.

Vide Pagi.
an. 345. n. 5.
& 347. n. 7.
&c.

Hilar. Fragm.
p. 411. B.
Sup. n. 33.
Ep. ad Frag.
Hil. p. 412.
Ep. Syn. Arim.

Soc. lib. 2.
c. 22.
Theod. ii. c. 8.
Ath. ad solit.
p. 820.

THE sentence of the council of Sardica could not be established, nor the Bishops who were unjustly banished placed again in their Sees, without authority from the Emperor of the East. Wherefore the council of Milan deputed two Bishops to him, viz. Vincent of Capua, perhaps the same who had assisted at the council of Nice in the name of St. Sylvester, and Euphrates of Cologne. The Emperor Constans gave them a letter to his brother, sending with them a military officer called Salianus, famous for his virtue and piety. In this letter Constans intreated his brother Constantius to hear the Bishops whom he sent to inform himself of the crimes of Stephen of Antioch, and the rest of that party, and to re-establish Paul and Athanasius; since they were fully justified. He added at the end threatnings, that he would re-establish them in spite of him, and declare war.

XLV.
Stephen of
Antioch de-
posed.
Ath. ad solit.
p. 822.
Theod. ii. hist.
c. 9.

THE deputies being arrived at Antioch, where Constantius was, Stephen Bishop of that city, endeavoured to destroy their reputation, that he might lessen their credit. There was an insolent young man, very dissolute in his manners, whose name was Onagrus, that is to say, a wild ass, because he kicked with his feet and hands. He not only insulted every body in the forum, but entred into houses, dragging out both men and women of the greatest rank. He, set on by the Bishop Stephen, made a bargain with a common woman, to pass the night, as he pretended, with certain strangers who were to arrive. He took fifteen companions, and having hid them behind the walls which were on the hill, he brought the woman thither. Then having given the signal which they had agreed upon, and seeing that his companions were there, he came to the lodging of the Bishops, and found the gate of the court open; for he had bribed one of the servants. He caused the woman to enter intirely undressed, shewed her the chamber next to the gate where one of the Bishops lay, desiring her to enter; in the mean time he went out to call his companions. It happened that Euphratas the elder of the two Bishops lay in this first chamber, and Vincent in another more distant. The woman willingly entred, believing that some young man wanted her; but was much surprized to find a man asleep who waited for nothing. The noise of her walking awaked Euphratas, who asked, Who is there? she answered; and Euphratas hearing the voice of a woman in the dark, and believing it to be an illusion of the devil, called JESUS CHRIST to his assistance. Upon this Onagrus rushed in with his company, crying out against the Bishops, that they were wicked wretches. The woman seeing, by the light, the countenance of an old man, and the appearance of a Bishop, cried out, that they had deceived her. Onagrus would have

have obliged her to hold her peace and calumniate the Bishops. In the mean A.D. 347. time the servants hearing the noise, assembled together, and Vincent arose; they shut the gate of the court to stop the conspirators; but they took only seven, whom they kept with the woman; Onagrus with the rest escaped. This thing making a noise, when it was day, all the town assembled at this house, and the scandal was so much the greater, it being the feast of Easter. The Bishops awake Salian the officer, who came with them; and early in the morning went together to the Emperor's palace, complaining loudly of Stephen's having presumed to contrive such a calumny, saying, that there was no need either of formal judgment or torture to punish his crimes; but that an Ecclesiastical sentence was sufficient. Salian maintained the contrary, and intreated the Emperor to cause this daring enterprize to be examined, not by a council, but in the usual form of justice, promising to deliver up all the Clergy belonging to the Bishops to be first examined, saying, that it was necessary likewise to question those belonging to Stephen. He impudently opposed that, saying, that Clerks ought not to be put to the torture: But the Emperor and his principal officer were of opinion, that they should be put to the question, only with this precaution, viz. that the information should be made secretly in the palace. We see here the difference between Ecclesiastical and Secular judgments. In the Ecclesiastical the Bishops were judges, the holy Scriptures and canons of the Church were the laws; neither torture nor prison had any place in them; their punishments were only spiritual, such as deposing and excommunicating.

THE woman was first examined; and they asked her who had brought her to the Bishops lodgings. She said it was a certain young man who wanted her for some strangers, and gave an account of the rest as it happened. After this, they brought the youngest of the prisoners to be put to the question, who did not wait for the lashes; but discovered all the plot, declaring that Onagrus was author of it. Onagrus was brought, who said he did it by order of Stephen. They caused also the mistress of the woman to be brought, for these miserable wretches were commonly slaves. She confessed, and convicted such as had addressed themselves to her, and they were found to be Clerks belonging to Stephen, who also did it by his order. Being thus convicted, he was put into the hands of the Bishops who were present, to depose him; which they did, and banished him from the Church. The Emperor Constantius, struck with this accident, began to come a little to himself again; what the Arians had done to Euphratas made him judge of their other actions. Then he ordered the Priests and Deacons of Alexandria to be recalled, who were banished into Armenia; and wrote expressly to Alexandria not to persecute any longer either the Clerks or Laicks who inclined to St. Athanasius.

BUT the Arians had still credit enough to get Leontius the eunuch, a supporter of their party, chosen Bishop of Antioch. He was a Phrygian by birth, and of a deceitful disposition; he pretended that he had been a disciple of the martyr St. Lucian, and had followed the errors of Arius from the beginning. St. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, who knew him, would never take him in amongst his Clergy; but after the banishment of St. Eustathius he was raised to the priesthood. Afterwards he was deposed by virtue of the first canon of Nice, for having made himself an eunuch; for as he lived with a young woman called Eustolia, whom he caused to pass for a virgin, though he had debauched her; finding it necessary to break off this scandalous proceeding, he performed this operation with his own hand, that he might have a pretence for co-habiting

Athan. ad
sol. p. 322. C.

XLVI.
Leontius Bi-
shop of An-
tioch. Theod. ij.
c. 10.
Philost. iij.
c. 15.
Epiph. Hær.
69. n. 5.
Ath. ad sol.
p. 322. C.
Ath. ap.
co-habiting p. 718. C.

A. D. 347. co-habiting freely with that woman whom he could not leave. This crime which had caused him to be deposed from the priesthood, and rendered him irregular, did not hinder the Arians from making him Bishop of Antioch. He held this See eight years, using great dissimulation to hide his heresy, that he might not turn the Catholics from him, of whose number he was apprehensive; and still more fearful of the threatnings of the Emperor Constantius, against these who said that the Son of God was not like his Father. But his conduct discovered it; for he ordained no Catholics, nor gave any of them employment in his Church, however virtuous they were; he put all his confidence in Arians, raising them to holy orders, although they lived in debauchery. Thus the Clergy was much more infected with heresy than the people. Aëtius, who became more famous afterwards, was made a Deacon by him; but two famous laicks, Flavian and Diodorus opposed him, and threatened Leontius, that they would separate from his communion, go into the West, and let his conduct be known. Leontius was afraid of them, and put a stop to the ministry of Aëtius, continuing to favour him in every thing else.

FLAVIAN and Diodorus, who then supported the doctrine at Antioch, had both embraced an Ascetick life: Diodorus was so poor that he possessed nothing upon earth, neither house, nor table, nor bed; his friends fed him, and he spent all his time in prayer and instruction. The paleness of his countenance, and the rest of his external deportment, testified his extreme mortification, which caused a weakness in his stomach, with great pains; but, however, he lived a long time. He had studied philosophy and rhetoric at Athens, and had been the disciple of Sylvanus of Tarsus, where he himself was afterwards Bishop. Flavian was Bishop of Antioch, but it happened long afterwards. Both of them in the time of Leontius, applied themselves to stir up the faithful to a zeal for religion. They assembled them at the tombs of the martyrs, and passed whole nights with them in praising God. Leontius durst not hinder them from it, because of the multitude which followed them with great affection; but he intreated them with a seeming mildness to do this service in the church. Though they knew his malice very well, they did nevertheless obey him. They were the first who instituted the psalmody of two choirs, singing alternately; and this custom which began at Antioch, extended itself all over the world. It is said, that Flavian having assembled several Monks, was the first who sung the hymn, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Formerly, as the Arians pretended, they said, Glory to the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. The Catholics and Arians praying together, said it every one in his own way; but these who were near Leontius observed, that he past all the rest of the verse over without speaking, saying only in the end, And for evermore. There was besides, at Antioch, another party of Catholics who did not communicate with the Arians, acknowledging no body for their Bishop but St. Eustathius; and were also called Eustathians.

XLVII. AETIUS whom Leontius created Deacon, was a Syrian, born at Antioch. His father had served among the officers of the governor; but being a man of ill conduct, he lost his life, and his goods were confiscated. Aëtius having been some time slave to a woman, and having recovered his liberty, though it is not known how, applied himself to the trade of a tinker, and gained his living very laboriously by mending brass vessels. A woman having given him a collar

Theod. ij.
c. 12.
Ath. ad solit.
p. 627. B.

Facund. l. 4.
c. 2.
ex Chryf.

Ibid. ex
Julian. Imp.

Philostorg. iij.
c. 13.
Theod. ii.
c. 24.

The beginning
of Aëtius.
Philostorg.
lib. 3. 15.
& ibid. Valef.

a collar or bracelet of gold to mend, he restored her one of gilded brass, perfectly like it; but the gilding being worn off, and the cheat discovered, he was pursued by justice and punished as a robber; upon which he made an oath to renounce his trade. He afterwards put himself to an Empirick named Sopolus, who ran about the country under the name of a Physician; then having found an Armenian simple enough to believe him very skilful, he got abundance of money from him; and began to practice physick himself, mixing himself in the assemblies of physicians, where he disputed and cried out extremely loud, which gained him the affection of those whom he supported by his voice and assurance.

BEING still a little unsettled, he left this trade and applied himself to philosophy; for amongst the Greeks, who had no language to learn, nothing was wanting but a genius to apply themselves to all manner of sciences. His first master was Paulinus, who after St. Eustathius was deposed, removed from the Bishoprick of Tyre to that of Antioch. But Paulinus dying six months after, Eulalius who succeeded him, banished Actius from Antioch. He retired to Anazarba in Cilicia, and put himself at first into the service of a grammarian, who taught him his art: From hence he withdrew to the Bishop of Anazarba, named Athanasius; from this place he went to Tarsus, where he continued a considerable time with an Arian Priest called Anthony, who boasted that he had been the disciple of St. Lucius as well as Athanasius of Anazarba: For the greatest part of the first Arians, as well as Arius himself, esteemed it an honour to have had such a master. Actius returned afterwards to Antioch, to hear Leontius who was as yet but a Priest. He was also the scholar of Eustathius, afterwards Bishop of Sebasta, who was at Antioch about the same time. But as Actius could not bridle his tongue, he was again banished from Antioch, and returned into Cilicia; where he applied himself to dispute with one of those who were called *Borborians*, and who were the most infamous sort of *Gnosticks*: Actius was intirely vanquished, and ready to die with concern; but he pretended to have had a heavenly vision, which comforted him, and rendred him invincible in the dispute.

HE went afterwards into Egypt to see one of the chief of the Manicheans called Aphthonus at Alexandria, who had the reputation of great wisdom and eloquence; but Actius entring into dispute with him, stopt his mouth by a few words, putting him into such confusion, that he fell sick and died seven days after. It was at Alexandria that Actius applied himself to logick, under a sophist, a follower of Aristotle; he employed himself intirely to reduce to figures and syllogisms, the doctrine of the Church, concerning the Divine Word, and continued sitting from morning till night employed in forming a Theological scheme after a geometrical manner. The historian Socrates tells us, that he adhered firmly to the questions of Aristotle, who perhaps by this word means all his logick. He adds, that Actius did not comprehend the design of this work, which was only to exercise young people against the sophists, who despised true philosophy; for which reason the Academicks who are followers of Plato, blamed this method of Aristotle. But Actius continued in these subtilties, because he had not been instructed by an Academick; and could never

Greg. Nyl.
lib. 1. conc.
Eunoni. p. 30.
in append.

Basil. ep. 70.

82.

Epiph. Har.
76, n. 2.

Soc. lib. 2.

c. 35.

Vid. Aug. iv.

Cont. c. 16.

comprehend from them how an eternal generation could be brought about. He had studied very little, but had a great faculty of disputing, which an illiterate person may acquire. He hardly knew the holy Scripture itself, and had not studied the antient interpreters, such as Clement of Alexandria, Africanus, and Origen.

Soz. lib. 3.
c. 15.
Epiph. Hær.
76. n. 4.
Jo. xvij. 3.

HIS impudence in disputing upon the nature of GOD, made the people give him the surname of Atheist. Nevertheless, he boasted that he knew GOD as clearly as he knew himself; and abusing the passage of the Gospel, where it is said, That eternal life is to know GOD and JESUS CHRIST, he reduced all religion to this speculative knowledge, not esteeming fasting or any other pious practices, nor even the observing of the commandments of GOD; so far, that when any body complained before him, that such a one had committed a sin with a woman, he only laughed at it, saying, that this crime was as necessary for the body as scratching for the ear. Besides, the doctrine of Aetius was pure Arianism; and he differed in nothing from the rest, only that he had followed their principle better, carrying his consequences to a greater length; maintaining, that the Word was not only not equal to the Father, but was not even like him.

XLVIII.
Paul and Ma-
carius are sent
into Africa.
Optat. l. 3.

Ibid, sub. fin.

Baron:
an. 348. n. 33.
1 in Cod.
Theod. de
Imag. imp.
lib. 15.

IT is probable, that upon returning from the council of Sardica, Gratus Bishop of Carthage intreated the Emperor Constans to remedy the wants of the Church of Africa; for this Emperor sent two considerable persons thither, viz. Paul and Macarius, without any other apparent commission, but to distribute alms and comfort the poor in every Church; but at the same time they exhorted all the faithful to return to the unity of the Catholick Church, and leave the schism of the Donatists. These spread abroad a rumour, that Paul and Macarius were come to raise a persecution; that when the altar was prepared for the holy sacrifice, they would present an image which they would place upon it. This occasioned the Faithful to say, Whosoever shall partake of this sacrifice, it is as if he did eat of meats sacrificed to idols: But when they were arrived, no such thing was seen; and the holy sacrifice was celebrated as usual, without any addition or diminution. It is thought that this was the image of the Emperor; and, indeed, they continued under the Christian Emperors to bring their images into provinces, proposing them to be honoured by the people, without any mixture of superstition; whereas under the Pagan Emperors, they adored them, offering them incense and sacrifice.

Sup. lib. 11.
p. 46,

PAUL and Macarius addressed themselves to Donatus the pretended Bishop of Carthage, declaring to him the occasion of their journey; and that the Emperor had sent ornaments for the Churches and alms for the poor. It is true, that there was nothing for Donatus in particular; he replied in anger, What has the Emperor in common with the Church? and said a great many ill things of the Emperor. He added, that he had already sent letters every where, forbidding to distribute to the poor what they had by right. Another Donatus, the schismatical Bishop of Bagaia, was still worse. When he knew that Paul and Macarius approached the city, he sent criers into the neighbour-
ing

ing places and the markets, to assemble all the *Circomcilliones*, thole mad-men who ran in arms through the country, and whom the Donatist Bishops themselves had been obliged to abandon under Count Taurinus. Donatus of Bagaia had then recourse to them; and Paul and Macarius dreading their fury, demanded assistance from count Sylvester; not to use violence to any body; but to defend themselves, and to preserve the poor's mony, of which they had the charge.

THE Donatists assembled a great multitude; and to maintain them made their church a magazine of provision. When the quarter-masters came to mark out the lodgings for the soldiers of count Sylvester, they would not receive them; but being abused, returned to their companies; they all were so provoked at it, that their officers could scarcely restrain them. Armed men of both parties met, so that the cities were filled with noise. The Donatist Bishops all fled with their Clergy; some of them were killed, and some taken and banished to distant places. Although the Catholick Bishops had no share in it, the Donatists made use of this as a pretence to cry down the re-union of a great number of their party, who returned at that time to the Catholick Church. They called Paul and Macarius persecutors, and all other Catholicks Pagans, giving them the name of Macarius; one called Marculus cast himself down from a rock: Donatus of Bagaia threw himself into a well; Aug. tract. 74, the Donatists ascribed their death to this persecution, and honoured them as in Joan. n. 19, martyrs.

AFTER this re-union, Gratus assembled a numerous council from all the provinces of Africa, which is reckoned the chief of Carthage, because it is the oldest, whereof we have the canons; for otherwise we meet with several councils held there, particularly under St. Cyprian. This could not be celebrated sooner than the year 348, nor later than the year 349. Gratus began the council with thanking God for having reunited the members of his Church; and he proposed to the Bishops to make necessary regulations for preserving discipline, without altering the union by too great severity. They made fourteen canons, proposed by Gratus and other Bishops, and approved of by all according to the form of the council of Sardica. The first was not to re-baptize any who have been in the faith of the Trinity. This was the chief error of the Donatists, who believed, that Baptism given out of their communion was void. It is also in opposition to their abuses that it is forbidden to profane the dignity of martyrs; in honouring as such, those who threw themselves down precipices, or killed themselves after any other manner; to whom the Church doth not allow burial, only out of compassion: For a much stronger reason they deny it to those who kill themselves through despair and malice.

THEY renew the prohibitions already made to Clerks in so many councils, of co-habiting with wives; and extend it to all persons of both sexes, who have embraced a state of continency, even in widowhood, forbidding them to cohabit with strange persons, or even to visit them. They renew the prohibition to Clerks from lending at usury, as being a sin to be condemned

XLIX.
The first council of Carthage.
Tom. 2. conc.
p. 713.

Can. 2.

can. 3.

can. 4.

can. 13.

- A.D. 349. even in laicks, and contrary to the Prophets and the Gospel. They forbid
 can. 6. Clerks also to burthen themselves with the oversight of houses and the ma-
 2 Tim. ii. 4. nagement of secular affairs, according to the rule of St. Paul. By conse-
 can. 8. quence they forbid to ordain these who are overseers, agents of affairs, and
 tutors, acting personally, till the affairs be ended and the accounts given up;
 can. 9. lest if they were sooner ordained, the Church should receive dishonour by
 it. Laicks are forbidden to chuse Clerks for keeping their magazines or ac-
 counts.
- can. 10. 5. BISHOPS are forbidden to intermeddle with one another. No one must
 receive the Clerk of another without letters from his Bishop, nor keep him
 with him; nor ordain a laick of another diocese without the consent of his
 Bishop. Upon this canon Gratus says, This practice preserves peace; and I
 can. Sard. 12. remember that in the holy council of Sardica, it was forbidden to solicit the
 lat. Clerks of another diocese. Antigonus Bishop of Madaura complained of ano-
 can. Carth. another Bishop called Optantius. They had divided their dioceses by common
 12. consent, for which there were papers signed with their hands: In the mean
 time Optantius did not cease to visit the people belonging to Antigonus, draw-
 ing them to him. The council ordained, that the agreement should be obser-
 ved to preserve peace. They extended to laicks the prohibition of communi-
 can. 7. cating with people of another diocese, without letters from their Bishop; to
 prevent the artifices of such as leaving the communion of one, were admitted
 by surprize into that of another. They ordered, that the pride of Clerks who
 can. 11. are not obedient to their Bishops, should be humbled; but that in judging
 them, it was necessary to have a certain number of Bishops, viz. three for a
 Deacon, six for a Priest, twelve for a Bishop, which number is remarkable.
 can. 14. The observance of all these canons is recommended under pain of excommuni-
 cation to Laicks, and that of being deposed to Clerks; in both cases the cause
 is supposed to be first adjudged.

L. GREGORY, usurper of the See of Alexandria, died ten years after Stephen
 St. Athana- had been deposed from the See of Antioch, viz. in the beginning of the year
 sius recalled. 349. Then Constantius having no further pretence for hindring the return of
 Ath. ad solit. St. Athanasius, and being frightened by the threatnings of the Emperor his bro-
 p. 323. ther, consulted with the Bishops of the East, who advised him to recal him, ra-
 Pagi. 348. ther than expose himself to a civil war. Accordingly he wrote a very obliging
 n. 2. letter to him, wherein he expresses abundance of concern for the misfortunes
 Soc. ii. hist. which he suffered at such a distance from his own country. I expected, says
 c. 23. he, that you would have come yourself to have desired redress; perhaps fear
 Soz. iii. c. 10. retained you: I write to you therefore, that you may not delay it any longer.
 Philostorg. iii. c. 18. I have also intreated my lord, and brother the Emperor Constans, to permit
 Ap. Ath. ap. you to come. However St. Athanasius did not hasten; and Constantius wrote
 2. p. 709. him a second letter, exhorting him to come without fear to his court, and of-
 fering him the publick carriages. He sent also one of the Priests of Alexandria,
 who attended his court to him; afterwards a Deacon, named Archytas, with a
 third letter, to give him further assurance, and press him to come immediately;
 he also caused six of his counts to write to him, in whom he knew St. Athana-
 sius

sius placed the most confidence. They assured him that the Emperor had waited A. D. 349: for him a whole year; and that he would never allow a Bishop to be ordained at Alexandria, in the place of Gregory. Ad solit. p. 823.

St. Athanasius received the letters of Constantius at Aquileia, where he staid for some time, upon his return from the council of Sardica. Having received the third letter, he resolved to leave all to God, and return to the East; but first, as the Emperor Constantius ordered him, he went to him in Gaul, probably at Milan, the usual place of his residence in Gaul, which was called at Rome *Cisalpinia*. He went also to Rome to take leave of the Bishop St. Julius and his whole Church, who received him with extreme joy. Julius wrote a letter full of tenderness to the Church of Alexandria; wherein he commends their steadfastness in the faith, bearing witness of the charity which their Bishop always preserved for them: He represents to himself the publick joy with which he shall be received; and concludes with prayers to draw down upon them the grace which they deserve. In every place through which St. Athanasius passed, the Bishops gave him letters of peace. Apol. i. p. 769. B. Apol. 2. p. 770. B. Apol. 2. 770.

HE arrived at Antioch, where the Emperor Constantius was, who received him with a favourable countenance; confirming to him by word of mouth the leave of returning into his own country, and re-assuming the government of his Church; granting him also letters, besides the orders that he had given for guarding the Passes, that he might perform his journey without any difficulty. St. Athanasius complained, that the Emperor had formerly written against him; and entreated not to give ear to his enemies in his absence any more. Send for them, says he, if you please; I wish they would appear, that I may convict them. The Emperor would not, but ordered him to forget all that he had written to his disadvantage; assuring him that he would receive no calumnies against him for the future; and to shew that this resolution could not be shaken, he confirmed it by oaths, calling upon God to witness. He said many other things to comfort him; and wrote several letters in his favour; one to the Bishops and Priests of the Catholick Church, by which is meant that of Egypt; wherein he declares, that all that had been decreed against those who communicated with St. Athanasius, ought to be forgotten; that for the future they should be free from all suspicion; that the clerks who are with him, should enjoy the same exemption from tribute, that they had before enjoyed; that the surest mark of the best party should consist in their being united with him. The second letter is addressed to the Catholick people of Alexandria; and tends chiefly to exhort them to peace; and to warn them, that the Emperor has written to the judges, to punish the seditious according to law. There are two letters to Nestorius the Prefect of Egypt; the first of which was also sent to the governors of Augustamnium, Thebais and Libya. The second orders Nestorius to send to court all the letters which were to be found in his registers against the reputation of Athanasius. A Decurio called Eusebius had the charge of executing these orders; and took out all the Papers from the registers of the Duke and Prefect of Egypt. LI. St. Athanasius at Antioch. 2. Apol. p. 772. ad Sol. p. 823. Apol. 2. p. 772. Ibid. p. 773. Ibid. p. 774. ad Sol. 824. Apol. 2. p. 774.

A.D. 349. **WHILST** St. Athanasius stayed at Antioch, he did not communicate with Leontius; but shunned him as a heretick: He communicated with the Eustathians, who were the purest party of the Catholick people, assisting at their assemblies which were held in private houses: The Emperor said to him one day; You see that I am ready to perform all that I have promised you; but I have also one favour to ask of you: That of so many Churches which belong to you, you leave one to those who are not of your communion. Athanasius replied, It is just, my Lord, to obey you: but since in this city of Antioch, there are also people who shun the communion of such as are not of our opinion; I beg the same favour for them, that they may have a Church to assemble in freely. The proposal seemed just to the Emperor; but the Arians had no mind to accept of it. For, said they, our doctrine will make no great progress at Alexandria, whilst Athanasius is there; on the contrary, if we suffer the Eustathians to assemble freely at Antioch, the greatness of the number will appear, and they may make some attempt against us. It is better to continue as we are. Indeed, they saw that though they were masters of the churches, and a great many of the Catholick people assembled with them; yet the Catholicks did not cease to testify the difference of their Belief, in the conclusion of their Psalms, saying, *Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost*; and not as the Arians, *Glory to the Father by the Son, &c.* Leontius durst not hinder it; but he saw the consequence very plainly; and said, putting his hand to his white hair, When this snow is melted, it will be very dirty; thereby signifying the division which would appear amongst the people after his death.

Sup. n. 46. Then the Emperor sent back St. Athanasius, without asking him any other question. He also sent back Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza. Asclepas was received without difficulty: but at Ancyra, as Basil was to be driven away, there happened great disorders, which gave occasion to raise new calumnies against Marcellus.

LII. **ST.** Athanasius proceeding on his journey towards Egypt, endeavoured in all the cities through which he passed, to bring back the Bishops, who were separated from the doctrine of the *Consubstantiality*. He was differently received; his friends sincerely rejoiced; some of them were either ashamed of their conduct, or repented for having written against him; others concealed their sentiments. As he passed by Laodicea in Syria, he was received by Appolinarius the Reader, who was originally of Alexandria. His father who was born there, and of the same name, first taught Grammar at Berytus, afterwards at Laodicea, where he was married; and had this son, who also applied himself successfully to humane learning; and taught Rhetorick. They were both admitted amongst the clergy, the father a Priest; the son a Reader in the time of Theodotus, predecessor to George, who at that time had the See of Laodicea. St. Athanasius having seen this young man, conceived an affection for his excellent endowments; for he had a good natural genius, well improved by learning. George the Bishop being an Arian, was provoked at this; esteeming it a crime to be in communion with St. Athanasius: He therefore shamefully banished Appolinarius, accusing him of not observing the canons of the Church. He brought to light an old fault, which Appolinarius had atoned for by

by repentance. In the time of Bishop Theodotus, there was a Pagan Sophist, A. D. 347, named Epiphanius, a great friend of the two Appolinarius's, whose son was their scholar. The Bishop forbid them his company, lest he should infect them with Paganism; but they did not cease visiting him. One day Epiphanius repeated a hymn in praise of Bacchus, in presence of several persons, and the two Apollinarius's, father and son. At the beginning he said, according to his custom: Let the profane and those who are not initiated, retire; but the two Apollinarius's did not go out, nor any other Christian who was present. The Bishop Theodotus being informed of this, was very much displeased at it; he pardoned the rest who were only Laicks, after a slight reprimand; but as for the Appolinarius's, he accused them publicly, and separated them from the Church. Nevertheless, as they did penance, with tears and fasting; he received them again some time after. This was the old fault with which George reproached a-new the younger Apollinarius, as well as communicating with St. Athanasius, that he might find a pretence for putting him out of the Church.

ST. Athanasius having past through Syria, came to Palestine, where all the Bishops gave him a favourable reception, excepting two or three Arians, as Acacius of Cefarea, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis. All the rest entered into communion with him, excusing themselves for having written against him; and saying, that they were forced to it by violence. They assembled in council at Jerusalem, in which they wrote a Synodical letter in his favour, addressed to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya; and to the Priests, the Deacons and People of Alexandria; to congratulate them upon the return of their Bishop. They exhort them also to pray for the Emperors; which shews, that Constans was still alive, and that it was in the same year 349. This letter was subscribed by sixteen Bishops, the first of whom is St. Maximus of Jerusalem, who presided at the council; and all of them, excepting one called Macrinus, had assisted at the council of Sardica.

LIII.
St. Athanasius at Jerusalem, afterwards at Alexandria.
Apol. 2.
P. 774. C.
Ad Solit.
p. 823. E.

ST. Athanasius entered Egypt by Pelusa, and as he went through the country, in his way to Alexandria, he exhorted the people in every city, to separate from the Arians; and join themselves to those who confessed the *Consubstantiality* of the Word; nay, he even performed ordinations in several places. At length arriving at Alexandria, he was received there with incredible joy, not only by the people, but by the Bishops of Egypt, and of both parts of Libya; who came thither from all quarters. They mutually rejoiced to see their old friend still alive, contrary to their expectation, and to find themselves delivered from the tyranny of the hereticks. The joy was universal, and in the holy assemblies they excited each other to virtue. Several young virgins, who before this, were designed for the married state, consecrated their virginity to JESUS CHRIST, and several young men embraced a monastick life, being prevailed upon by the example of others. Fathers excited their children to it, or at least were induced by their entreaties not to hinder them from it. Husbands and wives persuaded each other to devote themselves for some time to prayer, according to the advice of the Apostle: The charity of good people was employed in cloathing orphans and widows; and such was their emulation, that

Socr. ii. c. 24.
Ath. ad Solit.
P. 825. C.

1 Cor. vii. 5;

A.D. 349. that every house seemed to be a Church, set apart for prayer, and the practice of virtue. These are the effects which the publick joy produced at that time amongst the Christians. The Churches enjoyed a profound peace; all the Bishops wrote to St. Athanasius, and received letters of peace from him according to custom. Several retracted what they had written against him, and many of his enemies were sincerely reconciled to him. Some came to him in the night time, and excused themselves on account of their being forced to join with the Arians, whose heresy they abhorred, and protested, that in their hearts they had always been in communion with him.

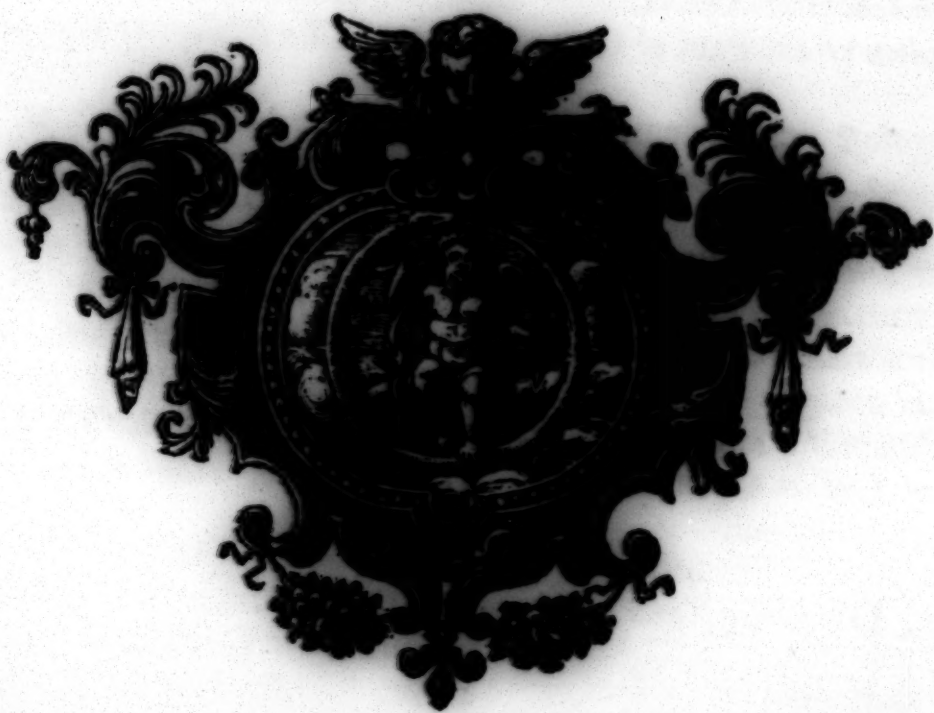
LIV. THE most remarkable recantation was that of Ursatius and Valens. They took the opportunity of a council being assembled from several provinces, for the deposing of Photinus from the Episcopal order, he having been condemned as an heretick at Milan two years before. This council was probably held at Rome; for it was Julius Bishop of that city, to whom Ursatius and Valens addressed themselves, intreating him that they might be admitted to the communion of the Church. Julius after taking advice, granted them this request, in order to diminish as much as possible the power of the Arians, for the service of the Church. But they were not received, but on condition of acknowledging the innocence of St. Athanasius; which they did, by a writing in these Terms: To our Lord the blessed Pope Julius, Valens and Ursatius greeting. Forasmuch as we have heretofore written several evil things concerning the Bishop Athanasius, and having received letters from your Holiness, relating to that matter, did not give you an account of it: We declare before your Holiness, and in the presence of all our brethren the Priests, that whatever we have as yet heard concerning that Bishop, has been misrepresented, and ought to have no force; and that consequently we heartily embrace the communion of the same Athanasius; particularly in consideration of your having through your goodness pardoned our offence. We declare likewise by this writing, signed with our hands, that we anathematize, as we always have done, the heretick Arius and his followers, who assert, that there was a time when the Son was not; that he was made out of nothing, and did not exist before the Worlds; as it is contained in our preceeding writing, which we delivered at Milan. This was written in Valens's hand, and underneath there was written in that of Ursatius's: I Ursatius, Bishop, have subscribed this profession of Faith. It seems by this writing, that Ursatius and Valens, in their first recantation, which they made at Milan, had only renounced Arianism; and that at Rome they were moreover obliged to justify St. Athanasius. However that be, some time after, being at Aquilea, they wrote to him in these terms: To our Lord and brother Athanasius, Ursatius, and Valens greeting: We have taken the opportunity of our brother Moses the Priest's going to your charity, by whom we salute you very affectionately, from the city of Aquilea; and hope that this letter will find you in good health. We give you confidence if you are also inclined to write to us on your part. Be assured by this letter, that we have ecclesiastical peace and union with you; the divine goodness preserve you our dear brother. These two letters of Ursatius

The recantation of Ursatius and Valens Hilar. frag. p. 411. V. Pagi. an. 349. n. 4. 5. &c.

Athan. 2. Apol. p. 776. Hilar. frag. p. 411.

Sup. n. 42.

Ursatius and Valens were sent to St. Athanasius, by Paulinus Bishop of A.D. 349
 Treves, who succeeded St. Maximin. Ursatius and Valens, afterwards sign- 2. Apol.
 ed two letters of peace, which were delivered to them by two Priests be- P. 775. D.
 longing to St. Athanasius, named Peter and Irenæus, together with a Laick Ad Solit.
 named Ammonius; although they had no letters from St. Athanasius to de- p. 816.
 liver to them.



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Ecclesiastical History.

B O O K XIII.

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IN the mean time there arose a party in Gaul against the Emperor A. D. 350. Constans. They complained that he put too great a confidence in the Barbarians; that he was cruel, and that he sold the government of provinces. The chief of the conspiracy were Chrestus, Magnentius, Marcellinus, and Magnentius. They assembled at Autun, where Marcellinus præfect of the treasury prepared a great feast for them and several of the officers of the army, on his son's birth day, whilst the Emperor Constans was hunting: this was on the fifteenth of the calends of February, under the consulship of Sergius and Nigrinus, that is, on the eighteenth of January, in the year of CHRIST 350. The feast lasted late in the night; and Magnentius going out, under pretence of some necessary occasion, returned dressed in the imperial robe, and was saluted as *Augustus* by all the company. Constans being informed of it, fled towards the Pyrenean mountains: he was pursued by Gaiso by Magnentius's orders, who overtook him at Elna, and put him to death. He had reigned thirteen years from the death of Constantine the Great, his father, and was about twenty nine years old. Veteranio who commanded in Pannonia, having been informed of this, he likewise declared himself Emperor at Sirmium on the first of March; and Nepotian, the son of Eutropia, Constantine's sister, assumed the imperial robe at Rome, on the third of June, as having a right to it by birth; but he was supported only by a company

1.
The death of Constans.
Magnentius, Veteranio, and Nepotian, Emperors. Zosim. lib. 2. p. 693. Victor. epist. Idat. fact. An. 380.

A.D. 350. many of gladiators. These three pretended Emperors all professed themselves Christians.

II. THE Emperor Constantius who was then at Edessa warring with the Persians, hearing of the revolt of Magnentius, began to march towards the West; and Sapor king of Persia, taking this opportunity, came a second time, and laid siege to Nisibis in Mesopotamia, the strongest bulwark of the whole empire on that frontier. He had a great army both of horse and foot, with several elephants; however, the siege lasted four months. They drew a line round it, and raised towers, having recourse to all manner of engines that were then used in sieges, but all to no purpose. At length, after seventy days labour, Sapor stopt the course of the river Mygdon which ran through the city, by a dam which he raised above it at some distance, and which he caused to be broken down when the water was at the height. This water which had been kept back rushing violently against the wall of the city, beat down a considerable part of it. The Persians expressed their joy upon this occasion by loud shouts; but put off the assault until the next day, because the overflowing of the water made the breach inaccessible. When they made their approach, they were greatly surprized to find a new wall behind the other; and it was St. James Bishop of that city, so famous for his virtue and miracles, who had encouraged the garrison and the inhabitants to raise this work with so much expedition; he continuing at prayer in the mean time in the church.

SAPOR himself having approached it, thought that he saw upon the wall a man dressed in a royal habit, whose robe and diadem cast a wonderful brightness. He made no question but that this was the Roman Emperor, and threatened to kill those who had told him that he was not at Nisibis: But they assuring him again, that Constantius was at Antioch, he perceived the meaning of the vision, and that GOD fought for the Romans; and for rage, he threw his Javelin up into the air, as it were, to be revenged of heaven. Then St. Ephraem a Deacon, and St. James's disciple besought him to come upon the wall to see the Persians and curse them. Accordingly, the holy Bishop got upon a tower, and seeing that prodigious multitude, he cursed them no otherwise than by begging GOD to send little flies, in order to make known his power by the most inconsiderable insects: Immediately they came and fell upon the enemy like clouds; they got into the elephants trunks, and into the noses and ears of the horses and other beasts; who becoming furious, broke their bridles and harness, threw down their riders, disordered the ranks, and fled wherever they could. Sapor being thus forced to acknowledge the power of GOD, raised the siege, and retired in confusion. Philostorgius an Arian, and consequently one who is not very favourable to St. James of Nisibis, bears witness of this miracle in his history. The saint died some time after, during the reign of Constantius, who caused him to be buried in the city of Nisibis, as his father Constantine the Great had directed, that he might as it were be the protector of it; for the custom at that time was to place the sepulchres without the cities. He left behind him a great many books in the Syrian language, mostly upon moral subjects; there are reckoned in all twenty-six volumes. Amongst the rest, there was a *Chronicon*, less curious than that of the Greeks, but more solid; for it consisted merely of passages of Scripture, and its design was to silence those who strove to philosophize vainly upon Anti-Christ, or upon the last advent of our SAVIOUR CHRIST.

THE Emperor Constantius having provided for the safety of the towns in Syria, set out from Antioch before June, in order to march against Magnentius. His forces being assembled, he advised all those who had not received Baptism to receive it as soon as possible; representing to them the dangers of war, and declaring that those who were not baptized might quit the service, and return home. However, he himself was not baptized till eleven years afterwards, and That when he was dying. Perhaps the name of Pagans was given to those who quitted the service rather than become Christians; for the latin word *Paganus* signifies one that doth not bear arms, being used in opposition to *Miles*; and from thence it might have extended to all unbelievers in general; perhaps too this word came from *Pagus*, from whence the French word *Pais* is derived; for the *Pagani* or *Païsans* were the last who continued obstinate in maintaining idolatry. Magnentius sent ambassadors to Constantius and Veteranio; to whom Constantius had also sent on his part, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at the same time.

VETERANIO preferred the alliance of Constantius; and as he was a rustick old man, simple, and almost decrepid, he persuaded him to whatever he pleased. They joined their forces in Pannonia; and Constantius ascending the tribunal with Veteranio, began to harrangue the soldiers in Latin, and represented to them what they owed to the memory of Constantine the Great; the oaths which they had taken to obey his children, the treason of Magnentius, and the unworthy death of Constans, conjuring them not to leave that crime unpunished, and to assist him in recovering his brother's inheritance. Though he spoke directly only against Magnentius, yet the soldiers who were before gained to him, applied it to Veteranio, and cried out with one voice, We ought to remove all those false Emperors, to obey none but Constantius; and accordingly they proclaimed him Augustus and Emperor, without mentioning Veteranio. This wretched old man finding himself forsaken, quitted the imperial robe, descended from the tribunal, and came and threw himself at the feet of Constantius, who not only gave him his life, but made him eat at his table, and sent him to Prusa in Bithynia, where he provided for him nobly the rest of his life, sincerely pardoning his rebellion. Veteranio for his part was very faithful to him, and died in peace: As he was a Christian, he assisted diligently at the assemblies of the faithful, distributing amongst them alms in abundance, and honouring the ministers of the Church. He often wrote to Constantius, thanking him for the satisfaction which he had procured him, and advising him to procure it for himself, by renouncing the fatigues of business. Veteranio was deposed on the twenty-fifth of December, in the year 350, after reigning ten months.

MAGNENTIUS had in the mean time got rid of Nepotian, having sent against him Marcellinus, who vanquished him in a very great battle. Nepotian was killed, and his head carried in triumph through the city of Rome, on the top of a lance. He reigned only twenty-eight days, viz. from the third of June to the first of July, in the year 350. His death was attended with a very barbarous proscription, Eutropia his mother, and several other persons of condition being put to death; so that in the beginning of the year 351, there remained none but Magnentius, who disputed the empire with Constantius. Before he marched against him, he was desirous of providing for the safety of his family, and of securing the provinces of the East against the Persians; and having no

III.
The deposing
of Veteranio.
Theod. iij.
c. 3.

Zosim. ij.
p. 694.
Victor in
Cæf. & in
epist. Eutrop.

Chr. Paschi.
ann. 350.
p. 292.

Socr. ii. c. 28.
Sozom. iv.
c. 4.

IV.
Gallus Cæsar.
Zosim. lib. 2.
p. 44.
Victor. Epit.
Eutrop.

Ath. i. apol.
p. 617. D.

male

A.D. 351. male children, he chose Gallus, his cousin-german, the son of Julius Constantius, and declared him Cæsar on the fifth of March 351, having obliged him to marry his sister Constantia the widow of Hanniballianus. Gallus was about twenty-five years of age, and he is by some called also Constantius; for the Emperor gave him that name. He sent him to Antioch, where Gallus caused the reliques of St. Babylas to be brought and placed in the suburbs of Daphnè, in order to purge that place from the superstition and impurities which were practised there; and thenceforward there were no more oracles delivered in the famous temple of Apollo, which made that place so remarkable.

Sozom. v.
hist. c. 19.

V.
The miracu-
lous cross.
Soc. ii. c. 28.
Sozom. iv.
c. 5.

At the same time that Gallus came to Antioch, there happened a great miracle in the East. A cross of light appeared in the sky over Jerusalem, extending from Calvary to the mount of Olives, for the space of fifteen *stadia*, which make almost three quarters of a league; its size was proportionable to the length; and it consisted not of rays extended like those of a comet, but of a body of light thick and shining. This phenomenon appeared in the day time at nine of the clock in the morning, on the seventh of May, in this year 351. Every body that happened to be at Jerusalem were affrighted at it: they forsook the streets, the houses, and whatever they were doing, and ran to Church with the women and children, and all with one voice gave praise to JESUS CHRIST, confessing his divinity. The news soon spread on all sides; for there came continually to Jerusalem strangers from all countries of the world, in order to pray and to visit the holy places; and this miracle converted a great number of Pagans and Jews.

THE Emperor Constantius received several accounts of it, but chiefly from St. Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, who had lately succeeded St. Maximus. The letter is still extant, in which he thus gives an account of it. In the time of your father Constantine of blessed memory, the wood of the cross was found at Jerusalem; but in your time miracles come no longer out of the earth, but from heaven: For during this holy season of Pentecost, on the Nones of May, towards the third hour, a great cross of light appeared over the holy place Golgotha, reaching as far as the holy mount of Olives, and appeared very plainly, not to one or two persons, but to all the people of a city. This was not, as may be thought a transient phenomenon; it continued upon the earth several hours together, visible to our eyes, and brighter than the sun; the light of which would have eclipsed it, had this not been stronger. All the inhabitants of the city immediately ran to the Church, being carried thither by fear mixed with joy; there were young and old, men and women, and even the most retired virgins, the Christians of the country and strangers, and pagans, who came thither from divers places. They all, with one voice, gave praise to our LORD JESUS CHRIST the only Son of GOD, the worker of miracles, finding by experience the truth of the Christian doctrine, to which heaven bare witness. What St. Cyril here calls the days of Pentecost, are not the days which follow it, but, according to the stile of the ancients, the days preceeding, namely, the fifty days of the season of Easter. He concludes with wishes that the Emperor may always glorify the holy and consubstantial Trinity, which shews how zealous St. Cyril was for the Nicene faith, though he had an intimacy with Acacius of Cæsarea, who had ordained him Bishop.

VI.
The council of
Sirmium.
Photinus deposed.

THE Emperor had continued at Pannonia after the deposing of Veteranio, and having sent an army against Magnentius, he staid at Sirmium to see the event

vent of the war. He there assembled a council this same year 351, after Ser- A. D. 351.
gius and Nigrianus had concluded their consulship; for by reason of the civil Socr. iii.
c. 28, 29. war, there were no Consuls acknowledged throughout the Empire, which ob-
liges us to reckon those of the preceeding year. This council consisted of several
Bishops of the East, who had followed the Emperor. The most remarkable
are Narcissus of Neronias, Theodore of Heraclea, Basil of Ancyra, Eudoxi-
us of Germanicia, Demophilus of Beræa, Cecropius of Nicomedia, Silvanus
of Tarsus, Macedonius of Mopsuesta, and Mark of Arethusa. Ursatius and
Valens were also there, and there are reckoned to the number of twenty-two
Bishops. The design of this council was the deposing of Photinus Bishop of
the city of Sirmium it self; who still maintained himself there, though he had
already been condemned several times by the Bishops of the West. Those of Hilar. frag.
n. 412. F. the East also condemned him, and deposed him, as holding the doctrine of Sa-
bellius, and of Paul of Samosata, and this sentence being just, was universally
approved.

BUT the same approbation was not given to a new formulary of Faith, Socr. ii. c. 30.
Hilar. de Syn.
p. 339.
Athan. de
Synod. p. 900.
V. Pagi. an.
351. n. 12.
Sozom. i. c. 6.
Anath. 17.
Anath. 15, 16. which was there drawn up in Greek. It contains first an exposition of the
faith somewhat at large, afterwards twenty seven anathema's against several er-
rors of the declared Arians, the Sabellians and Photinus. This formulary is not
so bad in itself, as it is imagined to be on account of the Bishops who approved
it, several of whom had been deposed at the council of Sardica. It neither
affirms, that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, nor even that he is like
him; but expressly says, We do not make the Son equal to the Father, but
conceive that he is subject to him. It pronounces anathema's against those
who assert, that it was not the Son who appeared unto Abraham, or who
wrestled with Jacob; and it is certain that several of the antients have been of
opinion, that it was at that time that the Son of man first began to be sent un-
to men. Photinus denied it, because he would not acknowledge that GOD
had a Son before JESUS was born of the Virgin Mary; but then the Arians
made an ill use of it, pretending thereby to prove, that the Father alone was
of his own nature invisible and incomprehensible. However, St. Augustine has De Trin. lib.
ii. c. 9, 10,
&c. since fully proved, that these kinds of operations have been performed by angels;
that frequently there's no manner of reason for ascribing them to any one of the
Divine Persons, more than the other; and that the Trinity itself is manifested
to men upon these occasions.

THIS formulary having been approved by all the Bishops of the council, Socr. ii. c. 30.
they endeavoured to persuade Photinus to subscribe to it, promising to restore
him to his See upon this condition; but he would not accept it, and finding
himself supported by his people, who had an affection for him, he complained
to the Emperor, as having been unjustly condemned. He obtained a conference
for the farther examination of his doctrine: Basil of Ancyra undertook to dis-
pute with him, before the Bishops, and eight commissioners appointed by the
Emperor from amongst the Senators: amongst the rest, Thalassius who was
in great favour with the Emperor, and who was sent this year with Gallus in-
to the East with the title of *Præfectus Prætorii*: The conference was written V. Valef. ad
Socr. ii. c. 30. down upon the spot by six notaries, or writers of short hand, who took three
copies of it; one of which was sent sealed to the Emperor, another being like-
wise sealed, was delivered to the Counts or Senators, and the third to Basil and
the

A.D. 351. the council. The contention was sharp, but Photinus was therein overcome, and continued condemned. The Emperor sent him into banishment, where he spent the rest of his life; during which time he composed a piece against all heresies in general, whose only aim was to establish his own. He wrote in Greek and Latin, for he was not ignorant of this last, though he was born in the East. They made Germinius who came from Cizicus, and was of the Arian party, Bishop of Sirmium in his stead.

Athan. ad sol.
p. 360. Or. 1.
in Arian. p.
390. B.
VII.

Magnentius
beaten at
Murfa.
Zosim. lib. 2.
2. 699.
Sulp. sev.
hist. lib. 2:

Idat fast.
Aurel. epist.

Idat fast.
Pagi. 335. n. 3.

VIII.
The martyr-
dom of St.
Paul of Con-
stantinople.
Athan. ad
sol. p. 828. A.
Sup. l. xii.
n. 21.
Theod. ii.
hist. c. 5.
Socr. ii. c. 16.

MAGNENTIUS having made himself master of Gaul and Italy, had passed the Alps, and marched into Illyria and Pannonia; where his army engaged at last with that of Constantius, in a great plain near Murfa upon the Drave, where the bridge Essec now stands. Constantius did not think it proper to expose his person in this battle, but staid in the mean time in a Church of the Martyrs, which stood without the city, having taken with him, to comfort him, Valens the Bishop of Murfa, a famous Arian. He had cunningly given orders to be immediately informed of the success of the battle, that he might be the first to carry the good news, or provide for his safety. Accordingly as the Emperor, and those few persons that attended him, were under a great uneasiness, Valens brought word, that the enemies fled. The Emperor bid him order the person to come in who had brought the news; Valens told him that it was an angel. Constantius believed him, and several times since declared openly, that he owed that victory more to the merit of Valens, than to the valour of his forces; and the credit of the Arians increased considerably by this imposture. The battle of Murfa was fought on the 28th of September, in this year 351. It was a very bloody, but complete victory. Magnentius was forced to repass the Alps, and retire into Gaul; where having been vanquished a second time, he slew himself with his own sword at Lyons, having reigned three years and a half, and lived near fifty. His brother Decentius, whom he had made Cæsar, strangled himself when he heard of his death: but all this did not happen until two years afterwards, in the month of August 354.

CONSTANTIUS's success raised the courage of the Arians, and renewed the persecution against the Catholick Bishops, which had been stopped by the authority of Constans. Ursatius and Valens returned to their party; saying openly, though falsely, that their recantation was forced, and that the Emperor Constans had obliged them to it by violence. One of the first Bishops whom they got rid of, was St. Paul of Constantinople; after he was driven away in the year 342, he had returned to Constantinople, either by the interest of Constantius, or by some other means, and had continued there during the council of Sardica, to which his people would not let him go, being afraid of the attempts of his enemies. But afterwards Constantius being at Antioch, sent to Philip the *Præfektus Prætorio*, who was very much inclined to the Arians, to drive Paul out of the Church, and place Macedonius in his stead. Philip fearing a sedition, had recourse to a stratagem; he concealed the Emperor's order, and under the pretence of some publick business, he went first into a bath, Zeuxippa; from whence he sent in a very courteous manner, to desire Paul to come to him, as if upon some urgent occasion. Accordingly he came, and the Prefect shewed him the Emperor's order, to which the Bishop willingly submitted, although he was condemned without knowing for what. But as the people, being suspicious of something, had already assembled in great numbers about this bath; Philip caused the lattice of a window to be broken down, through

through which Paul was carried into the palace ; where there lay a vessel ready A.D. 351: to put him in and carry him into exile ; which was immediately executed.

IN the mean time Philip came from the publick bath and went directly to the Church, carrying with him in his chariot Macedonius, whom he found there as it were just come out of an engine ; and they were surrounded by soldiers with their swords in their hands. The people flocked to the Church, as well the Catholicks as Arians, each of them endeavouring to seize it first ; but when they came near to it, an unaccountable fear seized them all, and even the soldiers themselves. The croud was so great that the Præfect and Macedonius could not get in : The soldiers began to make way ; but the people being pressed too much, could not go back ; upon which they thought that they staid on purpose to hinder them from going in ; and their swords being drawn, they began to strike in good earnest ; so that there were killed upon this occasion, as is reported, above three thousand people, some being murdered by the soldiers, and others stifled in the croud. Such was the manner of Macedonius's entering into the Church of Constantinople.

THE Bishop Paul being loaded with irons, was sent first to Singara in Mesopotamia ; from whence he was carried to Emesa, and at length to Cucusus upon the confines of Cappadocia and Armenia, in the deserts of Mountaurus. His enemies there shut him up in a close and dark place, where they left him, hoping that he would die with hunger ; but after six days, finding that he was still alive, they strangled him, and reported that he died of a distemper. Philagrius Vicar to the *Præfectus Prætorii*, who was then upon the spot, and a great favourer of the Arians, and perhaps displeased that he had not killed him himself, told the whole transaction to several persons ; and St. Athanasius assures us, that he had it from them. The Latin Church honours the memory of St. Paul of Constantinople as a martyr, on the seventh of June, and the Greek Church as a Confessor on the sixth of November. His death happened about the beginning of this year 351, and the Divine vengeance soon followed the præfect Philip, who had been the occasion of it as well as of his banishment ; for before the year came about he was turned out of his office with disgrace ; and becoming a private person was banished from his country, and perished insensibly, daily expecting to be put to death.

St. Athanasius was still the chief object of the hatred of the Arians ; they saw him in quiet possession of his Church, united in communion with above four hundred Bishops. The Bishop of Rome, all Italy, Sicily, and the rest of the isles, all Africk, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and the great Hælius, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, Greece, the greatest part of Palestine, all Egypt, and Libya, kept up Ecclesiastical union and peace with him. He was intolerable to the Arians ; envy, and the apprehension of seeing their heresy vanquished and prohibited in all places, greatly affected them. At that time the chief of the party were Leontius of Antioch, George of Laodicea, Acatius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Theodore of Heraclea, and Narcissus of Neronias, who were all deposed at the council of Sardica, by the judgment of which they were covered with confusion. They addressed themselves to the Emperor in a body, and said, You would not believe us at first ; we plainly told you when you recalled Athanasius, that you banished our doctrine. He hath opposed it from the very beginning, and continues to anathematize it ; he hath filled all places with the letter which he wrote against us ; the greatest part of the Bishops are

Ath. ad Sol.
p. 83, 84.
Id. apol.
p. 703
Theod. ii.
c. 5.
Martyr. 7.
June.
Menolog.
6 Nov.

IX.
Calumnies against St. Athanasius.
Athanasius ad Sol. p. 827.

A. D. 352. in communion with him ; he hath gained over part of those who seemed to be for us ; he will soon win the rest, and we shall remain alone. It is much to be feared, that both you and we shall be called hereticks, and looked upon as the Manichees.

Apol. i.
p. 677.

To these considerations they added such as were still more powerful with Constantius. Athanasius, said they, was the occasion of the misunderstanding of the Emperor Constans, your brother, and almost caused a civil war between you. He spoke ill of you to Constans in both the conferences which he had with him ; and at length he was of Magnentius's party, and wrote him a letter, the copy of which we have. He, without your knowledge, dedicated the Church which Gregory began at Alexandria by your orders and at your expence. Constantius being irritated by this discourse, intirely altered his disposition towards Athanasius, and that because when he marched against Magnentius, he himself had seen what a great number of Bishops communicated with St. Athanasius. He forgot the favourable letters which he had written to him, and the promises he made him by word of mouth and that even with an oath, when he ordered him to return home : He likewise resolved to have him condemned by the Bishops of the West, and to drive him again out of his Church ; or rather it may be said that he suffered himself to be carried away by the passion of the Arians.

X.
Liberius Bi-
shop of Rome.
The council of
Arles.
Lib. Pontiff.
Sup. lib. 11.
n. 58.
Epist. 2. Libe-
rii ap. Hilar.
Frag. p. 456.
& ap. Lucif.
& To. 2.
Conc. p. 745.

THEY began with addressing themselves to Liberius Bishop of Rome ; he having succeeded Julius, who died on the twelfth of April, when the Emperor was the fifth time consul with Constantius Gallus Cæsar, i. e. in the year 352, after having held the holy See fifteen years, two months, and six days. We have nothing remaining of his but the two letters already mentioned ; the larger to the Eusebians, and the other to the Church of Alexandria upon St. Athanasius's return. Liberius was elected Bishop of Rome against his will, in the space of a month or two, having discharged his duty in an inferior office with great humility. The Bishops of the East wrote to him against St. Athanasius, to persuade him to deny him his communion ; and he read their letter in a council of the Bishops of Italy assembled at Rome ; but he there likewise read a letter from seventy-five Bishops of Egypt in favour of St. Athanasius. Wherefore the council seeing a greater number of Bishops on his side, thought that it was against the law of GOD to consent to those of the East. Liberius returned them an answer suitable to this resolution ; and by the advice of the same council, he sent Vincent of Capua and certain others to the Emperor Constantius, to intreat him to cause a council to be assembled at Aquila, as he had long since resolved. Vincent of Capua is thought to be the same who twenty eight years before * *presided at the council of Nice* in the name of St. Sylvester Bishop of Rome. The council was held at Arles in Gaul, whither the Emperor came after the defeat and death of Magnentius, and resided there from October in the year 353, until the spring following.

Amm. xiv.
c. 3.
Pagi 353. n. 5.

L. 10. Cod.
Theod. de
ep. c. 13, 14.
de extraord.
&c. C.
Th. lib. 11.

IN the month of May, that same year, being at Constantinople, he made an edict in favour of the Clergy, in order to facilitate the Ecclesiastical assemblies of the people, who were daily converted. By this law he in the first place grants to Clerks an exemption from the tribute, which was paid into the treasury on account of land ; secondly, an exemption from burthensome offices, such as furnishing meal, bread, and coals, after the example of the chief officers

* See notes, Vol. 1. upon this head.

officers of the empire, who were exempt from them : The third exemption A.D. 353. was the *Contributio Castralis*, which was levied upon the merchants : The last was the *Parangaria* or Service of furnishing horses and publick carriages. These privileges were extended to their wives, their children, and their slaves ; for most of the inferior Clergy were married, and several of them were merchants or tradesmen. For it is certain, saith the law, that what they gain by their trades turns to the advantage of the poor. About the end of the same year Constantius made another law, forbidding nocturnal sacrifices, which Magnentius had permitted, notwithstanding his being a Christian, and he gave credit to magicians and inchanters, contrary to the law of God. The Arians had likewise induced him to publish an edict, condemning to banishment all those who would not subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius.

L. 1. Cod.
Th. de Pag.
Ath. ap. i.
p. 678. A.
Sev. Sulp.
hist. l. 2.
p. 426. Var.

As they knew very well that those of the West would never consent to it, it was the first thing that they required in the council of Arles. The deputies of the Bishop of Rome, viz. Vincent of Capua and Marcellus Bishop of another city in Campania, demanded to have matters of faith treated of, before any private cause of particular persons, and that they should begin with condemning the heresy of Arius. And being moved by their concern for all the Churches, they even went so far as to promise, and that in writing, to consent to the condemnation of Athanasius upon that condition. Whereupon they assembled, and after having considered the matter, those of the East replied, that they could not condemn the doctrine of Arius ; and that it was necessary to excommunicate Athanasius ; for that was all that they aimed at. Vincent of Capua yielded at length to their violence and ill usage, and consented to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. St. Paulinus Bishop of Treves positively refused to subscribe to it, declaring, that he only consented to the condemnation of Photinus and Marcellus, and not to that of Athanasius. He was thereupon banished and sent into Phrygia amongst the Montanists ; he changed the place of his exile from time to time, and he died there five years afterwards, viz. in 358.

Ep. Liber. ad
Const.
Ath. ap.
p. 692. B.
Lib. Mart.
& Faust.
p. 28.
Sev. Sulp.
Ibid. Athan.
p. 692. A.
Hilar. in
Const.
p. 291. D.
Hier. Chr.
359.

IN the mean time St. Athanasius knowing that they had prepossessed the Emperor against him, by several calumnies, and thinking that it was no longer safe for him to come to court, sent thither five chosen Bishops and three Priests in order to appease the Emperor, to answer the calumnies, and to do whatever else they judged necessary to be done for the Church and for him. But the Arians persuaded the Emperor, that St. Athanasius had written to desire to come into Italy, in order to remedy the evils attending the Church. The Emperor sent an officer to him named Montanus with a letter, permitting him to come, and offering him whatever was necessary for his journey. St. Athanasius, who had by no means desired it, was greatly surprized ; but as the Emperor's letter carried no express order to come, but only a permission ; he thought it best to continue in his Church : However, he kept himself in readiness to set out upon the first notice. He continued twenty-six months without hearing any thing ; his enemies plainly endeavouring to draw him from Alexandria, that during his absence they might the more easily place there a Bishop of their own party ; and they failed not to reproach him for not coming, as if he had contemned the Emperor's orders. Amongst the Bishops whom Athanasius sent, there was Serapion of Thmouis, who before he was made Bishop, had been a Monk, and superior over several others, as well as Ammon, who is also thought to have been one of the five deputies : For at that time several Monks had been raised

XI.
The Emperor's
letter to St.
Athanasius by
Montanus.
Soz. iv. c. 9.
Ath. i. apol.
686.

Inf. xiv.
26 Epist. ad
Ser. p. 672. D.
Epist. ad
Dracon.

to p. 957. D.

A. D. 353. to the Episcopal dignity; and St. Athanasius reckons up seven in his letter to Dracontius; which we have good reason to refer to this time.

XII.
St. Athanasius's letter to Dracontius.
P. 945. To. 1.

DRACONTIUS was a Monk, a Priest, and Abbot of a monastery; he was chosen Bishop of Hermopolis near Alexandria, by the general consent even of the Pagans; but after he was ordained he withdrew and hid himself, since he could not resolve with himself to accept such a charge, and was confirmed in his resolution by the advice of several others. St. Athanasius, who had contracted a very strict friendship with him, wrote to him upon this occasion, a letter which begins thus: I know not what to write to you. Shall I complain of your refusal; or that you consider the times, and conceal your self through fear of the Jews? But whether it be this, or some other motive, there is reason, my dear Dracontius, for complaining of your conduct. You ought not to conceal yourself after Grace has been given unto you, nor afford others any pretence for flying away, since your character for wisdom is so great. That union so very unusual which appeared at your election, will consequently be dissolved by your retreat; that Church will become a prey to several; and those such as go not the right way, but are such as you know them to be; and those Pagans who have promised to become Christians will continue Pagans, seeing you condemn the Grace which you have received. What excuse can you urge, what remedy can you bring to so many evils? O my dear Dracontius you have brought us into affliction, instead of giving us that joy and consolation which we have expected from you. You ought to know, that before your ordination you lived for yourself; but that you now belong to your people; from you they expect food, namely, the doctrine of the holy Scripture. If you only feed yourself, when our LORD JESUS CHRIST cometh to judge us what excuse can you make for suffering your flock to perish with hunger.

If you are afraid of the times, where then is your courage? it is upon these occasions that we should testify our boldness and zeal for JESUS CHRIST. Is it because you are displeased with the state of the Churches, or that you do not believe that the Episcopal function has its reward? that would be to despise our SAVIOUR who founded it; such thoughts are unworthy of Dracontius. What the LORD hath ordained by the Apostles is sure and good; it will endure, and the cowardice of the Brethren will cease. If all were of the same opinion, how would you have become a Christian without Bishops; and if those who come after us should entertain the same sentiments, how will the Churches subsist? Do those who give you such counsel imagine, that you have received nothing, because they condemn it? They may as well believe, that the grace of Baptism is nothing to those who despise it. Have you not heard what the Apostle saith, Neglect not the *Gift that is in thee? Whom would they have you imitate, him who doubted, and desiring to follow our SAVIOUR, put it off and delayed it, on account of his parents? or the blessed Paul, who as soon as he had received the ministry, conferred not with flesh and blood? For, though he says, I am not worthy to be called an Apostle; nevertheless, knowing what he had received, and from whom he had received it, he says, Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel. On the contrary, whilst he is preaching it, those whom he instructs are his joy and his crown. His zeal carried him to preach as far as Illyria; it was no trouble to him to go to Rome and to pass over into Spain, that his reward might encrease with his labour.

1 Tim. iv. 14.

Luc. ix. 60,

61.

Gal. i. 16.

1 Cor. xv. 9.

Ibid. ix. 16.

PERHAPS

* *χαρίσματος*, which the French renders Grace from the Vulgate.

PERHAPS they advise you to conceal yourself, because of the oath which you have taken not to appear if you were ordained, and imagine, that it is a matter of piety : But true piety consists in fearing GOD, who hath imposed this office upon you. Let them blame then Jeremiah and the famous Moses, Exod iv. 10. Jerem. v. 6. who being sent, and having received the gift of prophecy, excused themselves; but they afterwards submitted. Though your voice were weak, and your tongue tied, though you thought yourself too young, fear him who hath made thee, and who knew thee before thou wert formed. Though you had given your word, which, with the saints, ought to be as sacred as an oath; read Jeremiah, who, after he had said, I will speak no more in the name of the LORD, Jerem. xx. 9. was afraid of the secret fire which he felt within him, and without stopping at what he had said, prophesied unto the end. Know you not what happened unto Jonas, for having fled away; and yet he prophesied afterwards? The LORD knoweth us better than we ourselves; he knoweth to whom he hath intrusted his Churches. He that is unworthy of them, ought not to consider his past life, but his ministerial office, lest he add to the disorders of his life the curse of his negligence. Though you were really weak, you ought to take care of the Church, lest her enemies finding it forsaken should take occasion to lay it waste. Leave us not alone in the warfare; but come to us who love you and advise you according to the Scripture.

YOU are not the only Monk who hath been ordained; nor the only one who hath governed a monastery, and been beloved by the Monks. You know that Serapion is a Monk, and over how many he was superior: You are not ignorant of how many Monks Apollos has been the father; you know Agathus and Aristo; you remember Ammonius who travelled with Serapion. Perhaps you have heard of Monitus in the Upper Thebais; you may enquire after Paul, who is at Latos, and several others. All these by no means renounced their orders, and yet they are not become worse. On the contrary, they expect the recompence of their labours. How many idolaters have they converted? How many have they brought off from their diabolical practices? How many servants have they gained to the LORD? They have persuaded young women to a state of virginity, and young men to continence. Believe not those therefore who tell you that the Episcopal office is an occasion of sin: You may, notwithstanding your being a Bishop, be hungry and thirsty, like St. Paul, and drink no wine like Timothy. We know Bishops who fast, and Monks who eat; Bishops who drink no wine, and Monks who drink wine; Bishops who work miracles, and Monks who perform none. Several Bishops have never been married, and several Monks have had children. Likewise there are Bishops who have been fathers, and Monks who have preserved a perfect state of continence. And, moreover, we know that there are Clerks who suffer hunger, and Monks that fast; the crown is not given according to the difference of places, but according to works. Make haste, because the holy festival approacheth. Who will give notice of Easter to the people when you are absent? Who will teach them to solemnize it as they ought? The festival which he here mentions seems to have been the Epiphany; at which time it was usual to give notice of the Easter of that year.

A.D. 353.

XIII.
The grand
apology of St.
Athanasius.

p. 722.

p. 777.

p. 805.

XIV.
Liberius de-
fines a council.
Frag. epist. ap.
Bar. an. 353.
n. 19. & in
Fragm. Hilar.
p. 426.

Hilar. in
Fragm.
p. 425.
Epist. 3 ad
Euseb. to. 2.
conc. p. 740.
Athan. apol.
i. p. 703. D.
Libel. Faust.
& Marc.
p. 28.

Athan. ad
Solit. p. 836.
Epist. ad
Const.

It was about this time that St. Athanasius wrote his grand apology, which is usually reckoned the second, and contains all the proofs of his innocence. It is addressed to his friends, and shews two particulars, viz. first, that his cause ought not to be examined over again, after having been solemnly determined by the councils of Alexandria, Rome, and Sardica, whose sentence had been confirmed by the recantation of Ursatius and Valens. In the second place he proves, that in the main, the sentence pronounced in his favour was solidly founded upon the truth and justice of his cause; so that this writing contains only a preface and brief conclusions; all the body of the work consisting of a long series of pieces, which serve for his defence, according to the division already taken notice of; that is to say, it relates first to the account of his justification, beginning with the council of Alexandria, in the year 334, and concluding with the recantation of Ursatius and Valens in 349. He afterwards shews, that those who cleared him did it not through fear or favour, but a mere motive of justice; and for this purpose he repeats the relation of all the calumnies invented against him from the first, *i. e.* from the conspiracy of the Arians with the Meletians, when he was first made a Bishop. In this place he relates the affair of Ischyrras and Arsenius, the proceedings of the council of Tyre, the deputation into the Mareotis, his banishment to Treves; and concludes with the letter of Constantine the younger for his return. What he says at last concerning the fall of Liberius and Hosius, seems to have been added afterwards; and it appears from the body of the work that it was written before Ursatius and Valens had made their second recantation, or at least before St. Athanasius had any knowledge of it.

LIBERIUS Bishop of Rome being informed of the weakness of his deputy Vincent of Capua, in yielding to the Arians at the council of Arles, was sensibly concerned at it. He spake thus of it in a letter to Hosius, I had great hopes of him, because he was very well acquainted with the matter, and had with you been judge of it several times; however, he has not only not obtained any thing but he himself has also been drawn into their dissimulation. I am doubly afflicted at it, and am resolved to die for the sake of GOD, rather than become the last accuser; I mean the calumniator of St. Athanasius. He wrote also to Cecilian Bishop of Spoleto, exhorting him not to be discouraged by this proceeding of Vincent. Whilst Liberius was under this concern, finding that they publicly pressed the other Bishops of Italy, to oblige them to submit to the sentence of those of the East; Lucifer came to him very opportunely. He was Bishop of Cagliari, the metropolis of Sardica, and the neighbouring isles; his contempt of the world, his love for the sacred writings, the purity of his life, and the steadfastness of his faith had already made him famous in the Church. He knew the bottom of all this matter, and that the design of the hereticks was to attack the faith, under pretence of the person of St. Athanasius. He very zealously offered himself to go to court and set forth the whole matter to the Emperor, to induce him to let whatever was in dispute be examined in a council.

LIBERIUS accepted this offer, and sent with Lucifer, a Priest named Pancras or Eutropius, and a Deacon named Hilary, to whom he gave a letter full of respect and constancy. He represents to him, that he had desired a council of him not only for the matter relating to Athanasius, but upon several other accounts,

accounts, and that before any thing else was considered, it was necessary to A.D. 354. examine what related to the faith. He clears himself of what was laid to his charge, as to suppressing the letters of the Bishops of the East, which accused St. Athanasius, saying, that he read them in a full assembly, but that he could not give credit to them, because they were contradicted by the judgment of seventy-five Bishops of Egypt. He afterwards says, those of the East express a desire of having peace with us. But what peace, my Lord, can there be, since there are four Bishops of that Party, viz. Demophilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius and Martyrius, who eight years ago at Milan, not being willing to condemn the opinion of the heretick Arius, went out of the council in a passion? By this we find, that this letter was not written in 354. For the council therein-mentioned, is the first of Milan, held in 346. Liberius represents more-^{Sup. lib. xii. n. 33.} over in this letter, what had lately been transacted at Arles; where, notwithstanding all the offers that had been made by his deputies, the Bishops of the East, would never consent to condemn the heresy of Arius; for which reason he conjures the Emperor, to cause the whole matter to be carefully re-examined, in an assembly of Bishops, where they should begin with agreeing upon the faith of Nice, and he intreats him to give a favourable hearing to Lucifer, Pancras, and Hilary whom he had sent to him.

He at the same time wrote to Eusebius, the Bishop of Vercelle, and con-^{Epist. 3. ad Euseb.} sequently near the court, which was then kept at Milan. He was a native of Sardinia, and from thence his intimacy with Lucifer of Cagliari might proceed; but he quitted his country, and the ease that he might have enjoyed^{Hier. script.} in his family. He was ordained a Reader at Rome; he afterwards came to Vercelle, and gained so much esteem there, that the See becoming vacant, they^{Ambros. ad Vercell. ep. 63. n. 68.} preferred him to all the men of the country. All the people demanded him, and the Bishops elected him, and he is the first Bishop of that place, of whom^{n. 66.} we have any account; and the first in the West, in whom the Priesthood and Monastick state were united; he living himself, and causing all his clergy to live in the city, much after the same manner, as the Monks in the desert, in^{n. 82.} fasting and prayer night and day, reading and labouring; being separated from the society of women, and defending each other against temptations. Their community was likewise called *Monasterion*, and from this holy seminary there^{n. 71.} came several famous Bishops. St. Eusebius himself was enabled by this austere course of life, to bear with the greater ease those persecutions, which he was afterwards to suffer. Liberius Bishop of Rome, knew his extraordinary zeal, and his intimacy with Lucifer; wherefore he wrote to him, desiring him to^{Epist. 4.} join with him, if there should be occasion to persuade the Emperor to what concerned the faith, to appease his anger, and induce him to procure peace to the Churches. Not satisfied with this first, he wrote to him a second letter,^{Epist. 5.} after his deputies were set out; entreating him again to join with them in defence of the Catholick faith, and in behalf of the absent, whom they endeavoured to condemn contrary to all laws; hereby meaning St. Athanasius. Eusebius gave the deputies a very favourable reception, and wrote concerning them to Liberius, who returned him thanks by a third letter; encouraging him more and more to labour for the cause of the Church, and to procure the council. Liberius had moreover written to Fortunatian Bishop of Aquilia; ^{Ead. ep. 5.} supposing him to be more affected with the hope of eternal rewards, than the fear

A. D. 354. fear of men; he entreated him to apply himself to this matter, in concurrence with them, and even to assist them in person, if they desired it. Fortunatian was an African by birth, and wrote commentaries upon the gospels, in a short and plain stile: But in the end he did not answer the good opinion which Liberius conceived of him.

XV. *The death of Gallus Cesar.* *Socr. ii. c. 33.* *Sozom. iv. c. 7.* *Hier. Chr. an. 353.* *Victor. Cesar.* *Philostorg. iii. c. 28. and iv. c. 1.* *Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 11.* *Sozom. iv. c. 7.* *Theod. iii. hist. 1. c. 3.* *Greg. Nyss. lib. 1. conc.* *Eunom. p. 30. B.* *Philost. iv. c. 1.* *Sup. lib. xii. n. 31.* *Amm. lib. xv. c. 2.* *Julian ad Athan.* *WHILST* they were preparing themselves in the West for the council, there happened another insurrection of the Jews in the East. They took arms at Diocæsarea, in Palestine, murdered the garison in the night, and ravaged the neighbouring country, under the conduct of a certain man named Patricius, whom they acknowledged for their king, refusing to obey the Romans any longer. Gallus Cesar who was at Antioch, sent forces thither, who killed great numbers of them, to the very children, and burnt and destroyed Diocæsarea, Tiberias, Diospolis, and several other cities. Gallus had likewise some advantage over the Persians, and this good success made him grow insolent; and he gave himself up to violence and cruelty; and he was even accused of an intention of assuming the Empire. At length Constantius having drawn him into the West, caused him to be seized; he was brought to his trial, and he had his head cut off in an island called Flanona near Pola in Istria. Gallus was about twenty-nine years old, and had reigned four from the year 351, until 354; for he died about the end of that year, being then Consul the third time, and Constantius the seventh: Gallus professed the Christian religion to the last, but he was inclined to the Arians; for Theophilus the Indian, or the Blemmyen the famous traveller, of whom we have spoken, had access to him, and he introduced Aetius, whom Leontius had made a Deacon at Antioch; but having been concerned in the violent proceedings of Gallus, they shared in his disgrace. Theophilus who attended him in his last journey, was banished at the same time that Gallus was killed, and Aetius was spared through contempt.

JULIAN the brother of Gallus was then very much in danger, who had conceived great hopes when Gallus was made Cesar; he began to recover from the apprehensions which he had lived under from his childhood; and leaving the castle of Macel in Cappadocia, where he had been shut up six years with his brother, he went into Asia and Greece, in order to continue and compleat his studies. Upon the death of Gallus these travels were imputed to him as a crime; he was in the first place accused of leaving the castle of Macel; and afterwards of having seen his brother in his way to Constantinople: but he shewed that he had done neither of these without Constantius's order, and he was powerfully assisted by the Empress Eusebia. He was carried to Coma near Milan, and had one audience of the Emperor; and at length after six months, he obtained liberty of returning into Greece, to continue his studies, and he accordingly retired to Athens.

XVI. *The apostacy of Julian.* *Jul. ep. 51. p. 210.* *Sozom. v. hist. c. 2.* *Socr. iii. c. 1.* *JULIAN* was at that time about twenty-three years of age, and was a christian only in appearance. He himself says, that he had been so twenty years; that is from the beginning of his life, for he was baptized in his infancy. Constantius causing him to be brought up with his brother, had taken care to assign him christian instructors, amongst others the Sophist Ecebolus, who taught him rhetoric; but even then there happened an accident, which was looked upon as a miraculous presage of his apostacy. Gallus and Julian caused a Church

a Church to be built in honour of the martyr St. Mamas upon his sepulchre near Cefarea in Cappadocia. The part belonging to Gallus was very well built, but that of Julian could not last; the walls fell down, and the ground drove up the foundation. When the two brethren became more advanced in years, and studied philosophy and oratory; Julian in his exercises disputing with Gallus, would often take the side of the Pagans, under pretence of supporting the weaker cause; but in truth he followed his inclination. When Gallus was made Cæsar, the Emperor Constantius permitted Julian to go and study in Asia minor, but with a particular prohibition of not frequenting the Sophist Libanius, because he was a Pagan. Asia served as a school of impiety to Julian; astrology, the art of calculating nativities, and divination by prodigies and magick was taught there. He went to Pergamos, to see the Sophist Edefius, the most famous of those who professed the superstitious philosophy of Photinus Porphyry; but Edefius being worn out with age and sickness, referred Julian to his disciples. Go, says he, to them and draw up the sciences and wisdom; and if you attain to the mysteries, you will be ashamed of the name of man. I could wish that Maximus was here; but they have sent him to Ephesus; and I could say the same also of Priscus, but he is gone into Greece; but there are still here two of my disciples, viz. Eusebius and Chrysanthus. Julian therefore followed these two last, however, without quitting Edefius.

A. D. 354.
Greg. Naz.
in Jul. or. 3.
p. 59.
Theod. iii.
c. 2.
Sozom. v.
c. 2.
Gr. Naz. p.
61. C.

Eunap. in
Max. p. 80,
&c.

CHRYSANTHUS entertained the same sentiments with Maximus, being addicted to magick: Eusebius lookt upon no sciences as solid, but logick and the art of reasoning, regarding the rest as meer imagination and impostures. Julian having one day desired him to explain himself; he said to him, Maximus is very learned, and has a great natural genius, but he abuses these talents; he contemns demonstrations, and amuses himself with trifles. Lastly, he carried all us, whom you see here, to the temple of Hecate, and after we had worshipped the Goddess, he said to us, Sit down my friends, behold what is about to happen, and whether I distinguish myself from the vulgar: Having said this, when we had all sat down, he purified a grain of incense, and repeated a certain hymn with a low voice. Upon this the statue of the goddess seemed to smile, and as we expressed our surprize at it; Make no noise, says he, the torches which the goddess holds in her hands, are about to light, and accordingly, before he had done speaking, they were lighted. We withdrew in surprize at these prodigies; but for your part, continued Eusebius, speaking to Julian, do not wonder at them any more than I who am purified by reason.

JULIAN having heard this discourse, said to Eusebius, Farewell; do you employ yourself with your books, you have shewn me what I was seeking for; and so having kissed Chrysanthus's head, he immediately set out for Ephesus; where he met with Maximus, and applied himself so earnestly to inform himself of his doctrine, that both he and Chrysanthus whom he had sent for were not able to satisfy his curiosity. With superstition, and the foolish notion of knowing future events, Maximus inspired Julian with a desire of reigning, according to the reports which were already spread amongst the people, that he was worthy of the Empire, on account of his wit, eloquence, and seeming moderation. For he appeared at Constantinople, where he staid some time

Socr. iii. c. 1.
Socr. v. c. 1.

A.D. 355. with the mien of a philosopher, being very plain in his dress, and very popular in his behaviour. However, being afraid of the Emperor Constantius, he always pretended to be a Christian; and that he might dissemble the better, he caused his head to be shaved, and for some time professed openly the monastic state. He did not conceal himself so well from his brother Gallus, who in order to bring him back to the christian religion, sent Actius to him, that Arian Sophist who hath since made so much noise in the world; but of whom Gallus conceived a great opinion. Actius satisfied him, by telling him, that Julian frequented the churches, and the memorials of the martyrs, and that he persevered in the christian religion.

Epist. Gall.
ap. Julian.

Theod. iii.
hist. c. 3.

AFTER the death of Gallus, Julian going over into Greece, was confirmed more and more in idolatry; and continued his search every where for diviners and interpreters of Oracles. Amongst others, he fell into the hands of an impostor, who having carried him to an idol temple, and caused him to enter into the most secret part, began to invoke the demons. They appeared under the form which they usually assumed; upon which Julian being afraid, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead, and the demons immediately disappeared. The enchanter complained thereof to Julian, who owned his fear, and admired the virtue of the cross. It was not through fear, says the enchanter, that they withdrew, but their abhorrence of what you did. Julian contented himself with this reason, and was initiated into their prophane ceremonies.

XVI. THE Emperor Constantius was now at Milan, and there assembled a council, which Liberius Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops of the East, earnestly desired, but for very different motives; Liberius for the re-uniting of the Churches; and those of the East desired it, in order to make the Western Bishops subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. A great number of the Eastern Bishops did not come thither; the generality excusing themselves upon their great age, or the length of the journey; but those of the West were above three hundred. They met in the beginning of the year 355, when Arbation and Lollius were Consuls. St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, making a difficulty of coming thither, the council deputed two Bishops to him, viz. Eustomius and Germinius, which last was the new Bishop of Sirmium; and gave them a letter, exhorting him to put confidence in them; and to be persuaded by their advice, to preserve unity, and the bonds of charity; that is to say, to determine concerning the hereticks Marcellus and Photinus, and the sacrilege of Athanasius, which had been determined by almost all the world. Adding, that if he was of opinion, that he ought to do otherwise; they would, nevertheless, judge according to the Gospel, for thus they entitled their prejudices. They durst not stile St. Athanasius an heretick, although they persecuted him, only on account of his zeal for the true doctrine; but they called him a sacrilegious person, because of the calumny of the chalice, pretended to be broken in the house of Ischyra, which was the chief ground of their persecution. This letter was subscribed by thirty Bishops; amongst whom we find Valens of Murra, Ursatius of Singidon, Saturninus of Arles, Germinius of Sirmium, Epictetus of Centum Cellæ, Leontius of Antioch, Acacius of Cæsarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, who were all famous Arians. To Eusebius the Emperor also wrote, as all things were already regulated by the council, to exhort him

The council of
Milan.

Sup. lib. xii.

p. 314.

Sozom. iv.

c. 9.

Socr. ii. c. 36.

Pagi, 355.

n. 2.

Sub. 1. p. 42.

Ap. Baron.

an. 355. &

in append.

To. 2. conc.

p. 773. 774.

him to be of the same opinion with the rest. St. Eusebius sent him an answer, A. D. 355. and promised, that when he came to Milan, he would do whatever appeared just and agreeable to God. On the other side, Lucifer and the two other deputies of the Bishop of Rome, Pancras and Hilary, wrote to Eusebius, pressing him to come in order to dissipate the artifices of the Arians, and oppose Valens, as St. Peter resisted Simon Magus. When St. Eusebius of Vercellæ arrived at Milan, they hindered him from coming into the church, where the council was held for ten days; they afterwards sent for him, when they thought it convenient, and accordingly he came with the three deputies of the Bishop of Rome, Lucifer, Pancras, and Hilary. They immediately urged him to subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius; but he said, that he ought first to be assured of the faith of the Bishops; because he knew very well, that some of the company were infected with heresy. He proposed to them the Symbol of Nice, and promised, that when they all had signed it, he would do what they desired. Dionysius Bishop of Milan, successor to Protasius, was the first who prepared to sign the creed of Nice; but Valens of Mursa snatched the paper and pen out of his hand, and cried out, that nothing would ever be done by that means. The dispute occasioned so much noise, that it came to the peoples ears; and every body was greatly concerned to see the faith attacked by the Bishops. The Arians being apprehensive of the peoples sentence, went from the Church to the palace, by the Emperor's order, who would preside himself in this judgment.

Sulp. sev. lib. 2.

THE council then being removed to the palace, the Arians there proposed an edict or letter of the Emperor, which contained all the poyson of their heresy. The Emperor pretended that he had received orders in a dream to explain the faith after that manner; and in order to oblige the Bishops to receive this writing, he represented to them that all he aimed at was to restore peace; and that they ought not to doubt of his faith, being Catholick, because GOD had declared in his favour by so many victories. The deputies of the Bishop of Rome, Lucifer, Pancras, and Hilary answered, that the Nicene faith had always been the faith of the Church, and demanded the condemnation of the doctrine of Arius. Constantius affirmed, that it was Catholick; and added that he did not ask their advice, and that they should not hinder him from following Arius if he thought fit. The Arians shewed the Emperor's letter without the council; that if the people gave it a favourable reception, it might be authorized; but if otherwise, that the blame might fall upon the Emperor; in which case he would be pardonable, inasmuch as being but a catechumen, he might yet be ignorant of the mysteries. But this letter being read in the Church, the people rejected it.

Lucif. de non conven. p. 206. Edit. Paris, 1568. Idem de non parc. p. 226. Idem. ii. pro Ath. p. 104. Idem. i. pro Ath. p. 22. de reg. apost. init. Idem. ii. pro Athan. p. 112. Idem de non parc. p. 235. Sup. p. 410.

THEY then began again to insist upon the condemnation of St. Athanasius. The Emperor having sent for Lucifer, Eusebius, and Dionysius, pressed them to subscribe; but they insisted upon the recantation of Ursatius and Valens, who had themselves acknowledged his innocence. Upon this the Emperor rose up hastily and said, It is I who am the accuser of Athanasius; believe upon my word, what they alledge against him. They answered, Even though you accuse him, he cannot be judged whilst he is absent. We are not here in debate upon a secular matter, that requires your opinion as Emperor; it is the trial of a Bishop. But how can you accuse him? you are too far distant

Sulp. p. 400. Lucif. ii. pro Ath. p. 105. Ath. ad Sol. p. 831. ad Sol. p. 861. D. 362.

A.D. 355. to have cognizance of it by your own knowledge ; and if you speak what you have been informed of by his enemies, it is but justice that you believe likewise what he has to say ; if you believe them rather than him, it may be thought that they accuse St. Athanasius merely to please you. The Emperor was offended at this discourse ; and as he still pressed them to subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and to communicate with the heretics ; they said to him, that this was not the rule of the Church. But what I desire, says he, ought to pass for a rule ; the Bishops of Syria are satisfied with what I say : obey therefore, or you shall be banished. The Bishops in a surprize, lifted up their hands towards Heaven, and told him boldly, that the empire belonged not to him but to GOD, from whom he received it, and who could deprive him of it : They threatened him with the day of judgment, and advised him not to corrupt the discipline of the Church, by intermixing the Roman power with it : But he gave no ear to them, and without allowing them to say any more, he threatened them, drew his sword upon them, and ordered some of them to be carried to execution : Afterwards, changing his mind, he only condemned them to banishment. Dionysius Bishop of Milan suffered himself to be persuaded to subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius, upon condition, that the Bishops would examine the faith ; but as he continued resolute in this point of maintaining the Nicene faith, his subscription was no advantage to him, and he was sent into banishment. Before they carried away the deputies of the Bishop of Rome, the Deacon Hilary was stript and scourged on the back, with this saying, Wherefore have you not opposed Liberius ? It was Ursatius, Valens, and the eunuchs of their faction, who thus abused him by way of sport and making a jest of him ; nevertheless, he blessed GOD.

XVIII.
Eusebius,
Dionysius,
and Lucifer
banished.

Hilar. in
Const. i.

p. 291. D.

Athan. ad

Solit. p. 8. 2. A.

Ruf. lib. c. 20.

Ath. apol. i.

p. 692. B.

Apol. ii.

p. 807. A.

Ad Solit.

p. 742. C.

Lucif. ii. pro

Athan. p. 106.

Serm. 56. in

ap. Ambr.

n. 2. al.

Serm. 15.

Libel. Faust.

& Marc. p. 29.

Ibid. p. 54.

Ibid. p. 30.

THE tribunes made way through the people by all manner of cruelties, and went even into the sanctuary to drag the Bishops from the altar ; they went into banishment, lifting up their eyes towards Heaven, and shaking off the dust from their feet. Such was the result of the council of Milan ; the greatest part of the Bishops, either through surprize or weakness, subscribed to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. Amongst the rest, Fortunatian of Aquilea is taken notice of, who yielded after having generously resisted. Dionysius, Eusebius, and Lucifer were not the only Bishops who remained steadfast ; there were several others who did not abandon St. Athanasius, and were banished as well as they, whether it were upon their coming out of the council, or some time after. But they invented calumnies against every one of them, that they might not seem to be banished for the cause of GOD. Amongst others, Exuperance is taken notice of, who had served under Eusebius in the Church of Vercellæ, and was afterwards Bishop of Tortona ; Maximus Bishop of Naples was a long time tired by tortures, because they were in hopes that he would yield through the weakness of his body ; at length, he was sent into banishment, where he died. The Arians made a certain person named Zosimus his successor. Rufinius a man of admirable simplicity of mind, suffered martyrdom upon this occasion ; for Epictetus the Arian Bishop of Centum Cellæ forced him to run before his chariot so long together, that his veins burst, and all his blood came out at his mouth.

THE

THE Bishops that were sent into banishment made use of it for the service A.D. 355. of the Church: For into whatsoever place they went, they preached in their chains the Catholick faith, condemned the Arian heresy, and published the famous relapse of Ursatius and Valens. Every body looked upon them with respect, as the Confessors of JESUS CHRIST; abundance of money, for their expence, was brought them from all parts, and almost all the provinces sent deputies to them; on the contrary, the Arians were held in abhorrence as their executioners. In short, their exile was attended with very grievous circumstances, and they were sent into different places; which was not done by Maximian and the rest of the idolatrous persecutors. Eusebius of Vercellæ was banished into Palestine to Scythopolis, of which Patrophilus one of the chief of the Arians was Bishop; Lucifer was sent to Germanicia in Syria, of which Eudoxius another noted Arian was Bishop; and he himself thus relates what he suffered, addressing himself to the Emperor, Because we separated from your council of iniquity, we are banished; we languish in prison; we are deprived of the sight of the sun, being kept carefully in darkness, and no body is permitted to come and see us. St. Dionysius of Milan was banished into Cappadocia, and he there by his prayers obtained a speedy death, that he might not see the disorders of his Church; and his reliques were afterwards carried to Milan. The Church honours his memory on the twenty-fifth of May. In his place they put Auxentius an Arian, who had been ordained Priest by Gregory the false Bishop of Alexandria. The Emperor sent for him on purpose from Cappadocia to Milan, where he was not known, and he could not speak Latin no more than the generality of the Greeks. He was a man well skilled in business rather than a Christian; and he was intruded into this Church by force of arms.

Athan. ad Solit. p. 836.

Lucif. i. pro Athan. p. 17. Id. de non conven. cum Hæret. p. 199. Ambr. epist. 5. c. 70.

al. ep. 25. Martyr. R. Hilar. in Auxen.

p. 314. F. Athan. ad Sol. p. 861. A.

Ambros. iij. de Spir. c. 10. n. 59.

LIBERIUS Bishop of Rome wrote to St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, and the rest of the Confessors that were in banishment, a circular letter, in which he says, What praise can I give you, being divided between grief for your absence, and joy for your glory? You cannot receive greater consolation from me, than to imagine me banished with you. I should have been glad, my dear Brethren, to have been sacrificed first for you, and to have given you an example of the glory which you have gained; but this was the reward of your merits. And afterwards, Be assured of the heavenly promises. And for as much as you are become nearer unto GOD, help me with him by your prayers, that I may be able to bear these assaults, which are so much the more terrible as we are daily threatned with them. Pray that our faith may remain inviolable, the Catholick Church entire, and that the LORD would vouchsafe to grant us the reward. And as I desire to know more exactly what happens in your combat; I intreat you to give me a particular account in your letters, that your exhortation may strengthen my courage, which is brought down by divers diseases, and even my body whose strength is lessened. We may judge by these last words that Liberius was in an advanced age.

Epist. 6.

p. 750.

To. 2. conc.

THE Arians imagining, that if they could gain him they should soon be masters of all the rest, persuaded the Emperor to be of the same opinion; for he was very desirous of having the condemnation of Athanasius confirmed by authority, which resided chiefly in the Bishops of Rome. Thus speaks Ammianus Marcellinus the Heathen historian of that time. The Emperor therefore,

XIX.

Liberius persecuted.

Athan. ad Sol. p. 832.

D.

Amm. lib. 15. c. 7.

therefore, sent to Liberius an eunuch, named Eusebius, with presents and letters full of threatnings. The eunuch upon his arrival at Rome, persuaded the Bishop to subscribe against St. Athanasius, and to communicate with the Arians, saying, that it was the Emperor's pleasure; then shewing him the presents, he took him by the hand, and said to him, Obey, and receive this. The Bishop replied, How can I condemn Athanasius after he has been so fully justified, not only by a council but by two, and those assembled from all the nations of the world, and after he has been sent back in peace by the Roman Church? Whom shall we receive, if we reject him in his absence whom we received when present? It is not the rule of the Church, nor the tradition which we have received from our forefathers, and which they received from the blessed Apostle St. Peter. But if the Emperor is concerned for the peace of the Church, if he would have that revoked which we have written for St. Athanasius, let that also be annulled which hath been done against him and all the rest; let a truly Ecclesiastical council be held at a distance from the palace, without the Emperor's being present with any Counts, without any threatening judge; but we shall be satisfied with the fear of God and the ordonance of the Apostles; to the end, that before all things the peace of the Church be preserved, which the Fathers have declared in the council of Nice: That the Arians be driven away, and that the Catholicks have liberty of speech: For those cannot be admitted to the council whose faith is corrupt; nor is it fit to determine concerning a personal affair before the faith is examined. Our SAVIOUR CHRIST did not heal the sick before they had declared that they believed in him. This is what we have learned from our fathers, declare it to the Emperor, for it is what is useful to him, and may edify the Church. Let him not give ear to Ursatius and Valens; after their recantation they deserve no farther credit. Thus spake Liberius Bishop of Rome.

THE eunuch being concerned, not so much at his refusing to subscribe against St. Athanasius, as because he declared himself an enemy to the heresy, forgot that he was before a Bishop, and threatned him extremely; then he went to the church of the apostle St. Peter, where he deposited the presents as an offering; but Liberius being informed of it, was very angry with the keeper of the Church, for not hindring him; and he caused this prophane offering to be thrown out. The eunuch was still more enraged at this, and returning back, he said to the Emperor, in order to exasperate him, We must no longer be concerned, that Liberius will not subscribe, but that he declares himself against our doctrine, so far as expressly to anathematize the Arians. By this discourse he stirred up the rest of the eunuchs, who were very numerous about the Emperor, and could persuade him to any thing. Constantius therefore wrote to Leontius who was governour of Rome to surprize Liberius by some artifice, in order to get him thence, and send him to court, or to persecute him by open violence. The terror was great throughout the city; considerable promises were made use of to stir up several persons against Liberius. Several families were threatned, and several Bishops hid themselves; several women of condition retired into the country to avoid the calumnies of the hereticks. People who were settled inhabitants at Rome were put to flight; traps were set for the Asceticks; the gate and avenues of the city were guarded, that no Catholick might get in to see Liberius. Rome now felt by experience, what the

she could not have believed of the outrages which the hereticks committed a-A.D. 355. against the other Churches. At length Liberius was forced away from Rome Amm. lib. 15. in the middle of the night, with abundance of difficulty, by reason of the ap- c. 7. prehensions of the people, who had a great affection for him.

WHEN he arrived at Milan, the Emperor gave him audience, or rather XX. examined him; most probably in his consistory; for thus they called the coun- Liberius at Milan before the Emperor. cil where the most important matters were debated, and where the acts were set down by the art of short hand; by which means certain pious persons had an opportunity of preserving this examination, in order to stir up the zeal of Theod. ii. the Christians by such an example. The Emperor Constantius said, Because c. 15, 16. you are a Christian, and the Bishop of our city, we have thought fit to send for you, to exhort you to renounce this wicked extravagance, in adhering to the communion of the impious Athanasius. The whole earth have judged him to be such; and he hath been cut off from the communion of the Church by the sentence of a council. Liberius the Bishop replied, My lord, Ecclesiastical judgments ought to be passed with the greatest justice. For which reason, if your piety finds it necessary, order a tribunal to be erected; and if Athanasius is found worthy of condemnation, let his sentence be pronounced according to the order of Ecclesiastical proceedings; for we cannot condemn a man whom we have not judged. The Emperor Constantius said, The whole earth hath condemned his impiety; and he only seeks to gain time, as he hath always done. Liberius said, All these who have subscribed have not been eye-witnesses of what happened; they have been influenced by the desire of glory, or by fear of the disgrace with which you have threatned them. The Emperor said, What do you mean by glory, fear, and disgrace? Liberius said, All those who consider not the glory of God, preferring your benefits to it, have, without judging the cause, condemned him whom they never saw; this does not become Christians. The Emperor said, However he was judged at the council of Tyre, being there in person; and in the council all the Bishops of the world condemned him; perhaps the Emperor by this means the council of Milan, which in reality was a very numerous assembly. Liberius answered, He has never been judged being present; all who condemned him then, that is at Tyre, condemned him without any cause, after he had withdrawn from thence.

THE eunuch Eusebius said, He was acknowledged in the council of Nice to be an enemy to the Catholick faith. This Eusebius, without dispute, was the eunuch of the chamber, whose interest was so great, and as he was an Arian, he calls that heresy which St. Athanasius had all along opposed, the Catholick faith. Liberius, without regarding him, proceeded to answer the Emperor in this manner, There are only five who have judged him, namely, those who were sent into the Marcotis to make information against him. Of these five two are dead, viz. Theognis and Theodore; the other three are still alive, viz. Maris, Valens, and Ursatius. The council of Sardica has pronounced sentence against these commissioners; and they have presented petitions to the council, desiring pardon for the wrong information which they gave through mistake against St. Athanasius in the Marcotis; and we have their petitions now in our hands. Liberius here speaks of the recantation of Ursatius and Valens at the council of Rome, after that of Sardica. He goes on thus, With whom

Vide Valef. in Theodor.

A.D. 355. whom ought we to be obliged to communicate? with those who have condemned Athanasius and afterwards desired pardon, or with those who have lately condemned him.

EPICLETUS the Bishop said, My lord, it is not for the sake of the Faith or Ecclesiastical determinations that Liberius speaks thus to you, but that he may boast at Rome to the senators, that he hath confounded the Emperor. Constantius said to Liberius, How do you account your self in the world, that you alone with an impious wretch, take upon you to disturb the peace of mankind? Liberius said, Although I were singular in this, the cause of the faith would not fail upon that account. Heretofore there were found but three persons who resisted the ordonance. By this he means the companions of Daniel, which the eunuch Eusebius very plainly perceived, and said, Do you make the Emperor a Nebucodonosor? Liberius answered, No; but you are not more reasonable than he, in desiring to condemn a man whom we have not judged. I desire likewise for my part, that we may begin by a general subscription, confirming the faith of Nice: That in the next place we recal all our brethren from banishment, and re-establish them in their sees; and then all assemble together at Alexandria, where the accused and accusers reside, and those who take part with them; to the end, that after examining every thing we may judge of it.

EPICLETUS said, The publick carriages will not be sufficient to carry so many Bishops. Liberius answered, The Church needeth not the publick carriages; every Church can easily furnish wherewith to convey their Bishops to the sea-side. The Emperor said, What is once decreed, cannot be reversed; the judgment of the greater number of Bishops ought to prevail; you are the only person who keep up a friendship with this wicked wretch. Liberius said, My lord, we have never heard, that a person accused when absent, should be treated like an impious wretch, by his judge, as if he had a personal enmity to him. The Emperor said, He hath offended all mankind in general, and me in particular. He was not satisfied with the destruction of my eldest brother; he continually excited the hatred of my brother Constans, of blessed memory, against me; but my mildness prevailed over his endeavours, and those of my brother. I am not so well pleased with any thing, no not even with the defeat of Magnentius and Silvanus, as with having removed that wicked wretch from the affairs of the Church. This Silvanus was a leader of the nation of the Franks, brought up amongst the Romans, whom he served faithfully a long time; but being made desperate by the calumnies that were laid to his charge before Constantius, he revolted and was killed at Cologne, having born the title of Emperor only twenty eight days. This happened in this same year 355.

Amm.
Marcel.
lib. 15. c. 5.

Pagi. 355.
n. 4.

LIBERIUS said, My lord, you do not make use of Bishops to avenge you of your adversaries: The hands of Ecclesiastical persons ought to be employed in sanctifying; command, if you think fit, the Bishops to be sent back to their places of abode; and if they agree upon the orthodox faith of Nice, let them assemble, in order to provide for the peace of the Church; but let it not appear, that endeavours are used to oppress an innocent person. The Emperor said, There is but one thing in dispute; I will send you back to Rome as soon as you have embraced the communion of the Churches: Yield for the sake of peace;

peace; subscribe and return to Rome. Liberius said, I have already taken leave of the brethren of Rome; for the laws of the Church are preferable to living at Rome. The Emperor said, You have three days to consider, whether you will subscribe and return to Rome, or consider unto what place you will be carried. Liberius said, The space of three days, or of three months, will not change my resolution; therefore send me wherever you please.

Two days after the Emperor caused Liberius to be sent for, and as he had not yet changed his opinion, he ordered him to be banished to Berœa in Thrace. When Liberius was set out, the Emperor sent him five hundred golden pence for his expence, which is a little more than three hundred pounds of our money. Liberius said to the person who brought them, Go, carry them to the Emperor, he wants them for his soldiers. The Empress sent him as much; but Liberius said, Return them to the Emperor, he has occasion for them for the maintenance of his forces; and if the Emperor has no need of them, let him give them to Auxentius or Epictetus; they have need of them. He refusing to take any thing of the Emperor or Empress, the eunuch Eusebius made offers to him; but Liberius said to him, Thou hast caused all the Churches in the world to be desolate, and dost thou offer me alms as to a criminal? go first and become a Christian; and so without receiving any thing, he went away three days after into banishment. Liberius advised the eunuch Eusebius to become a Christian, because the Catholicks did not allow the Arians to be Christians. Demophilus a famous Arian was Bishop of Berœa, the place to which they sent him. Epictetus, who has here been several times spoken of, was a young neophyte, bold and violent, whom the Emperor had made Bishop of a place far distant from his country, and where he was not known: this was Centum Cellæ upon the Tuscan Sea near Rome. By his means it was, that the Emperor caused a Bishop to be placed in Rome instead of Liberius. All the Clergy had taken an oath to receive no other as long as he lived; but the Arian faction chose Felix the Archdeacon of the Roman Church, and as they could not get admittance into any of the Churches, they ordained him in the palace. Three eunuchs represented the assembly of the people, and three Bishops, of whom Acacius of Cæsarea was one, laid hands on him. However, Felix still retained the Nicene faith, only he communicated with the Arians.

XXI.
Liberius banished.
Felix the false Bishop.
Theod. ibid.
Sozom. iv. c. 11.

Libel. Faust. p. 30.
Ath. in Arian i. p. 290. B.
Et ad Solit. p. 831. B.
Hier. Chr. an. 350.
Athan. ibid.
Hier. Script. in Acac.
Theod. ii. c. 17.
Soz. iv. c. 11.

AFTER the banishment of Liberius and so many other Bishops, the Arians still thought that they had done nothing as long as Hosius continued at quiet. He was lookt upon as the first of the Bishops; he was a Confessor, and had been Bishop above sixty years. He guided all the councils; his letters were received every where with respect; he had proposed the Nicene creed, and every where declared the Arians hereticks: They therefore addressed themselves to the Emperor, and said, that every thing else was to no purpose if they did not gain over that old man. Whereupon the Emperor wrote to him, and caused him to come at the same time that he was writing to Liberius. When he was come, the Emperor endeavoured to persuade him to condemn St. Athanasius and to communicate with the Arians; but the good old man gave him to understand how much pain it was to him even to hear such discourse; he reprov'd him with authority, and persuaded him to let him

XXII.
Hosius persecuted.
His letter.
Ath. ad solit. p. 837. C.

VOL. II.

D d

return

* The French is Quatre mille livres de notre monoye.

A.D. 355. return to his Church : The Arians complained of it, and the eunuchs of the palace pressed the Emperor so much, that he wrote again to Hosius in a threatening and abusive manner, calling the rest exiles, and reproaching him, that he was the only person who opposed him ; sometimes too he flattered him, calling him his father ; for he wrote several letters to him. But Hosius continued resolute, and replied to the Emperor by this letter.

Ibid. p. 836. **HOSIUS** to the Emperor Constantius, *greeting*, in our LORD. I confessed the first time in the persecution under Maximian, your great grand-father. If you likewise are desirous to persecute me, I am still ready to suffer every thing rather than spill the blood of the innocent, and betray the truth ; and I renounce your communion if you write to me after this manner : Write no more therefore in this wise ; follow not the doctrine of Arius ; listen not to the Bishops of the East, and credit not Ursatius and Valens. They speak not so much against Athanasius as in favour of their heresy. Believe me, Constantius, I am your great great grand-father in respect of age. I was at the council of Sardica when you assembled us all, both you and your brother Constans of blessed memory. I myself invited the enemies of St. Athanasius to come into the church where I lodged, to declare what they knew against him, exhorting them to be under no apprehensions, and to expect nothing but a fair determination. I did it not only once but twice, offering them, if they were unwilling to have it done before the whole council, at least to tell it to me in private, promising, that if he were found guilty we would absolutely reject him ; but in case that he is innocent, said I, and convicts you of calumny, if you will not receive him, I will persuade him to come with me into Spain. Athanasius consented to it ; but they durst not, and all of them equally refused. Athanasius came afterwards to your court at Antioch, when you sent for him, and as his enemies were there, he desired that they might be sent for, either separately or all together, that they might make good their accusations in your presence, or no longer calumniate him when absent. You did not give ear to him, and they on their side refused it.

WHY then do you still hearken to them ? How can you endure Valens and Ursatius, after they have recanted, and acknowledged their calumny in writing ? for they did not do it by force as they pretended ; they were not opposed by soldiers ; your brother did not concern himself in it. In his time they did not act as they do now ; I would to God that they had never done so : They themselves came of their own accord to Rome, and wrote in the presence of the Bishops and the Priests ; having before written a letter of peace and friendship to St. Athanasius. If they pretend to have suffered violence ; if they own that it is wrong ; and if you do not approve it, then do not do it ; write not ; tend no courts ; recall the exiled ; lest you be guilty of greater violences than those of which you complain. For has Constans done any thing like this ? What Bishop has he banished ? When did he assist at any ecclesiastical trial ? Which of his officers have forced subscriptions against any person, that might afford Valens a pretence for talking in this manner ? Forbear, I intreat you, these proceedings, and remember that you are a mortal man ; be afraid of the day of judgment ; do not intrude your self into Ecclesiastical affairs ; do not pretend to give us directions in these matters ; rather learn them from us. God hath given you the Empire, and committed the Church to our care ;

care: as those who attempt any thing against your authority, transgress the A. D. 355. commands of God; so take care lest you become highly criminal, by appropriating to your self what belongs to us. It is written, Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. It is not therefore lawful for us to govern upon earth; and you are not impowered to sacrifice. I write this unto you, through the concern which I have for your eternal welfare; but as concerning what you required of me, this is my opinion, I can neither agree with the Arians, whose heresy I anathematize; nor write against St. Athanasius, who is justified by the Roman Church, by the whole council, and by me my self: You know this so well, that you recalled him, and permitted him to return with honour into his own country, and to his Church. What pretence have you for such an alteration? He has the same enemies as formerly: What they whisper, for they dare not speak it aloud in his presence, is what they said against him before you recalled him, and what they declared in the council, though they could not bring any proof of it, when I urged them, as I have told you. Who then has persuaded you, after all this time, to forget both what you wrote and spoke. Stay, and do not hearken to the wicked, lest you make your self guilty for their sake. You in this act for them; but in the day of judgment, you must defend your self alone. They endeavour to make use of you to oppress one who is their particular enemy, and to make you the instrument of their wickedness, in order to sow their abominable heresy in the Church. It is not prudent to throw our selves into evident danger, in order to please others. Forbear, I intreat you, Constantius, and believe me; it is necessary for me to write thus unto you, and for you not to slight it. Such was the letter of Hosius; but the Emperor was not at all affected by it; he continued threatening him, and sought pretences for using him ill: And though nothing was found against him, excepting that he encouraged other Bishops, particularly in Spain, not to abandon St. Athanasius; yet Constantius caused him to be brought again to him, and kept him a year at Sirmium without respecting his age; for Hosius was near an hundred years old.

Math. xxi.

Athan. ad

foli. 84v.

THIS persecution against the Catholicks was now general. The Emperor Constantius sent officers to all parts with threatening orders, addressed to the Bishops and Judges. His orders to the Bishops were, to subscribe against St. Athanasius, and to communicate with the Arians, under pain of banishment for their own part, and of imprisonment, corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, for those who assembled with them. The Judges were to see this executed; and in order to excite them to it, those who were sent had with them certain Clerks belonging to Ursatius and Valens, who gave an account to the Emperor, of such of the Judges as were negligent. By the favour of the Arians, other hereticks had the liberty of publishing their blasphemies; none were persecuted but the Catholicks. Several Bishops therefore were carried before the Judges, who ordered them to subscribe, or leave their Churches; and several private persons dispersed themselves in every city, for fear of being accused as friends to the Bishops: For the municipal magistrates had likewise been written to, and threatned to be fined, if each of them did not oblige their Bishop to subscribe. All the cities were full of terror and disorder; some of the Bishops were sent to the Emperor, that they might be intimidated by his

XXIII.

A general

persecution.

Ibid. p. 229.

B.

A. D. 355. presence ; and calumnies were invented against several, in order to terrify the rest ; and there were several who yielded and renounced communion with St. Athanasius. Those who came to speak with the Emperor were not permitted to see him, nor even to go out of their lodgings ; they let them have no rest, till they had subscribed ; and upon refusal they were banished. The Arians endeavoured to encrease their party, at least in appearance, by getting a great number of subscriptions ; and upon this account the Emperor gave no respite to the exiled Bishops ; though at the same time, very often in a few months space, he recalled criminals that were banished for robbery, murder, or sedition.

Ad Solit.

p. 856. A.

Ibid. p. 810.

D.

p. 812. D.

WHOEVER was a friend to the Arians, though in other respects charged with and convicted of numberless crimes, was not accused ; or if he was tried for form sake, he was cleared ; he became famous amongst them, and a friend of the Emperors, and obtained of his judges whatever he desired. On the contrary, whosoever opposed their heresy, though he was ever so innocent, was taken up under some pretence or other, as having spoken evil of the Emperor, or blasphemed against God, and was tried by the Emperor and sent into banishment. To supply the place of an exiled Bishop, a very zealous heretick was immediately sent, whom they caused to be received by force of arms by the people who knew him not ; and they punished those with confiscation of their goods, and the most severe penalties who refused to submit to it. They endeavoured to force them to hate him whom they loved, who had instructed them and was their spiritual Father ; and to love a person whom they did not desire ; and to trust their children to one, of whose life and conversation they had no knowledge.

XXIV.
The beginning
of St. Gregory
Nazianzen, and of
St. Basil.
Naz. Orat. 4.
p. 132. D.

Sup. lib. 11.
n. 30.
Greg. Presb.
vir. Naz.
Carm. 1.
Hier. in
Script. Euz.

AFTER the death of Gallus Cæsar, his brother Julian continued at Athens, which was still famous for Philosophy, Oratory, and the liberal sciences. He spent the greatest part of the year 355 in this city, and there amongst others became acquainted with St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, who were afterwards so famous in the Church. They were both of Cappadocia, viz. Basil of Cæsarea, otherwise called Mazaca, a great city and the metropolis of the province, whose inhabitants were almost all Christians. Gregory was of Nazianzum, otherwise called Diocæsarea, the son of Gregory, who was then Bishop of that city. The son was endued with a very fine understanding, and was very much inclined to learning. As soon as he was past his childhood, he went to study at Cæsarea, the capital of the province ; afterwards at Cæsarea in Palestine, where he learned Rhetorick, without imitating the manners of those who taught it. His master was Thespisius ; and Euzoius, who was afterwards the Arian Bishop of that city, studied there at the same time. Gregory studied afterwards at Alexandria, and then he embarked to go over into Greece ; but during his voyage he was overtaken with a terrible storm, which alarmed him extremely, because he was not yet baptized. At length he arrived happily at Athens, and applied himself to the study of Oratory for several years, at the same time preserving himself from the corruption which reigned in that city, so given to curiosity.

Basil ep. 331.
Greg. Naz.
Orat. 20.
p. 318.
Basil ep. 75.
Sup. lib. 9.
n. 20.

BASIL came thither after him, whose father was likewise called Basil, and a native of Pontus, of a noble family, being the son of Macrina, who was born at Neo-cæsarea and instructed by the disciples of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Her husband and she were very zealous for the faith, and suffered extremely in the

the persecution of Maximin Daia. Their son Basil had abundance of know-^{A. D. 355.} ledge, was eloquent and very religious. He married Emmelia who was likewise famous for her piety and her affection for the poor. She was desirous of^{Greg. Naz. vit. S. Macr. P. 178.} living in a state of virginity; but having lost both her father and mother when she was very young, and finding herself in danger of being stolen away, because of her extraordinary beauty; she determined to marry in order to secure herself, and accordingly married Basil, by whom she had ten children. Macrina, who was the eldest, preserved her virginity and lived in a perfect state of virtue; Basil was the eldest of all the sons; Gregory was afterwards Bishop of Nyssa; and Peter, the youngest, was Bishop of Sebasta. St. Basil was^{Basil ep. 75.} brought up with St. Macrina his grand-mother by the father's side, who taught him from his infancy the holy doctrine of the Church, according to the tradition of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. His father likewise instructed him in religion and humane learning; but he afterwards went to Caesarea to^{Naz. orat. 20. p. 325.} continue his studies; from thence he passed over to Constantinople, where he heard the Sophists or Philosophers who were there in greatest esteem. At length he came to Athens, where he was received by St. Gregory Nazianzen, who had already made a friendship with him, which lasted as long as they lived.

GREGORY was very serviceable to Basil upon his first arrival, by defending^{Ibid. p. 327.} him from the insolence of the rest of the students. They were all as fond of^{Eunap. in Psel.} their Sophists, as the people in the shews who take part with those who exhibit horse races. Accordingly these young men went to meet those who lately came to Athens; they waited for them at the gates, at the avenues, and even in desert places, spreading themselves all over Greece, and causing the people to enter into their factions. After having conducted the new comer to his lodgings, or to some of his friends, they exposed him to a publick disputation, where every body was allowed to attack him at pleasure. This exercise rather affrighted than hurt him, and served to make the new comer more tractable and less presumptuous. Afterwards they conducted him to the bath with ceremony, marching before him two by two. When they drew near they began to cry out and to jump like so many mad people, seeming to endeavour to hinder him from passing by; then they knocked at the door and made a great noise in order to affright him; afterwards they let him enter, and from that time he was initiated, and shared in all the honours of the rest of the students. Gregory having represented to his friends the wisdom and gravity of Basil, together with the reputation which he had already acquired, procured him to be exempted from this formality.

BASIL was so displeased with these trifling customs, that he would have quitted Athens, had not Gregory detained him; for before he attained to the age, he had the gravity of an old man; and acquired more esteem by his virtue, than by his learning and eloquence, though he excelled in both. He laboured with abundance of application, although he had so much vivacity, as to seem capable of learning every thing without labour, and accordingly he became very learned. He had fire and energy in his eloquence; he understood grammar, which then consisted in speaking the Greek language correctly, and understanding the Poets and Orators; he understood all the branches of philosophy, whether practical or speculative, he was such a master of Logick, that^{Greg. Nyss. in Basil.} it was very difficult to take him off of his arguments. He studied Astronomy,^{Geometry P. 211. D.}

A.D. 355. Geometry and Arithmetick as far as they were necessary, that he might not be puzzled by those who boasted of their skill in those sciences, rejecting the rest as superfluous; and he was engaged in the study of Physick, by frequent sicknesses. Thus did St. Basil study prophane literature, without quitting the sacred writings, which he had studied from his cradle. His masters for Oratory were Himerius and Propheresius, who was likewise of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and a Christian.

XXV. *Julian made Cæsar.* WHEN the Prince Julian came to Athens he became acquainted with Basil and Gregory, and studied with them not only profane literature but the holy Scriptures; although he had then resolved to renounce Christianity, but he was afraid to declare it. They found out the evil disposition of his mind by his physiognomy and outward appearance. He was of a middle stature, had a thick neck, and broad shoulders, which he frequently lifted up and moved about as well as his head. His feet were not firm, nor his gait steady; his eyes were lively, but he stared and squinted; his aspect was furious; his nose betokened contempt and insolence; his mouth was large; his lips hung down, and his beard was bristly and pointed; he used ridiculous gestures, and made signs without any meaning; he laughed immoderately and very loud, stopping in the midst of his discourse to take breath: He asked frivolous questions and gave confused answers, which were neither solid nor methodical. Gregory said, upon seeing him, What evil is the Roman Empire nourishing! I would to God that I were a false prophet.

Amm. lib. 15. c. 8. Zosim. lib. 3. init. Julian, ep. ad Athan. p. 504, 505. Libern. paneg. in Jul. p. 235. C. JULIAN was at Athens when there came an order from the Emperor to recall him into Italy. The bad state of Gaul, which the Barbarians ravaged, obliged Constantius to declare him Cæsar and send him thither, whilst he himself stayed in Italy. Julian was concerned at his leaving Athens; either upon account of his inclination to study, or the fear of his enemies, founded upon the example of his brother. He turned his eyes bathed in tears towards the temple of Minerva, whose protection he desired; and he really thought that he felt the effects of it, imagining that she had sent two angels from the sun and moon to take care of him; for thus he himself speaks of it. When he came to Milan he was forced to leave off wearing his beard and philosopher's cloak; and he was declared Cæsar by Constantius, in the presence of the soldiers, on the eighth of the ides of November, when Arbition and Lollius were consuls, i. e. on the sixth of November in 355. A few days after Constantius married him to his sister Helena, and caused him to set out immediately for Gaul, appointing certain persons to watch him very carefully, and taking all possible precautions to prevent his becoming too powerful.

XXVI. *A persecution against St. Athanasius. Sup. n. 11. ad solit. p. 829. A. Ibid. p. 843. A.* ST. Athanasius had been twenty six months without receiving any orders from the Emperor Constantius, since the letter which Montanus had brought him. It is true, that immediately after the council of Milan, the Emperor wrote to the governour of Egypt to deprive Athanasius of the corn which Constantine his father had allowed to the Churches, and to give it to the Arians; and moreover to permit all that were so inclined to insult those who assembled with Athanasius. At the end of twenty six months Diogenes and Hilary, the Emperor's notaries, (these were secretaries and persons of distinction) came with certain *Palatines*, (that is inferior officers) bringing threatening letters to the Duke of Egypt and his soldiers, to force every body to communi-
cate

cate with the Arians. Diogenes was for obliging St. Athanasius to retire; but A.D. 355. he asked where was the Emperor's order, and so did the Clergy and people of Alexandria. Diogenes shewed no letter appointing St. Athanasius to depart, and did not so much as appear before him; but on the contrary, perceiving the people ready to take arms in defence of their Bishop, he withdrew without doing any thing.

Ad Solit. p. 845. A. Apol. p. 688. B. Sozom. iv. hist. c. 9.

WHEREUPON certain legions from Egypt and Libya, under the command of Duke Syrianus were sent thither; and as soon as they came to Alexandria, the Arians boasted that they would now do whatever they pleased. Syrianus pressed St. Athanasius to set out for the Emperor's court; but he again required to see the letters which contained that order: For, said he, I did not return but by the Emperor's express order; he even wrote three letters to me; and after the death of his brother Constans he wrote to me again to continue in my Church, without being concerned at any thing, or minding those who endeavoured to fright me. This last letter was delivered to me by Palladius who was master of the palace and Asterius, who was Duke of Armenia. Having therefore such positive orders, I ought not to depart without the like orders, to say nothing of the duty of a Bishop and the rules of Scripture, which do not permit me to forsake my flock. Syrianus owning that he had no orders in writing, St. Athanasius insisted that at least he or Maximus the præfect of Egypt should write to him to that purpose; but they would not, nor even declare positively that they acted by the Emperor's orders: Whereupon St. Athanasius thought that he might reasonably suppose that they acted by their own authority at the solicitation of the Arians, finding, in reality, that they were always attended with a croud of them who sat at their table, and consulted with them what was proper to be done; and besides, the manifest danger to which he exposed his Church if he left it to the mercy of the hereticks, made him steadfast in his resolution of not going away from them.

Athan. apol. p. 688, &c.

A. p. 690.

THE people of Alexandria, with the Priests and the greatest part of the city, went to Syrianus, and intreated him to write to Athanasius to signify his power, or not to disturb their assemblies any more until they had sent deputies to the Emperor. After they had long insisted upon it, Syrianus finding that their request was reasonable, protested to them by the life of the Emperor, that he would do as they desired. This was done in the presence of Maximus the Præfect, of Hilary the Notary, of two companies of officers, of the Duke and Præfect himself; and the *Prytanis* or magistrate of the city was made the repository of the promise, which was made on the eighteenth of January, in the year 356; and upon which the people continued to assemble without any disturbance.

p. 689. D.

A. D. 356.

IN the mean time St. Athanasius wrote a circular letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, to encourage them against the persecution of the Arians. He thus gives an account of the subject of his letter. I have received undoubted information, that certain Arians assembled together, have composed something in writing concerning the faith, and that they intend to send it to you to subscribe, threatening to cause those to be banished who refuse; and they have already begun to disturb the Bishops in these parts. This writing of the Arians perhaps was the letter of the Emperor Constantius, which they proposed to the council of Milan the year before; perhaps too they had composed

XXVII. St. Athanasius's letter to the Bishops of Egypt. Or. i. in Ar. p. 283. Ibid. p. 287. D.

Sup. n. 15.

A.D. 356. posed a confession of faith at Antioch, when they ordained George Bishop of Athan. Or. i. Alexandria. Be that as it will, St. Athanasius supposes them to aim at two Inst. p. 288. things in particular by this attempt. The one, says he, to cover by your sub- p. 289. scriptions the reproach of the Arian name, that they might not appear to follow his errors; the other to blacken the council of Nice and destroy the faith which was therein set forth.

THIS continual variation of the Arians, and these frequent forms very plainly shew their ignorance and ill intention; for they either wrote when there was no occasion, or with design to support their heresy, and to conceal it by equivocal terms, not daring to defend it openly. But what discovers their sentiments is, that they receive and favour the most notorious Arians, as Secundus of Pantapolis, George of Laodicea, Leontius the eunuch, Ursatius, Valens, and the rest of those whom the council of Sardica hath deposed. It is for this same reason that they have made those Bishops who came from far distant places, and were unknown to the people, such as Cecropius of Nicomedia, and Auxentius of Milan, because they were fit persons to support their heresy.

p. 289. IT is for this, continues he, that they are now endeavouring to send a certain person named George of Cappadocia, whom they have paid well; but who is lightly accounted of; for he hath the character of being not so much as a Christian. St. Athanasius afterwards reckons up the most eminent Bishops of his time, and such as were best affected to the Catholick faith. In the first place, the famous Confessor Hosius, Maximin of Gaul, and his successor, viz. Paulinus of Treves; Philogonus and Eustathius of the East, i. e. of Antioch; Julius and Liberius Bishops of Rome, Cyriacus of Nysia, Jiftus and Aristæus of Greece, Silvester and Protogenes of Dacia, i. e. of Sardica, Leontius and Eupsygmus of Cappadocia, Cecilian of Africa, i. e. of Carthage; Eustirgius of Italy, Carpito of Sicily; Macarius of Jerusalem, Alexander of Constantinople, Pederotus of Heraclea, Basil, Meletius and Longinus of Armenia and Pontus, Lupus and Amphion of Cilicia, James of Mesopotamia, i. e. of Nisibis, and Alexander of Alexandria.

p. 296. A. IN order to frustrate the devices of the Arians, who disguised their errors, he lays open the doctrine of Arius, as it was at first propounded by him when p. 299. D. he was driven out of the Church by St. Alexander his Bishop; then he refutes it by the plainest passages of Scripture, and carefully observes in the conclusion, how we ought to distinguish between what is said of JESUS CHRIST as GOD, and what is said of him as man. He relates the death of Arius as a

p. 301. C. punishment for his dissimulation and perjury. He exhorts the Bishops to adhere to the Nicene faith, to defy the hereticks, and to oppose them resolutely,

p. 304. C. because this is a point wherein all religion is concerned. Martyrdom, says he,

2 Tim. ii. 17. consists not only in not offering incense to idols; there is the martyrdom of the iv. 14. conscience, which consists in not denying the faith. The traitor Judas did not

Heb. xi. sacrifice to idols, nor Hymenæus, nor Alexander, who made shipwreck of the faith: on the contrary, Abraham, David, Samuel, and the rest of those whose Faith St. Paul extols, did not shed their blood. The Arians and Meletians hate each other on account of their particular differences, and only unite to oppose the truth; and it is not at this time only that they have been known for ene-

p. 305. B. mies to the Church. It is fifty years since the Meletians made a schism, and thirty

thirty six since the Arians have been declared hereticks and banished from the A.D. 356. Church, by the sentence of a general council. By this we are to understand Sup. lib. 10. n. 31. the first council which St. Alexander held with the Bishops of Egypt, in the year 320, for this letter cannot have been written later than the year 356; and as for the Meletians their schism began about the year 301. Athanasius, throughout this letter, excuses as much as possible the good intention of the Emperor Constantius, throwing every thing upon the malice of the Arians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the promise which Syrianus had made on the XXVIII. The violent proceedings of Syrianus. Protest. pap. ap. Athan. p. 866. Ath. de Fug. p. 717. eighteenth of January, the people being assembled twenty three days after, i.e. on the ninth of February, during the night in the church of St. Theonas, to spend the Eve in prayer, because the sacred mysteries were to be celebrated the next day, which was Friday, Syrianus came to the Church at midnight conducted by the Arians, and attended by Hilary. They were followed by above five thousand of the legionary soldiers, having their helmets on their heads and their swords in their hands, with bows and other arms. These forces surrounded the Church, that no body might escape; but Athanasius thought that he ought not to forsake his flock in this time of danger; he continued in his chair and caused the Deacon to read certain psalms, importing, that the mercy of God endureth for ever, exhorting the people in the mean time to retire every one to his own home. Whilst these psalms were reading, the soldiers broke open the doors and came in, and began to cry out, making a noise with their arms, and their swords glittering by the light of the lamps: Syrianus ordered them to charge, and there were some people killed by their arrows; others were trampled upon, being put into disorder by the endeavours which the soldiers used to get in. Certain virgins were killed there, others were stripped stark naked, which to whom was more terrible than death. Some of the soldiers surrounded the sanctuary, in order to take St. Athanasius, who still continued sitting in his chair, resolving not to go out till the last, although those who were nearest to him, as well the Clergy as people, called out to him to retire. At length he arose, and ordered a prayer to be said again, conjuring them all to go out, and saying that it was best for him to be exposed to danger. The greater part were gone out, and the rest followed, when the Monks and Clerks that remained drew him along with them as they went away. He was pressed so much in the croud, that he was near being crushed in pieces; he became very faint, and was taken up for dead, so that he was saved as it were by a miracle, from amidst the soldiers who invested the sanctuary, and others who surrounded the Church. Afterwards they began to plunder; they broke down the doors, and every body, without distinction went into those places, into which all the Christians themselves were not permitted to enter. Gorgonius the captain of the city assisted at this tumult.

THEY caused the dead bodies to be taken away by the soldiers, in order to conceal them; but the virgins that were killed were intombed, and esteemed Martyrol. Rom. 28 Jan. as martyrs; and the memory of all those who died upon this occasion is still honoured. The faithful hung up in the church, the arrows, swords, and other arms which they found there, that they might serve as an indisputable mark of this outrage, which they likewise attested by a solemn protest. Syrianus endeavoured to make them revoke it, and to declare that there had been no uproar, nor any person killed; he even caused those to be bastonaded who went

A.D. 356. to desire him not to force any one to deny the truth. He several times sent the executioner of his cohort and the captain of the city, to take away the arms which were hung up in the church, but the Catholicks prevented them, and made a second protest which begins thus.

XXIX.
The Protest of
the people of
Alexandria.
Ap. Athan.
p. 866.

THE people of the Catholick Church of Alexandria, which is under the most reverend Bishop Athanasius. We have already protested against the invasion that was made by night into our Church, although there was no need of protesting in a matter which was notorious to the whole city. The bodies of those who were found dead have been publicly exposed; the arms and bones that are in the church cry out for vengeance: But for as much as the illustrious Duke Syrianus would have us declare, that there hath been no uproar, it is a manifest proof that he has not acted according to the will of the most clement Emperor Constantius; for if he had done it by his orders, he would be under no apprehensions. And afterwards: Certain of us being ready to set forward towards the most pious Emperor, we besought Maximus the Præfect of Egypt and his officers, by the Almighty God, for the Emperor's own safety, that they would relate the whole matter to him and to the *Præfectus Prætorii*. We likewise entreated the masters of ships to publish it every where, and to cause it to be known to the Emperors, and to the præfects and judges of every place; to the end, that they might know the war which is made against the Church; and that under the reign of Constantius Syrianus hath caused virgins and other persons to suffer martyrdom. For, on the Eve of the fifth day, before the ides of February, i.e. on the fourteenth of the month Mechir, as we were in the church watching and praying * * * * They afterwards relate all that had happened. Mechir was the sixth month of the Egyptians, which began on the twenty sixth of January, and the fourteenth day fell on the eighth of February, i.e. on Thursday the Eve of the ninth, which in this year 356 was on a Friday. The protest concludes thus: If there are orders given for persecuting us, we are all ready to suffer martyrdom; but if there are no orders from the Emperor, we intreat Maximus the præfect of Egypt, and desire all the magistrates to intreat him, that nothing of the like sort may be attempted. We likewise desire that the request which we make, may be carried to him, that no endeavours may be used to bring in hither a new Bishop; we are prepared for death through the affection which we bear to the most reverend Athanasius, whom God hath given us from the first, according to the succession of our fathers; whom the Emperor Constantius himself sent to us, with letters attended with oaths. We cannot think that he will violate them; on the contrary we are persuaded, that if he knew what hath passed he would be displeased at it, and give fresh orders for continuing our Bishop Athanasius with us. Given under the consulship of those who are designed consuls after Arbation and Lollius, on the seventeenth of the month Mechir, or on the Eve of the ides of February, i.e. on the twelfth of February 356.

Ad Solit.

p. 843. B.

THIS protest was so far from having any effect, that the Emperor Constantius approved all that had passed. He wrote to the senate and people of Alexandria, exciting the young men to assemble and pursue Athanasius, under pain of his displeasure. He also endeavoured to conceal the shame of his having changed, saying, that he suffered Athanasius to return merely for the sake of complying with his brother's friendship for a time; and that by banishing him he

he imitated his father Constantine the Great, who had banished him into Gaul. A. D. 356. After all, he endeavoured to gloss over his whole conduct with zeal for the canons of the Church. This letter was brought and published by Count Heraclius; and he declared from the Emperor, that if they did not submit to it, he would deprive them of the bread which was given them by the publick order, and make slaves of several of the magistrates and people. He even threatened to overthrow their idols, in order to terrify the Pagans who were still very numerous there. As he uttered these threatnings, he said publicly, that the Emperor would by no means suffer Athanasius, and that he commanded them to give the churches to the Arians. Every body was astonished at it, and looking upon each other, they enquired whether Constantius was become an heretick? Heraclius did more, for he obliged several of the senators, magistrates and pagans, who were keepers of the idol temples, to declare in writing, that they would receive the Bishop whom the Emperor should send. These pagans by this subscription purchased security for their idols and manufactures, and yielded to the Prince's will as when a governour was sent to them.

ibid. p. 846.

THE resistance of the Catholicks soon drew fresh outrages upon them. The people being assembled in the great Church on a Wednesday which was a stationary day, the Count Heraclius took with him Cathaphronius the præfect of Egypt, Faustinus the Catholick or treasurer-general, and an heretick named Bithynus; then alledging the Emperor's order, he stirred the youngest of the idolaters, who happened to be by, to go into the church and throw stones at the people. The service was ended, and most of the people were gone away: there remained only a few women, who were sitting down probably to rest themselves after prayers, which at that time were performed in a standing posture. Of a sudden, these young people came in naked, carrying sticks with them and throwing stones; they struck the virgins, tearing off their veils, and uncovering their heads; and being exasperated by the opposition which they met with, they kicked them and talked unseemly to them. The women fled that they might not hear them, as if it were from the biting of asps; but the Arians only laughed at it. Afterwards, the Pagans took the seats, the pulpit, and the altar which was made of wood, the curtains belonging to the church, and whatever else they could carry away, and burnt them before the porch in the great square. They threw incense upon this fire, praising their idols, and saying, Constantius is become a Pagan, and the Arians have embraced our religion. They even took a beast which was made use of for drawing water for the gardens of that part of the city, and were going to sacrifice, being hindered only because they found that it was a female, which they were not allowed to sacrifice.

XXX.

The violent proceedings of Heraclius. Ad Solit. p. 847. B.

DURING this disorder, there happened two accidents which appeared to be sensible marks of the divine vengeance. An insolent young man went and sat in the Episcopal chair, and made a noise through his nose in an unseemly manner; then he got up and endeavoured to break the chair; but as he drew it towards him, a piece of the wood pierced into his belly in such a manner as to cause his bowels to come out; upon which he fell down, was carried off, and died the next day. Another came in with leaves, which he shook according to the custom of the Pagans by way of scoff; and of a sudden he was so dazled, that he could not see, and he knew not where he was; and would

p. 848. C.

A. D. 356. have fallen down had not some body lent him their hand to support and lead him : He hardly came to himself in a day's time, and then he knew not what he had done, nor what had happened to him. The terror of these examples stopt the fury of the Pagans, but the Arians became more hardened by them.

XXXI. *The intrusion of George into Alexandria.* GEORGE, whom they had ordained Bishop of Alexandria, was of Cappadocia, a person of mean birth, being the son of a Fuller. He was first a parasite, and abandoned to those who gave him good entertainment ; afterwards he engaged himself in business, and undertook to furnish the swines flesh which was given to the soldiers ; but having been guilty of male administration and consumed his substance, he fled from Constantinople, where he held that employment, and continued some time wandering from province to province. He was brutish and ignorant, without any agreeable quality or tincture of literature, being a Pagan at the bottom and a Christian only in name ; therefore he followed that doctrine which was most suitable to his interest ; but without shewing any piety, even in appearance : On the contrary, he was covetous, inclinable to mischief, and to raise disturbances, and naturally cruel. This was the person whom the Arians made choice of to fill up the See of Alexandria in the place of St. Athanasius, looking upon him as an active man, and one that was attached to their doctrine. It is thought that they ordained him at Antioch, in a council of thirty Bishops of their party, which was held in the year 354, and in which they again condemned St. Athanasius, and wrote to all Bishops not to communicate with him, but with George whom they had ordained : However that be, he came into Alexandria during the season of Lent in this year 356, and began his outrages on the festival of Easter. The Catholick people forsook the churches, and assembled on this sacred day and the Sundays following in a desert near the burying place. The week after the feast of Pentecost, the people after having fasted came to this same place. George being informed of it, persuaded Duke Sebastian who was a Manichee to go thither, which he did even on Sunday, with his soldiers armed, to the number of above three thousand. They fell sword in hand upon these people who were assembled to pray, with the women and children ; but there remained but few, the greater part being already gone. Sebastian caused a great fire to be made, before which he urged the virgins to say, that they followed the faith of Arius ; but perceiving that the sight of this fire did not move them, he caused them to be stripped and beaten on the face, insomuch, that they could hardly be known a long time after ; he caused forty men to be seized and flead on the back, by whipping them with palm branches lately cut, and pointed likewise at the end, which pierced so far into their flesh, that they were forced to employ surgeons to get them out, and to make several incisions ; and some even died of the anguish ; and there were some virgins whom they treated after the same manner. They refused to restore the bodies of those who died upon this occasion, but put them out of the way and threw them to the dogs ; and their relations with much difficulty got them again, in order to bury them secretly. They were lookt upon as martyrs, and the Church still honours their memory on the twenty first of May. Those who survived were banished into the desert called Oasis Magnus.

Ad Solit.
n. 859. B.

Martyr. R.

XXXII. *The persecution at Alexandria.* UNDER pretence of searching for Athanasius, they sealed up several houses, plundered several, and even opened the sepulchres ; and they took away the treasure,

treasure, which St. Athanasius had intrusted with several persons of probity. A.D. 356. The Catholics lost the greatest part of their goods to preserve the rest, and borrowed wherewith to redeem themselves from the vexation of the Arians. Ad Solit. p. 849. C. They avoided meeting them, and several went from street to street, and from the city into the suburbs; but those who concealed them were used after the same manner. Others spent the night in the desert; and others chose rather to expose themselves to the sea, than hear their threatnings; for the Emperor's name was always in their mouths. They carried away several virgins from their houses, and insulted others in the streets, especially by means of their wives who walked up and down in an insolent manner like bacchanals, seeking occasion to offer violence to the women that were Catholics. p. 850. A.

By the authority of Duke Sebastian, they drove away the Priests and Deacons who had served in the Church of Alexandria from the time of St Peter and St. Alexander; and they re-established those who had been turned out at first with Arius. Amongst the rest, two Priests named Hierax and Dioscorus were sent into banishment, and their houses plundered. There were certain virgins who were tied to stakes and were scourged three several times, which was not done even to those who were really criminals. A virtuous Sub-deacon named Eutychius, after having been scourged on the back with thongs of ox's leather till he was almost dead, was sent to the mines of Phanio, a place so unhealthy, that the criminals could hardly survive there a few days; and without allowing him but a little time to get his wounds dressed, they hurried him away so fast, that he died upon the road soon after, with the glory of a martyr. The Church honours his memory on the twenty sixth of March, with other martyrs who suffered in this persecution of George. As the people besought him in favour of Eutychius, the Arians caused a certain man named Hermias, and three other persons of condition, to be seized, whom Duke Sebastian sent to prison after having scourged them; but the Arians perceiving, that they were not dead, complained of it, and threatened to write to the eunuchs. The Duke was afraid of this, and therefore caused these three innocent people to be beaten a second time; they only saying, We are beaten for the truth, we do not communicate with the hereticks; strike as long as you please, you must be accountable for it to God. The Arians were for having them put to death in the prison, but the people taking their opportunity, obtained their liberty at the end of seven days. The Arians revenged this on the poor; for after the Duke had delivered the churches to them, the widows and the poor could stay there no longer, but sat in those places which were assigned them by those Clerks who took care of them: but the Arians finding that they were abundantly supplied by the Catholics, drove away the widows by force, and accused those before Sebastian, who relieved them. He received this accusation favourably, being a Manichee, and consequently an enemy to the poor and to alms-giving; the having relieved the poor was therefore a new kind of crime. This proceeding made the Arians odious to all the world, and the Pagans themselves cursed them as executioners. By this we find, that the poor lodged in the Churches, that is, in the building adjoining to them; at least they had a place there for receiving of alms. p. 852. B. p. 858. B. p. 859. A. p. 852. B. Martyr. R.

THE persecution extended from Alexandria throughout all Egypt and Libya; and there was an order from Constantius for driving the Catholick Bishops XXXIII. The Bishops of Egypt driven away.

- A. D. 356. shops from the Churches, and delivering them to the Arians. Sebastian began forthwith to put it in execution, writing to every particular governour, and to the military powers; so that there might be seen Bishops imprisoned, with Priests and Monks loaded with chains, after having been almost beaten to death. The whole country was in disorder; the people murmured at so unjust a command, and at their cruel manner of putting it in execution; for though by the order they were only to be driven out of their country, they were sent at the distance of two or three provinces, to dreadful solitudes: those of Libya into the great Oasis in Thebais; those of Thebais into Libya Ammonica.
- Ad solit. p. 863. A. Thus it was that they used venerable old men, who had been Bishops a great many years. Some ever since the time of St. Alexander, others of St. Achilles, and others ever since that of St. Peter, who suffered martyrdom forty five years before. All their aim was to kill them by marching over the deserts; for they had no compassion on the sick; they were not the less urgent with them; insomuch, that they were forced to carry them upon biers, and to cause the necessaries for their burial to follow them. Some of them died in the places of their exile; and there was one person whose friends they would not permit to carry away his body. After this manner they persecuted almost ninety Bishops; that is to say, almost all that were in Egypt and Libya; sixteen were banished, and above thirty driven from their Sees: Some dissembled their sentiments through fear; amongst others Theodore of Oxyrinca, who even caused himself to be ordained over again by George.
- Marc. & Faust. p. 77. Amongst the banished Bishops, there was Dracontius who had so long refused to be made a Bishop: And amongst the persecuted Bishops, we find those whom St. Athanasius had proposed to him as examples, and who from a monastick life, had been raised to the Episcopal dignity. Dracontius was sent to the deserts near Clyfma, upon the coast of the Red Sea, and banished to the castle of Thebais, where St. Hilarion came to see him. He also visited Philo the Bishop, who was banished to Babylon in Augustamnica *secunda*. Adelphius was banished to Pfinobla in Thebais. He is thought to be the person to whom St. Athanasius wrote, in order to confute an error of the Arians, which allowed not the flesh of JESUS CHRIST to be adored. He therein shews, that his flesh is to be adored, as being united to his divinity, and plainly proves the unity of person in JESUS CHRIST, notwithstanding the distinction of natures. He gives Adelphius the title of Confessor; which gives us reason to believe that this letter was written after his banishment. The Priest Hierax, to whom St. Athanasius allows him to communicate it, was likewise one of the Confessors that were banished. St. Serapion of Thmouis was also persecuted upon this occasion. There were certain monasteries destroyed, and certain Monks whom they endeavoured to throw into the flames.
- Sup. n. 12. Ad Dracont. p. 957. D. XXXIV. IN the place of these holy Bishops they put debauched young men, who were still Pagans, or at most but catechumens: some of them were bigamists, and others still more infamous. All that they required was, that they professed Arianism, were rich, and had interest in the world. They bought the Episcopal office as it were in a market; afterwards, the Arians being well guarded with soldiers, caused them to be elected and put into possession. It was chiefly the *Decurio's* and other magistrates of cities who thus caused themselves to be ordained Bishops, that they might enjoy the immunities and hold the first rank.
- Ad solit. p. 863. A.
- Hier. vit. Hilar. c. 25. inf. n. 37.
- Hier. de Script. Ad solit. p. 856. C.
- The intruded Bishops. Ibid. D. Apol. p. 693. A.

rank. Those who most readily received them, and agreed upon their promotion for money, were the Meletians, who seldom read the holy Scriptures, and hardly knew what Christianity was. Those Bishops neither knew the importance of their office, nor the difference between the true and false religion; and so from Meletians they easily became Arians, being ready, if the Emperor commanded it, to change again, and turn about with every wind, provided that they might keep their immunities and precedency. They continued Pagans in their hearts, and consulted about the affairs of the Church out of mere humane policy. These false Pastors began to alter the faith in Egypt, where the Catholick was till then preached with perfect freedom; and as the truly faithful separated from them, it furnished the Duke Sebastian with a fresh occasion of scourging them, of imprisoning them, and confiscating their goods. At Barcea in Pantapolis, there was a Priest named Secundus, who would not submit to the Bishop whose name was likewise Secundus, one of the chief Arians. This Bishop and a certain person named Stephen, whom the Arians afterwards made a Bishop of Libya, both at the same time gave Secundus so many blows on the feet, that he died. As he was dying he said, Let no body seek to revenge my death by justice, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, for whom I suffer will avenge me; but they were not at all concerned at these words, nor at the circumstance of time, for it was in Lent when they killed him.

GEORGE the pretended Bishop of Alexandria left nothing undone to enrich himself and raise his credit. He supported himself merely by secular power, making an ill use of the Emperor's levity and false zeal. He employed what belonged to the poor, that is to say, the revenue of his Church, which was very considerable, in gaining those who were in employment, especially the eunuchs of the palace. Besides, he seized with both hands; he took away from private persons what they had inherited from their relations; he farmed all the salt petre, and made himself master of all the ponds where the Egyptian paper grew, and of all the salt pits. He did not neglect the least advantage; and as they carried dead bodies to be buried upon little beds, he caused a certain number to be made, which he obliged them to make use of even for strangers, and that under a certain penalty, taking toll for every dead body: He was voluptuous in his way of living, and cruel in his actions: He accused several persons to the Emperor, as not having a due regard to his commands; and the Pagans themselves complained, that in that he forgot his profession, that recommends only justice and meekness. It is reported, that he maliciously suggested to the Emperor, that he had a right to appropriate to his own use the revenue of all the buildings of Alexandria, because they had been built at first at the charge of Alexander the Great, the founder of that city, to whose right the Emperor had succeeded. By all these means he made himself extremely odious to the Pagans themselves, and every body else looked upon him as a tyrant.

THE people being enraged, assembled one day whilst he was in the Church and had like to have killed him; and he with much difficulty escaped, and fled to the Emperor. In the mean time, those who supported St. Athanasius entered again into the Churches, but did not keep them long. The Duke of Egypt came upon them, and restored them to those of George's party. Afterwards there came a notary from the Emperor to punish the people of Alexandria;

A.D. 356.

Ad Solit.
p. 853. D.
Philost. lib. 8.
c. 2.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 21. p. 389.
D.

Epiph. Har.
76. n. 1.

Amm. Arc.
lib. 22. n. 11.

Sozom. 4.
c. 10.

A. D. 356. andria ; and he caused several to be beaten and put to the torture. George himself returned soon after, more terrible and more hated than before, as having persuaded the Emperor to commit all these evils. The Monks of Egypt decried him on account of his pride and impiety, and their virtue gave them great authority amongst the people.

Sup. lib. 12.

n. 43.

Greg. Nyss. i.
con. Eunom.

p. 50. C.

Theod. ii.

hist. c. 27,

28.

Greg. Nyss.

ibid. p. 30.

D.

Philostorg. iii
c. 20.

Greg. Naz.

Orat. 21.

p. 383. C.

XXXV.

St. Athana-
sius in the
desert.

Apo'. p. 691.

D.

p. 692. A.

Ap. Athan.
p. 694.

Aëtius that Arian Sophist, whom Leontius had made a Deacon at Antioch, and whom he had been forced to silence, returned at that time to Alexandria, where he was one of George's parasites and flatterers, who restored him to his office, so that he was called his Deacon, and indeed he served him faithfully, both by his impious discourses and wicked actions. Eunomius became at that time the disciple of Aëtius, and was afterwards as famous as his master. This Eunomius was of Cappadocia, upon the confines of Galatia, being the son of a poor labourer, who with his own hands tilled a little field, and in the winter gained his livelihood by teaching children to read and write. Eunomius finding this way of living so laborious, quitted the plough and applied himself to writing short-hand : He practised this under one of his relations, who maintained him for his work ; afterwards he instructed his children, and began to study Rhetorick. After several adventures which were not for his honour, having heard Aëtius mentioned as a great philosopher, he came to Antioch in search of him ; and not finding him there, he went on to Alexandria, where he lodged with him, and studied divinity under him, that is to say Arianism. With such assistance George over-ran Egypt, ravaged Syria, and drew as many of the East as he could to his party, always attacking the weakest and basest sort of people.

St. Athanasius in the mean time was in the desert, whither he had retired upon his first leaving Alexandria, when George entered it ; but soon after he was for leaving his retreat to go to the Emperor, depending upon the promises which he had so often repeated, and his own innocence. He was already upon the road when he heard of the outrages that were committed in the West against Liberius, Hosius, Dionysius, and the rest. As he could not believe it, he was informed of what passed in Egypt and Libya, viz. the Bishops being driven away, and the rest of the persecution, particularly the violences committed at Alexandria, during the festival of Easter. All this did not however deter him from going to the Emperor, being of opinion, that they abused his name, and that they carried his orders beyond his intentions. At last, they shewed him two letters from Constantius, which undeceived him and stopped his journey. The first was addressed to the people of Alexandria ; in which he commends them for the obedience which they had testified in driving away Athanasius and uniting with George. He therein treats Athanasius as a deceiver and impostor, and empirick ; and yet he owns, that the greater part were for him. He says, that he in nothing differs from the vilest artificers, by which doubtless he means his poverty and his simple appearance : At length, he accuses him of having fled from justice, which is the old calumny of the council of Tyre. On the contrary, he treats his enemies as grave and worthy persons, and George in particular as one who was most capable of instructing others in heavenly things, and most knowing in spiritual government. At the conclusion, he threatens those with the severest punishment, and even with death itself, who still presumed to continue in Athanasius's party. It sufficiently appears by the opposition that was between this letter and that which

which the same Emperor formerly wrote in favour of St. Athanasius, that A. D. 356. neither of them were written by him; and that they were framed by the secretaries, as is very usual according to the interests of those, by whose solicitation they were obtained. Sup. lib. 12. n. 45.

THE other letter was addressed to Aïzan and Saran, Princes of Auxuma in ibid. p. 171. Ethiopia, whom the Emperor commands as his subjects, though he treats them as brethren. He requires them to send as soon as possible their Bishop Frumentius into Egypt, to be instructed and examined by George; and it seems as if he were even to be ordained again. This is the same Frumentius Sup. lib. 11. n. 30. who first brought the faith into that country, of which he had been ordained the Bishop by St. Athanasius; wherefore the Arians were afraid, lest he should retire to them, and were unwilling that he should remain in safety, even amongst the Barbarians. St. Athanasius therefore having seen these two letters, gave over his design of going to the Emperor, finding how closely he was surrounded by his enemies, and how much he was exasperated against him, inasmuch, that there was reason to apprehend, that they would cause him to be put to death before he could approach the Prince. He therefore returned into the desert, reserving himself for a more favourable juncture.

HE took occasion from his flight to visit at leisure the monasteries of Egypt, and to become acquainted with those people, who being separated from the world, lived only for GOD. Some of them were Anachorets, living altogether in solitude, and speaking only to GOD and themselves; others were Cœnobites, who practised the laws of charity within their community, being dead unto the rest of mankind, and being instead of the world to each other, they were mutually excited to virtue. St. Athanasius found, by conversing with them, that the Priesthood might be united to this holy philosophy, and an active with a quiet state, and that a monastick life consisted rather in an equality of behaviour than a corporeal retreat. They learned more from him of religious perfection, than he profited by them; his maxims were to them as so many laws; and they respected him as a person of such extraordinary sanctity, that they were not afraid to venture their lives for him. The Arians sent soldiers to pursue him, even into the deserts; they sought every where for him without finding him; and the Monks who met with these murderers, would not so much as speak to them; but they offered their throats to their swords, as exposing themselves for the sake of JESUS CHRIST, and esteeming it more meritorious to suffer for him in the person of Athanasius, than to fast and practise all other austerities. On the other side, St. Athanasius being afraid, lest the Monks should suffer on his account, withdrew farther, and hid himself intirely. Ep. ii. Athan. ap. Lucifer.

HE had not the satisfaction of meeting with St. Anthony; for he died in the beginning of this year 356. Some months before he went according to custom to see the Monks who resided in the out parts of the mountain, and said to them, This is my last visit, and I am deceived, if we see one another any more in this life. It is time for me to depart, for I am above an hundred and five years old. At these words they wept and embraced the good old man, who spake to them with joy, as one that was about to leave a strange country, in order to return home. He exhorted them not to be discouraged in their laborious exercises, but to live as if they were to die daily: He also recom- XXXVI. The death of St. Anthony. Vit. to. 31. p. 501. C.

A. D. 356. mended it to them, to separate themselves from the Arians and Meletians. And be not discouraged, said he, when you see the judges at their head; that mortal and imaginary power will soon pass away. Observe the tradition of the Fathers, but more especially the Faith of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which you have learnt in the Scriptures, and of which I have often put you in mind.

THE Brethren pressed him very much to continue with them, and there end his days; but he would not for several reasons, and chiefly for this. The Egyptians were very fond of preserving the bodies of virtuous persons, especially of martyrs. They wrapped and folded them up in linnen, but did not bury them; on the contrary, they laid them on beds and kept them in their houses, thinking that by this they did honour to the dead. This was a custom peculiar to the Egyptians; and even in the most ancient times we find, that they shut up their dead bodies, being embalmed and wrapped in linnen, in wooden boxes, representing an humane figure, and set them in a standing posture in those places where they kept them; and even at this time we meet with these boxes, and the mummies which are inclosed in them. By this custom there was great danger of their running into idolatry amongst the Egyptians, the most superstitious people in the world.

Herod. lib. ii.
c. 86.
Diod. lib. i.
n. 58.

ST. Anthony had often intreated the Bishops to instruct the people in this point; and he himself had severely reprov'd the Laity, particularly the women, saying, that this custom was neither lawful nor pious, inasmuch, as the bodies of the Patriarchs and Prophets were still preserved in tombs; and even the body of our SAVIOUR was put in a sepulchre which was shut up with a stone until the resurrection. By this he proves, that it was an ill act not to conceal the bodies of the dead, how holy soever they were, because nothing is greater and more holy, than the body of our LORD. Several believed him and buried their dead, and returned thanks to GOD for the instruction which he had given them. It was the apprehension, therefore, that they would treat his body thus that made him hasten, and bid farewell to the Monks of the out parts of the mountain. Retiring into the inmost mountain where he used to live, he fell sick some months after, having with him none but his two disciples Macarius and Amathus, who had attended him fifteen years, because of his great age. He called for them, and said, I am going, as it is written, the way of my fathers; for I perceive, that the LORD calleth me. And then after exhorting them to perseverance, and to avoid the Schismatics and Arians, he gave them a charge not to let his body be carried into Egypt, lest it should be kept in their houses. Bury it your selves, says he, and cover it with earth in some place that is known to none but you two. At the resurrection I shall receive it incorruptible from my SAVIOUR. Divide my cloaths; give the Bishop Athanasius one of my sheep skins, with the garment upon which I lie, which he gave me when new, and which I have made use of: give Serapion the Bishop my other sheep skin, and keep my sack cloth for your selves: Farewel my children, Anthony is going, and is no longer with you.

Hier. Chron.
Pagi, an 358.
n. 2.

WHEN he had thus spoken, they embraced him; and he stretched out his feet, and continued lying with as pleasant a countenance, as if he had seen his friends coming to visit him. Thus died he on the seventeenth of January, in the year 356, being one hundred and five years old. From his youth, until this great age, he always preserved the same fervour in his religious exercises.

His

His age did not oblige him to use more delicate food than ordinary, nor to alter his clothing, nor to wash even so much as his feet. And yet he felt no inconvenience; his sight was not weakened, his teeth were only worn; he had not lost one of them. In short, he was stronger and more healthy than those who fed upon various kinds of food, who bathe themselves, and often change their cloaths. His disciples buried him as he had ordered, and none but those two knew the place of his burial.

St. Athanasius and St. Serapion of Thmouis received the garments which he left them, as a valuable treasure. They thought that they saw Anthony when they looked upon them, and when they wore them they thought that they carried his instructions about them. Without being master of any humane science, or any art to recommend him, his piety alone made him universally known; and his reputation soon spread, not only throughout the East, but as far as Rome, and into Africa, Spain, and Gaul. Although he could neither read nor write, there are some of his works remaining, which he dictated in the Egyptian, his native language, and which were translated into Greek, and from thence into Latin. Amongst these, there are seven letters, written in an apostolical stile and spirit, which he sent to several monasteries, the chief of which was to the Arsenoites. We find also under his name, a short Directory, containing forty eight articles, which is addressed to the Monks of Nacalon, who had sent to him for it.

St. Hilario was informed, by revelation, of St. Anthony's death, in Palestine, where he then was. Aristeneta, that Christian lady, whose three sons he cured when he first began to work miracles, coming to him, intimated, that she intended likewise to go to visit St. Anthony. Upon which he said to her, weeping, I would gladly go thither myself, was I not as a prisoner in this monastery, or if that journey could be of any use; but it is now two days since the world has been deprived of that good man. She believed what he said, and stopt her journey, and soon after received the news of St. Anthony's death. St. Hilario was at that time about sixty five years old; and he had been under a great affliction for two years, on account of the great number of people who had recourse to him, because of his miracles; so that he could not enjoy his solitude. In truth, every body came to him, Bishops, Priests, and whole troops of the Clergy and Monks, together with the Christian ladies; the people both of town and country, and even the judges, and those in the greatest authority, to receive from him either bread or oyl which he had blessed. The Brethren asking him what was the matter, and why he was afflicted? he said to them, I have returned to the world, and have received my reward in this life. Behold all Palestine, and the neighbouring provinces have an esteem for me, and under the pretence of a monastery and the wants of the Brethren, I possess lands and goods. The Brethren therefore watched him very carefully, particularly Hefychius the best beloved of his disciples.

At length he resolved to go away on a certain day, and caused an ass to be brought to him; for he was so brought down by fasting, that he could hardly walk. The news of his departure soon spread about, as if all Palestine had been threatened with destruction, and above ten thousand people of all ages and conditions assembled together to retain him. He would not suffer himself to be moved by their intreaties, but stirring the sand with his staff, he said, My God

Hier. de
Script. Bibl.
Patr. to. 3.
Cod. Regul.
init.

XXXVII.
St. Hilario
in Egypt.
Vit. Hilar.
c. 14.

c. 23.

c. 25.

A. D. 356. is not a deceiver ; I cannot see the Churches overturned, the altars of **JESUS CHRIST** trod under foot, and the blood of my children spilt. All the people that were by supposed, that some secret which he would not make known had been revealed to him, and they continually watched him, lest he should escape from them. He therefore resolved and protested openly, that he would neither eat nor drink if they would not let him go. After he had been seven days without receiving any thing, they at last left him ; whereupon he took leave of most of them, and set out with a vast multitude who attended him as far as Bethel near Gaza. There he dismissed them, and chose forty Monks, who carried their own provisions, and could walk fasting, i. e. without eating till after sun-set. On the fifth day he came to Pelusa, and visited the Brethren that were in the neighbouring desert, and at a place called Lych-nos : in three days he went to Thebara to visit the Bishop Dracontius, who was banished thither, and was greatly comforted by this visit. Three days after he with great difficulty got to Babylon in Egypt, to see the Bishop Philo, who was likewise banished by the persecution of the Arians. Two days after he came to the city Aphrodite, where he applied himself to the Deacon Baï-fanes, who used to lett Dromedaries to such as went to visit St. Anthony, for carrying of the water which they had occasion for in this desert. Then St. Hilario told the Brethren, that the time of St. Anthony's death approached, that is to say, the anniversary of it ; and that he had a mind to celebrate it by watching all night in the place where he died.

Sup. n. 33.

Vita Hilar.
c. 26.Sup. lib. 10.
n. 6.

AFTER travelling therefore, three days in an horrible desert, they came to the mountain of St. Anthony, where they found two Monks Isaac and Pelusius, the first of whom was the Saint's interpreter. This mountain consisted of a rock that was very steep, and extended about a mile ; from the foot of it flowed several springs, some of which were lost in the sand ; others running lower by degrees, formed a rivulet ; upon the borders of which grew abundance of palm trees, which made the place very pleasant and convenient. St. Hilario walked all over the place with the disciples of St. Anthony. Here it was, said they, that he sang, here he prayed ; there he laboured, and there he reposed when he was weary. He himself planted these vines and these little trees ; he tilled this piece of ground with his own hands ; he dug this basin with abundance of labour, to water his garden, and he used this hough to work with, several years together. St. Hilario laid himself upon his bed and kissed it as if it had been still warm. The cell contained no more space in length and breadth than what was necessary for a man to stretch himself in to sleep. Besides this, on the very top of the mountain, to which the ascent was very difficult, turning like a vine ; they found two cells of the same size ; to which he retired to avoid a number of visiters, and sometimes even the company of his disciples ; they were hewn in the rock, nothing but doors being added to them. When they came to the garden, Do you see, says Isaac, this little garden planted with trees and pot-herbs ? It is about three years ago since an herd of wild asses coming to destroy it, he stopt one of the first of them and striking him with his staff on the sides, said, Why do you eat what you did not sow ? From that time forward they only came thither to drink, without meddling with the trees or herbs. After this St. Hilario asked to see the place where he was buried ; they carried him to a by place, but it is uncertain whether

whether they shewed it him or not. They said, that St. Anthony had caused A. D. 356. it to be concealed, for fear that Pergamius who was a very rich man in those parts, should carry the body home and cause a church to be built for it.

AMONGST the disciples of St. Anthony, the most famous were Macarius, XXXVIII. Amathas, Sarmatas, Pithyrion, Isaac, Paphnutius, Paul the simple, Pior, Cro-^{The disciples of St. Anthony.} nus, Ammonas, and Hierax. Macarius and Amathas were they who served him the last fifteen years of his life, and took care of his burial. Macarius^{Vit. Posth. ap. Rosuv. p. 205.} was Abbot of Mount Pisper, where St. Anthony had lived, and he had five thousand Monks under his direction: we find an institution that bears his name. We must not confound him with St. Macarius the elder, or the Egyptian, who lived in the desert of Scetis; nor with St. Macarius of Alexandria: How-^{Cod. reg 46. Rosuv. p. 479. Ex Pallad. c. 19.} ever, St. Macarius the elder is said to be the disciple of St. Anthony; and this miracle is related of him amongst others. A man having been killed in the neighbourhood, an innocent person was accused of it, who fled to St. Macarius's cell; those who came to take him alledged, that they themselves would be in danger, if they did not deliver him over to justice: the accused person protested with an oath, that he had not the least knowledge of the murder. St. Macarius asked where the dead body was buried, and went to the place with them. Falling upon his knees, he invoked the name of JESUS CHRIST, and said to them, The LORD will shew if the person whom you pursue is really guilty; and so raising his voice he called upon the dead person by name. He answered from the sepulchre, and St. Macarius continued; I conjure you by the faith of JESUS CHRIST to declare, whether you was killed by this man whom they accuse. He answered plainly, that he was not the person who had killed him. Upon this the standers by being amazed, threw themselves at the Saint's feet, and besought him to ask the dead man who was the murderer. As for that, says he, I shall not ask him; it is sufficient for me that he is freed; it is not my business to discover the guilty. This is what was done by St. Macarius the elder.

SARMATAS was killed a little while after by the Saracens, in an in-road^{Hier. Chr. an. 358.} which they made upon St. Anthony's monastery. Pithyrion had the direction of certain Monks who lived in the grotto's near his last hermit's cell. Isaac lived there, and he was one of those whom St. Hilario found there. Paphnutius is the famous Bishop and Confessor, who lost an eye in the persecution, and who assisted at the council of Nice. St. Paul the simple did not embrace^{Vit. St. Ant. c. 30.} the monastick state until he was sixty years old; and by his obedience he attained to such a degree of sanctity, that he wrought greater miracles than St. Anthony, who sent those to him whom he could not heal himself. Pior arri-^{Sup. lib. 11. n. 2. Ruf. lib. 2. c. 31.} ved early to such perfection, that at twenty years of age St. Anthony allowed him to live wherever he pleased. He went into the desert, between Nitria and^{Pall. Lanf. c. 28.} Scetis, and lived thirty years in the same place, where he dug a well of a salt and bitter kind of water. He eat no more in a day than a loaf of six ounces^{Rosuv. p. 503.} weight and five olives; and besides, he made this meal whilst he was walking, to shew that he would not make a business of it. He went by St. Anthony's order to visit his sister, who earnestly desired it; but he remained^{Id. p. 570. n. 34. Pall. Lanf. c. 87.} without the door of the house, with his eyes shut. His sister transported with joy, fell down at his feet; he said to her, Here am I, Pior your Brother, behold

A.D. 356. behold me as long as you please ; and immediately after he returned to his desert.

Pall. Lanf. c. 23. 25. **Ruf. ii. c. 25.** **Pall. Lanf. c. 89.** **Monum. Græc. to. 1. p. 382.** **CROMUS** was likewise one of the interpreters of St. Anthony, for explaining in the Greek language, what the Saint spoke in the Egyptian. He was afterwards Priest of the Monastery of Nitria, and was remarkable for humility ; he lived above 110 years. Another Priest who was also named Cromus, governed a community of two hundred men near the tower of Phenix ; during the space of 60 years, all which time he was a Priest, and served at the altar ; he never left his desert and subsisted merely by the labour of his own hands. Ammonas lived at Scetis, and was ordained a Bishop. Several of St. Anthony's disciples took others, who founded and governed a great number of Monasteries. They needed no human assistance for these kind of settlements ; there was room enough for them in the desert ; in an hot country, they wanted but few clothes, and as to lodging, all that they wanted was shade, that is to say grottoes, or sheds made of reeds or other materials according to the difference of places. Their food was generally a little bread, which they got by their labour, and they had a great deal to spare for bestowing in alms. Thus they sought after no man, and those who sought after them were secular persons, drawn thither by their virtues and their miracles.

XXXIX.
St. Athanasius's apology to Constantius.
p. 673.

p. 674. D.

ST. ATHANASIUS took the opportunity of his retreat, for composing several pieces ; amongst the rest the apology addressed to the Emperor Constantius, in which he clears himself from all the calumnies, with which his enemies endeavoured to blacken him in the opinion of that Prince. In the beginning he destroys with one word all their old accusations ; by showing the great number of Bishops who had written in his favour, with the recantation of Ursatius and Valens, and that nothing had ever been transacted against him, but during his absence. But he enlarges upon the new accusations, especially those which personally concerned the Emperor Constantius. The first was, that Athanasius had spoken evil of him to the Emperor Constans his brother, and had endeavoured to set them at variance. He answers in the first place, by positively denying it, and calling God to witness ; then he shews the impossibility of it, forasmuch as he never spoke in private to the Emperor Constans ; but always in company with the Bishop of the place, and others who happened to be there. As witnesses of this, he challenges Hosius, Fortunatian Bishop of Aquileia, Crispin of Padua, Lucillus of Verona, and Vincent of Capua. And since, says he, Maximin of Treves, and Protasius of Milan are dead, Eugenius who was master of the offices, can bear witness of it ; for he stood before the curtain, and heard what we desired of the Emperor, and what he said to us.

Sup. lib. 12. n. 14.

HE gives an exact account of his voyage into Italy, when Gregory was thrust into his place. Leaving Alexandria, says he, I did not go to your brother's court, nor to any other place but to Rome ; and committing the care of my affairs to the Church, I constantly attended the publick prayers. I did not write to your brother, except when the Eusebians wrote against me, and when I was obliged to defend my self, being still at Alexandria ; and when I sent him the copies of the holy Scripture, which he had ordered me to procure for him. After three years, he wrote to me to come to him at Milan. I

asked

asked the reason, and was informed, that certain Bishops had intreated him A.D. 356. to write to you to assemble a council. When I came to Milan he expressed abundance of kindness to me; he would needs see me, and told me, that he had written and sent to you, to desire that a council might be held. He obliged me to come a second time into Gaul, where Hosius was arrived, that we might go from thence to Sardica. Being at Naissa after the council, he wrote to me; I returned to Aquilea; I staid there, and I there received your letters. He sent for me again another time; I returned into Gaul, and afterwards came to you. At what time then, in what place, in whose presence am I accused of having spoken thus? Call to mind, my lord, you who have so good a memory, what I said to you when I had the honour to see you; the first time at Viminia; the second at Caesarea in Cappadocia; the third at Antioch; consider whether I spoke evil to you of the Eusebians my calumniators. Could I then have been so mad as to speak evil of an Emperor to an Emperor, and of a brother to his brother.

THE second head of accusation was, that Athanasius had written to the tyrant Magnentius: the Arians alledged that they even had a copy of the letter. When I was informed, says he, of this calumny, I was in a manner out of my senses; I spent whole nights without sleeping; I attacked my accusers as if they had been present; I at first cried out aloud; I prayed unto GOD with tears and groans, that you might give me a favourable hearing. Afterwards he calls GOD to witness, that he had never known Magnentius, and shews what reason he had to detest him, as being the murderer of the Emperor Constantius his benefactor, and of those who had charitably received him at Rome, viz. Eutropia the mother of three Emperors, Abuttrius, Sperantius, and several others: that besides, he was an impious wretch, addicted to magicians and enchanters. He takes for witnesses of this, the ambassadors whom Mag-Sup. n. 3. Magnentius sent to Constantius, viz. the Bishops Servais and Maximus, and the Laicks who attended them, Clementius and Valens; for they had passed by Alexandria. Ask them, says he, if they brought me any letters; for that had been a good opportunity for me to write to him. On the contrary, when I saw Clementius I called to mind your brother of blessed memory; and as it is written, I watered my garments with my tears. He also calls to witness Felicissimus, who was then Duke of Egypt, and several other officers, that upon that occasion he said, Let us pray for the safety of the most pious Emperor Constantius; and that the people cried out with one voice, CHRIST preserve Constantius, and grant him long to live. This form of prayer is remarkable; and in the eleventh century we still find this kind of Litanies. As to the letter, of Baluf. Misc. P. 143. to. 2. which the Arians pretended to have copies, he says, that very probably they might have counterfeited his hand, because they even counterfeited the Emperor's; and that writing is not to be depended upon, unless it be owned. He asks where they found this letter, and who gave it them: For, says he, I have writers I will produce them; and the tyrant had people to receive his letters, whom you may send for. If I was accused before any other judge, I should appeal to the Emperor; being accused before you, whom can I invoke? whom but the Father of him who hath said, I am the truth; and thereupon he addressed his prayer to GOD. This, continues he, does not concern a pecuniary matter, but the glory of the Church; do not leave any suspicion against her, that

A.D. 356. that Christians, and especially Bishops, write such letters and form such designs. We see how jealous the saints were of their fidelity to their princes; and that in these matters the Bishops themselves acknowledge no other judges upon earth.

XL.
The continuation of the apology.

THE third accusation was, of having celebrated Divine service in the great church of Alexandria, before it was consecrated. Yes, says he, we did do it I confess; but we did not celebrate the dedication; it was not lawful to do it without your order. This he says, because that church was built at the Emperor's expence, from whence it took the name of *Cæsar's Church*. He proceeds, This assembly was held without any design, and without being appointed: there was no Bishop called to it, nor any other Clerk; every body knows how it happened. It was then the festival of Easter; the people were very numerous: there were but few Churches, and those very small. The people made a great out-cry, and desired to assemble in the great church. I exhorted them to stay and to assemble in the other churches as well as they could, though with some inconvenience; they did not hear me, but were just going to assemble in the open air in the desarts, chusing rather to suffer the fatigue of the journey than to spend the festival in sorrow. And indeed, in the Lent assemblies there had been several children, several old women, and several young persons of both sexes, so hurt by the croud, that they were carried away to their houses; for though no body was killed, every one complained; and it would have been much worse on the day of the festival, since the joy would then have been turned into mourning.

p. 685. B.

IN this I followed the example of our fathers. Alexander of blessed memory assembled the people in the church of Theonas, which was then esteemed the largest, and which he was then building, because the other churches were too small. I saw the same thing done at Treves and Aquilea, where they assembled the people in the churches, which were unfinished; and your brother of blessed memory assisted at Aquilea at such an assembly. It was not therefore a dedication, but an ordinary assembly. Would it have been more proper to assemble in desert and open places, where the Pagans might have stopped as they passed by, than in a place shut up with walls and doors, which shews the difference between Christians and prophane persons? Would it have been better for the people to have been separated, and dangerously crouded in several churches, than assembled all in one place; since there was one that would hold them all, where they might pray and say Amen with one voice, to shew the union of their hearts? What satisfaction is it to the people to be thus united, instead of being divided as heretofore! Besides, the prayers that have been said in that church are no hindrance to its being solemnly dedicated, when there is an opportunity. St. Athanasius therefore did not condemn this ceremony of dedicating churches, because he defends himself so seriously upon this article; but he thought, that in cases of necessity they might make use of a church before it was dedicated.

Sup. n. 11.
Sup. n. 26.

THE fourth and last article of accusation was, his having disobeyed the Emperor, by refusing several times to go out of Alexandria. I did not, says he, resist your orders, God forbid that I should! I am not considerable enough to oppose the treasurer of a city, much less so great an Emperor. Afterwards, he gives an account of all that had happened, viz. the Emperor's letter

letter brought by Montanus, which supposed that Athanasius desired to go A.D. 356. into Italy; the arrival of Diogenes six months after; the threatnings of Syrianus; the letter which the Emperor had formerly sent him by Palladius and Asterius, exhorting him to continue in his Church. His defence upon this article amounted to this; that having received the Emperor's orders to return to his church, and to continue there; and having received none for leaving it, he was obliged to continue there. Add to this his duty in general as a Bishop, and his knowing in particular to what danger he exposed his flock, if he abandoned it to the Arians. He afterwards gives an account of the violent proceedings of Syrianus; his retreat, and his intention of going to the Emperor, Sup. n. 27. and his being hindered from it, because he was informed of the persecution Sup. n. 34. that raged in the West, and even in Egypt itself, and by the Emperor's letters to the people of Alexandria, and to the Princes of Auxuma. This, says he, is what obliged me to return into the desert; for finding so many Bishops persecuted, because they would not renounce communion with me, and even virgins themselves so basely treated; I perceived that my enemies aimed at my life. I p. 700. B. retired, to let their fury pass over, and to give you an opportunity of making use of your clemency: Deign to receive this apology, restore all the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks to their country and to their Churches, that the malice of calumniators may be seen; and that you may say with confidence to JESUS CHRIST the King of kings, both now and at the day of judgment, Of those that were yours I have lost none. Such is the apology of St. Athanasius to Theod. lib. 1. c. 14. in fi. the Emperor Constantius. He at the same time wrote discourses of comfort to the virgins, whom the Arians persecuted, so far as to refuse them burial.

AMONGST the Confessors who were banished upon account of St. Athanasius, the most remarkable is St. Eusebius of Vercellæ: He was at Scythopolis in Palestine, under the power of Patrophilus, one of the oldest and most zealous of the Arians. St. Eusebius was visited by several people, and amongst XLI. The sufferings of St. Eusebius of Vercellæ. others by Syrus the Deacon and Victorinus the exorcist, who brought him letters and gifts from his own and some neighbouring Churches, viz. those of Novara, Rheggium and Tortona. The Deacon Syrus went forward to visit the holy places; and in the mean time the Arians took St. Eusebius from his lodgings, which they themselves had assigned him by the Emperor's agents; and they violently dragged him away along the streets, almost naked, with his face downwards. They put him into another house, where they kept him four days shut up in a little room, alledging, that they had received authority to this purpose from the Emperor. Thither they came and reproached him, urging him to come over to their opinions; but he gave up his body to them as to executioners, without answering them a word. It is reported, that, amongst other torments, Serm. 16. Append. Ad St. Amb. n. 6. they dragged him with his face downwards up and down a pair of stairs: They would not suffer the Priests and Deacons to come and visit him as formerly, and threatened to shut out every body else. Upon which he made a protest against them, which begins thus: Eusebius, the servant of God, together with the rest of his servants who suffer with me for the faith, to Patrophilus the jaylor, and his accomplices. After reproaching them with their violent proceedings, he declares to them; that he will neither eat bread, nor drink water, until they have all promised him, and that in writing, not to hinder his Brethren, who suffer for the same cause, from coming to see him, and bringing him necessary provisions

A.D. 356. visions from their own home ; otherwise he protests, that they will be guilty of his death, and that he will write to all the Churches, that the whole world may know what the Catholicks suffer from the Arians. After subscribing it, he adds, I conjure you, who read this letter, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, not to suppress it ; but to cause it to be read to others.

AFTER he had continued thus four days without eating, they sent him back fasting to his former lodging ; all the people received him with joy, and surrounded the house with lamps. St. Eusebius then began again to make calculations ; which the Arians could not bear ; and therefore after twenty five days they returned to his lodging with a great number of desperate wretches armed with sticks, and having broke down the wall of the next house, they fell upon him with great violence, carried him away again, and shut him in a very close prison, with a Priest named Figrinus. They also carried away and shut up several other Priests and Deacons, who attended him ; and three days after, of their own private authority, sent them into banishment into different places. Others who came to see him, were shut up for several days in the publick prison ; and not satisfied with imprisoning those who served him, they also shut up several religious persons : then returning to his lodging, they plundered all that they could find there, whether belonging to himself, or to the poor ; and as all the city murmured at it, they restored some goods of small value, but kept the money. In the mean time they hindered all his friends from carrying him any food ; and as he would take none from them, he remained six days without receiving any nourishment, and so was ready to die with weakness. At last, on the sixth day, being pressed by the out-cries of several persons, they suffered one of his friends to relieve him.

THE Deacon Syrus was not seized with the rest, because he was gone to visit the holy places. When he returned, St. Eusebius found means to convey a letter to him, though they guarded him very strictly, to prevent his writing. This letter, which is still remaining, is addressed to those Churches which had written to him. He begins with expressing the great comfort which he had received, by hearing that they continued firm in the faith, according to his instructions ; then he relates to them the persecutions which he had undergone, and concludes with a general salutation, which he intreats them to be satisfied with ; because, says he, I am too much oppressed to name every one of you in particular, as I used to do. St. Eusebius was visited amongst others by St. Epiphanius, who was of the same country, being born in Palestine near Eleutheropolis, and he had there spent his youth in a monastick life under St. Hilario, St. Hesychius, and the rest of the most excellent Monks. He had lived a long while in Egypt, and might then be about forty five years old. St. Eusebius was lodged with Count Joseph ; and St. Epiphanius heard from that Count's own mouth his story as hereafter related : The occasion of his conversion ; his obstinacy in resisting revelations and miracles ; the persecutions which he suffered from the Jews ; and the Emperor Constantine's protection. He had built several considerable houses at Scythopolis, and he there lived magnificently, but could not have subsisted any longer, had he not been supported by his office as a Count ; for he was a declared enemy to the Arians, who prevailed in that city, by means of the interest which their Bishop had there, on account of his riches and intimacy with the Emperor Constantius : They flattered Count

Soz. vi. c. 32.

Epiph. Hæref.

30. n. 4.

Sup. xi. n. 35.

Count Joseph to draw him over to their party, and induce him to become one of the Clergy, by giving him hopes of the Episcopal dignity itself; but lest they should force him to be ordained, he married again after the death of his wife. He was about seventy years of age when St. Epiphanius learned this account of him, by visiting St. Eusebius at his house, who was banished again two several times after, first into Cappadocia, afterwards into the Thebais of Egypt, which was his third time of being banished.

Hier. Script.
Theod. iii.
c. 4.

THE Gallican Church preserved the faith in its original purity by Scripture and tradition, without having occasion for confessions of faith written upon paper. It is true, that Saturninus Bishop of Arles favoured the Arians, being closely united with Ursatius and Valens. But, besides the suspicion of heresy, he was a man both of corrupt principles and manners, given to passion, and very factious; for which reason, most of the Bishops of Gaul, of whom the most famous was St. Hilary of Poitiers, separated from the communion of Saturninus, Ursatius, and Valens; allowing the rest of those who were of their party leave to repent, provided that this decree was approved by the Confessors who were banished for the faith. After this, Saturninus and those of his faction did however so far prevail, that the same Bishops who had condemned them were forced to come to the council of Beziers, and St. Hilary summoned thither the protectors of the heresy, inviting the Bishops that were there assembled to take cognizance thereof: But the hereticks who were afraid of being condemned in publick, would not suffer him to be heard. Saturninus sent to the Emperor Constantius a false account of what had passed at the council; and although St. Hilary made his complaint, and Julian the Cæsar, who was then in Gaul, was a witness of it; the Arians made light of him, and deceived the Emperor, from whom they obtained an order for banishing St. Hilary and sending him into Phrygia. They also caused Rhodarius Bishop of Toulouse to be banished, who, although he was naturally a man of less resolution than Hilary, supported himself against them by means of his union with him. The Clergy of the Church of Toulouse were abused, being beaten with sticks, and the Deacons bruised with balls of lead. Rhodarius the Bishop died in his banishment in Phrygia as well as Paulinus Bishop of Treves.

XLII.
The banish-
ment of St.
Hilary.
Hilar. de
Syn. p. 348.
D.
Edit. Paris.
1605.
Sever. Sulp.
lib. 2. p. 416.
435. edit.
varior.
Hilar. 1. in
Const. init.
p. 286. B.
Ad Const. 3.
init.
Sever. Sulp. a.
p. 412.
Hilar. in
Const. p. 293.
Sulp. Sev. 2.
p. 436.

St. Hilary was born at Poitiers, of one of the most illustrious families of Gaul. He studied the prophane sciences very successfully, and applied himself particularly to eloquence, imitating the stile of Quintilian. All this happened whilst he was still a Pagan; for he did not become a Christian till he was advanced in years; and he thus gives an account of the motives of his conversion: I considered, says he, that the most desirable state, according to sense, was enjoying abundance of ease; but that this happiness is common to us with the beasts. I found then that man's happiness must be something of a more exalted nature, and I placed it in the practice of virtue, and the knowledge of truth. Our present life being nothing but a chain of miseries, it seemed to me that we received it only for exercising our patience, moderation, and goodness; and that GOD, who is infinitely good, had not given us life to make us miserable by depriving us of it. My soul eagerly pursued the knowledge of that GOD, who is the author of all good; for I plainly perceived the absurdity of all that the Pagans taught concerning the Divine Being, dividing it into several persons of both sexes, attributing it to animals, statues, and other insensible things: I perceived

Fortun. vit.
lib. 1.
Hier. ep. 84.
Hilar. de
Trin. i.

A.D. 356. perceived that there could be but one GOD, eternal, omnipotent, and immutable.

BEING full of these thoughts, I with admiration read these words of the books of Moses, *I am that I am*. And in Isaiah: *The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*. And again, *Who meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure?* The first figure shews that every thing is subject to GOD; and the second, that he is above every thing. I perceived that he is the source of every thing that is good, and of infinite goodness; in one word I conceived, that I ought to consider him as incomprehensible. I carried my desires still farther, and wished that these good notions which I had of GOD were attended with an eternal reward. This seemed to me to be reasonable; but the weakness of my body and of my mind too, made me fearful; when the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles discovered to me more than I durst hope for, particularly the beginning of the gospel of St. John. Thus St. Hilary relates the motives of his conversion. He was married, and had a daughter named Apra; and both the mother and daughter were Christians as well as he. Whilst he was still a laick he led a very good life, and separated himself very carefully from the Jews and Hereticks. The people of Poitiers with one consent desired him for their Bishop, and it is thought that he succeeded Maxentius or Maixans, the brother of St. Maximin of Treves. There was no other Bishop put in St. Hilary's place, during his exile; but he continued to govern his Church by his Priests.

XLIII. AT Constantinople the persecution against the Catholics was very great, under Macedonius the Arian Bishop; and his conduct in that See was no less violent than his entry into it, being assisted by Eleusius and Marathonius. This last was the *Numerarius* or Paymaster of the officers belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorii*: Having raised a great estate in this office, he quitted it, and undertook to govern the hospitals of the sick, and other poor; and afterwards by the persuasion of Eustathius Bishop of Sebasta, he embraced the Ascetick life, and founded a monastery at Constantinople; he was a Deacon of that Church, and took care of several monasteries of men and women: at length Macedonius made him Bishop of Nicomedia. Eleusius had a considerable post at court, and Macedonius made him Bishop of Cyzicus. Both Eleusius and Marathonius were accounted men of upright lives; but were very zealous against the defenders of the Consubstantiality of the Word; but, however, with less heat than Macedonius.

THIS last obtained an edict from the Emperor, which he caused to be affixed to the city gates and put in execution by force of arms; by virtue of which, the defenders of the Consubstantiality were to be driven, not only from the Churches, but from their cities, and their churches were to be thrown down. He went farther, and forced the Catholics to communicate with the Arians, by the same violent methods which the Pagans had made use of during the persecutions: For they either banished the Catholics, or confiscated their estates, marking them upon the forehead with hot irons, beating them, and making them undergo all manner of torments; and some even died under them. There are several martyrs supposed to have suffered upon this occasion; amongst the rest two, who had lived with the holy Bishop Paul, and who served him as secretaries; these were Martyrius the Deacon and Martian the Chanter and Reader.

Reader. Macedonius delivered them to the Præfect, and caused them to be A.D. 356. condemned to death, as having been the cause of the massacre of Hermogenes, *Sup. lib. 12.* and the sedition which was raised at that time. They suffered very resolutely, *n. 21.* and were buried without the city, in a place where criminals were executed; but miracles having been afterwards wrought there, the place was purified, and a church built thereon, as it were for a tomb for the martyrs. It was begun by St. John Chrysostom and finished by Siscunius. The Church honours their memory on the twenty fifth of October.

As the Novatians believed the Word to be Consubstantial, they were com- *Socr. ii. c. 27.* prehended with the Catholicks in this persecution. Agelius their Bishop fled; *Soz. iv. c. 20.* several of those who were esteemed the most pious amongst them were taken and ill treated, because they would not communicate with Macedonius. After beating them, they were forced to partake of the sacrament, which was put into their mouths, being opened with a gag. The Arians forced away the women and children which were not yet baptized, and baptized them whether they would or no; if they resisted, they beat them, put them in prison, and made them undergo the most cruel tortures: For instance, there were some women whose breasts they cut off by squeezing them between the rim and lid of a trunk, because they would not partake of the sacrament: Others they burnt, by applying to them hot irons or burning eggs. Two Novatians, viz. Auxanon, afterwards a Priest, and Alexander a Paphlagonian, who led an Ascetic life together, were tortured and put in prison. Alexander died by this usage; and the Novatians afterwards built a church to him as to a martyr. Auxanon lived a great while after, and it is from him that the historian Socrates tells us that he learned all these particulars.

THE Emperor's edict, which served as a foundation for these violent pro- *A. D. 357.* ceedings of Macedonius, ordered their churches to be thrown down, who believed the Consubstantiality; and so he caused one of the three which the Novatians had at Constantinople to be destroyed: But they immediately assembled in such numbers, that in a little space they carried away all the materials to the other side of the sea, into a place called Sycai. Some carried tiles, others pieces of wood; the women and children worked at it very diligently, as for the service of God; and thus the church was presently rebuilt. But the Emperor Julian having afterwards restored their ancient site to them, they carried back the materials, rebuilt their church more beautiful than before, and called it Anastasia, i. e. Risen again. There was then made some overtures of a reconciliation between the Catholicks and Novatians; for the Catholicks having no longer any churches at Constantinople, chose rather to assemble with them in the churches which they still retained, than with the Arians, whom they had in abhorrence; but the jealousy of certain Novatians hindered the re-union under pretence of an old prohibition alledged by them. Eleusius seconding *Ibid. c. 20.* Macedonius, whom he had made Bishop of Cyzicus, threw down the church which the Novatians held there; and Macedonius knowing that in Paphlagonia there was a great number of Novatians, and more especially at Mantinea, procured, by order of the Emperor, four companies of soldiers to be sent thither, for to force them to receive the doctrine of Arius: the Novatians brought to despair, prepared for defence, and arming themselves with sythes, hammers, and such things as came first to hand, marched to meet the soldiers; they fought, many

A.D. 357. many of the Paphlagonians were killed, and but very few of the soldiers escaped. This action rendered Macedonius odious, even to those of his own party, and greatly displeased the Emperor: But he exasperated him a great deal more by another enterprize. The church of the Apostles at Constantinople grew ruinous, and prayers could not be performed in it without danger. Macedonius intended to take away the body of Constantine the Great, which was there interred, which the people opposed as if it had been a crime, though some maintain that it was lawful to remove it, insomuch, that the people were divided into two parties; and those that defended the Consubstantiality of the Word were those who opposed the designs of Macedonius, either out of personal aversion to him, or out of affection to the memory of Constantine; they came to blows, and many men were slain, insomuch, that the court before the church and the hollow places that were in it were filled with blood in such quantities that it ran out into the adjoining gallery and into the street: The Emperor Constantius being apprized of this tumult, was extremely angry with Macedonius, as well for the death of so many men, as for his insolence in meddling with his Father's body.

Chr. Pasch.
Chr. Hier.
an. 357.

359.
Idat. Fasti.

an. 356, 357.
Hier. in Vi-
gilant. c. 2.

XLIV.
Constantius
at Rome.
Idat. Fast.
Chr. Pasch.
Amm. Marc.
Lib. 16. c. 10.
Sup. n. 7.

Amm. xxi.
c. 16.
Theod. ij.
c. 17.

WE find about this time many relicks translated to Constantinople; those of St. Timothy the disciple of St. Paul and first Bishop of Ephesus were carried thither with the highest respect on the first of June, in the eighth consulate of Constantius, and the first of Julian, viz. in the year 356. They were deposited in the church of the Apostles under the holy table: the next year 357, on the third of March were carried to Constantinople the relicks of St. Luke and St. Andrew the Apostles, by the care of the Emperor Constantius, and they were solemnly deposited in the same Church of the Apostles.

DURING these transactions Constantius still remained in the West; having staid a considerable time at Milan, he went to Rome to celebrate the twentieth year of his reign; he made a solemn entry into the city, being accompanied by his Empress Eusebia on the fourth of the calends of May in his ninth consulate, and in the second of Julian, that is to say, on the twenty eighth of April, in the year 357. Constantius had never before seen Rome, and entered it now in triumph for the defeat of Magnentius whom he had six years before vanquished in a civil war, which was not a proper occasion for a triumph. Constantius behaved himself there with so much state, and such an affected gravity, as discovered much more vanity than greatness of soul, and admired Rome much more than Rome admired him. What was chiefly remarked of him was, that in publick he never blowed his nose, spit, nor turned his face from one side to the other. The wives of those who possessed the chief dignities and employments of the city, desired their husbands to petition the Emperor for the return of Liberius Bishop of Rome, who had been banished two years before; but they answered, that they feared the anger of the Emperor; that perhaps he would be inexorable to men, but might have more regard to their sex, and would perhaps comply with their requests, or at least if he did not, he would not punish them for it. The ladies followed the advice of their husbands; and being dressed in their magnificent habits that they used to wear, presented themselves before the Emperor, to the end, that judging of their quality by their dress, he might receive them with the more respect.

THEY

THEY besought him therefore to have compassion on that great city which was deprived of its shepherd, and exposed to the fury of the wolves. Constantius answered, that Rome had a shepherd capable of ruling it, without having occasion for another, by which he meant Felix. The Roman ladies answered, that no one would enter the church whilst Felix was there; for that though he himself professed the Nicene faith, yet that he communicated with the corrupters of it. The Emperor suffered himself to be prevailed on, and having consulted with the Bishops who accompanied him, he ordered, that if Liberius would conform himself to their opinions, he should be recalled from banishment and govern the Church jointly with Felix. When the letters that bore this edict were read in the Circus, the people cried out, that it was unjust, and as there were two factions in the Circus, distinguished by different colours, each of them, said they, shall have their different Pastor. Having said this in ridicule of the Emperor's decree, they all cried out with one voice, One GOD, One CHRIST, One Bishop.

WHILST Constantius was at Rome, he caused the altar of victory, at which the Pagans used to swear, to be taken away from the place where the Senate were accustomed to assemble. The beginning of the former year he had made one law, forbidding, under pain of death, the sacrificing to or adoring of idols; and another, by which he forbade the consulting of Aruspices, of Astrologers, Augurs, Diviners, Magicians, and Enchanters; in a word, he forbade all sorts of conjuring and witchcraft, under pain of death; besides which, he made another law the same year 357, against Magicians, particularly against those who disturbed the elements, attempted against mens lives, and pretended to raise the ghosts of the dead. He forbade both the soldiers and palatines, that is to say, the officers of the palace fighting as gladiators in the publick shows at Rome. Constantine had already abolished these shows in the East, but at Rome it was doing a great deal for to abate their licentiousness. Constantius made also the same year, a law in favour of such Clerks as had the care of burials; he exempted them by a special privilege from the Lustral tax, which was paid by all tradesmen.

THE Emperor Constantius staid but a month at Rome, which leaving on the twenty ninth of May, he returned to Milan, where he remained till December, when he set out for Illyria and stopped at Sirmium. The Arians there composed a Creed, which is the second that they made in that city, and is chiefly attributed to Potamius Bishop of Lisbon. It begins thus: It being judged proper to write concerning the faith, all things having been examined and carefully explained in presence of our most holy brothers Valens, Ursatius, and Germanius, it is agreed, that there is but one GOD the Father Almighty, as is acknowledged by all the world, and one JESUS CHRIST his only Son our LORD and SAVIOUR, begot before all ages: that we can not, nor ought not to acknowledge two GODS, since our LORD himself said, *I will go to my Father, and your Father, to my GOD and your GOD.* This proof shews, that the authors of this Creed exalt the unity of GOD, that they might attribute the Divine nature to the Father only, by excluding the Son. They discovered themselves still more afterwards, when they say, We agreed upon all the rest without difficulty; but some, though few in number, being struck with the word *Substance*, which in Greek is called *ὕλη*; that is to say, in order

Sozom. i. c. vij.

at Relat. Symn. Ap. Ambr. L. 6. Cod. Theod. de Pagi, lib. 16. L. 4. de Malef. Cod. & ibi. Goth. lib. 9. L. 5. ibid. L. 2. Cod. Theod. de Gladiat. l. 15. L. 1. ibid. de Lustr. Cod. lib. 13. & ibid. Gothofr. Sup. n. 10.

XLV. The second formulary of Sirmium.— The fall of Hosius. 1. Amm. xv. 10. Idat. Fast. Pagi, 357. n. 2. Ap. Hilar. de Syn. p. 323. Ap. Arhan. de Syn. p. 902. Ap. Socr. ii. c. 30. Joan. xx. 17.

A. D. 357. to explain more clearly the terms *ὁμοούσιον* or *ὁμοιούσιον*; it has been judged necessary to make no mention of them; as well because they are not found in Scripture, as because the generation of the Son is above man's comprehension. This is the principal poyson of this formulary; for by forbidding them to say, that the Son is *Consubstantial*, they are given to understand that he is of *another Sub-stance*, or made out of nothing, like creatures. They add, No body can doubt but that the Father is greater in honour, dignity, glory and majesty, even by the name of Father, because the Son says, *He that hath sent me is greater than I*. And all the world knows that it is a Catholick doctrine, that there are two persons of the Father and the Son; that the Father is greater; that the Son is subject, with all these things that the Father hath made subject to him. That the Father is without beginning, invisible, immortal, impassible; whereas the Son is born of the Father, GOD of GOD and Light of Light. He took a body of the virgin Mary; that is to say, *Manhood*; by which and with which he suffered. All these expressions tend to make the Son of a different nature from the Father, and even capable of suffering.

Libell. Marcel. & Faust. p. 34.

POTAMIUS, the author of this Creed, was Bishop of Lisbon in Lusitania. At first he maintained the Catholick faith, but afterwards betrayed it, in order to obtain a parcel of confiscated land, which he had a mind for. Hosius acquainted the Bishops of Spain with it, and caused him to be rejected as an heretick. Potamius likewise complained of him to the Emperor Constantius, and was one of the authors of the persecution, which this venerable old man suffered, and which he yielded under at last, and this is the time of his fall. He afterwards continued a year at Sirmium, as it were in banishment; and the Emperor upon his account persecuted all his relations, and proceeded even to open violence against his person, not respecting his age and dignity: For Hosius was above a hundred years old, and had been a Bishop above sixty years; he had been a confessor in the persecution; the Bishops looked upon him as their father, and he had been the conductor of all the councils that had been held for a long time. However, Constantius caused him to be scourged, and exposed to the most painful tortures; insomuch, that the weakness of his body overcoming his mind and courage, he yielded for some time by subscribing to the Creed drawn up by Potamius, and communicated with Ursatius and Valens in the council that was then held at Sirmium; but he did not subscribe to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. Thus he obtained liberty to return into Spain and die at his Bishoprick; but he did not long survive his crime, though he did not neglect it; for when he was dying, he protested by a sort of testament, against this violence; he anathematized the heresy of Arius, and exhorted every body to reject it.

Athan. de Fuga. p. 203. D. 70. A. Socr. ii. hist. c. 31. Sulp. Sev. lib. 2. p. 417. Athan. apol. 2. p. 807. B. Sozom. 4. hist. c. 12. Athan. ad sol. p. 841. D. Philost. iv. c. 3. Athan. ibid.

XLVI. The fall of Liberius. Liber. ep. 10. ad Vinc. Ep. 7. Sup. a. 6.

LIBERIUS Bishop of Rome had now been two years in exile, and the hardship of it was increased, by depriving him of a Deacon named Urbicus whom he had with him. Fortunatianus Bishop of Aquilea was the first who solicited him to yield to the Emperor's desire; and would not let him rest till he had subscribed. Demophilus Bishop of Berea, to which place Liberius was banished, brought him the confession of faith of Sirmium; that is, according to the most probable opinion, the first which was composed against Photinus in the council that was held in the year 351, at which Demophilus himself had assisted; which tacitly suppressed the terms *Consubstantial*,

stantial, and like in Substance; but, which, in other respects might have A.D. 357: been forbidden, as it had been by St. Hilary. Liberius approved it, and sub- De Syn. scribed to it as Catholick; he renounced St. Athanasius's communion, and p. 340, &c. embraced that of the Eastern Bishops, that is of the Arians. He therefore gave Liber. epist. Fortunatianus a letter for the Emperor Constantius, entreating him, that for 9. in fragm. the sake of peace and concord, he would send him back to his Church; and like- Hilar. p. 417. wise recall his legates, and the rest of the Bishops that were banished. After- Liber. ep. 7. wards he wrote to the Bishops of the East in these terms: I do not defend A- p. 426. thanasius; but only because Julius, my predecessor of blessed memory, received him, I was afraid of being thought to have betrayed the cause; but when it pleased God to convince me, that you had justly condemned him, I immediately consented to it; and I gave Fortunatianus our brother the letters which I wrote to the Emperor upon that subject. Thus rejecting Athanasius, whose letters I do not so much as receive from our communion; I declare that I will maintain peace and union with you, and with all the Bishops throughout all the provinces of the East. And that you may know more fully the sincerity with which I speak to you; our brother Demophilus having proposed to me the true Catholick faith, which several of our brethren the Bishops, have examined at Sirmium, I received it willingly, without making any objections to it. Moreover, I desire, as you find I agree with you in all things, that you will labour in common with me, to the end that I may be recalled from banishment, and return to the See which God hath committed to my charge.

He wrote likewise to Vincent of Capua, who had been one of his deputies, and had suffered himself to be gained over by the Emperor. Beseech the Ep. 10. LORD, says he, to grant me patience; our dear son the Deacon Urbicus, who Sup. n. 10; was my comfort, hath been taken from me by Venerius the Emperor's agent. For which reason I thought it proper to inform you, that I have withdrawn myself from that dispute, of which Athanasius was the subject; and that I have written to our brethren the Bishops of the East. We have peace on all sides; make it known to all the Bishops of Campania, and write to the Emperor about it; that I may also be delivered from this great affliction. He added with his own hand, We have peace with all the Bishops of the East, and I with you in particular. I have discharged my self before God; It is your business now to see whether you would have me perish as an exile. The LORD will judge between you and me. Thus did Liberius Bishop of Rome abandon St. Athanasius, whose cause was then inseparable from that of the faith.

In the mean time St. Athanasius wrote an apology to justify his flight against the calumnies of the Arians, particularly Leontius of Antioch, Narcissus of Neronias, and George of Laodicea, who accused him of cowardice. XLVII: St. Athanasius's letters to the Monks. Athan. p. 701. He shews how ill it becomes his persecutors to upbraid him with this, and fully justifies himself by the authority of the Scriptures, and by the examples of To. 1. the Prophets, Apostles, and even of JESUS CHRIST himself. He about this time wrote the letter to the Monks; as appears by his saying, that Leontius then held the See of Antioch, which cannot extend further than the beginning of the year 358. This letter was a large treatise, consisting of two p. 812. C: parts; the first, dogmatical, which is lost; the second, historical; the greatest p. 808, part of which remains, with the preface of the whole work: He therein begins with observing, that it is to satisfy their repeated desires that he writes them an account of his own sufferings, and of those of the Church; and that he

A.D. 357. undertakes to confute the heresy of the Arians : But, adds he, the more I endeavoured to write, the more I strove to consider the Divinity of the Word, and the knowledge of it withdrew still farther from me, and I found that I was so much the farther off, by as much as I imagined myself to comprehend it ; for I could not even write what I thought I understood, and that which I wrote was still above the faint shadow of truth which I had in my mind. I intended several times to abandon my enterprize, and it is only that I may not afflict you, and not give advantage by my silence, to those who contend with you, that I have constrained myself to write something and to send it to you : For, although we are far from comprehending it, by reason of the weakness of the flesh, it is nevertheless very possible to discover the folly of the wicked. Though it is impossible to comprehend what GOD is, it is possible to say what he is not. Thus is it with respect to the Son of GOD ; it is easy to condemn what hereticks advance, and to say, The Son of GOD is not this or that ; it is not even lawful to entertain such thoughts, much less to utter them with the tongue.

I HAVE therefore written to you according to my power ; receive it, my dear brethren, not as a perfect explanation of the divinity of the Word, but only as a confutation of the impiety of such as are enemies to it, and as a means of defending the sound doctrine. But if there is any thing wanting in it, and I believe it wanting in every respect, pardon me for it sincerely ; and at least receive my good intention for defending the truth. And afterwards, When you have read this, pray for us, and excite one another to do so. But send it back to me again immediately, without suffering any body whatsoever to take a copy of it ; and do not copy it your selves, but be content with reading it, although you may be desirous of reading it several times : For it is not safe to let the writings of such ignorant men as I am, who are but bablers, be handed down to posterity. Thus did the most sublime Theologist of his time, and perhaps of all the Greek Church, speak of his own doctrine. After this preface, the second part of the main work follows, which is the history of the persecutions of St. Athanasius ; but, however, it is imperfect, and does not begin till after the council of Tyre, in the year 335. It concludes with

p. 841. D. the violent proceedings which followed upon the intrusion of George ; and
p. 837. A mentions the fall of Hosius and that of Liberius, by which we find, that this work could not be written before the year 357.

Sup. n. 28. St. Athanasius therein confutes the pretences by which the Emperor Constantius endeavours to colour over his persecution, in a letter written to the people of Alexandria, and published by Count Heraclius. Constantius said, that he had not permitted St. Athanasius to return, but only with an intention

p. 843. D. of yielding for a time to the friendship of his brother Constans. St. Athanasius answers, That his promises then were deceitful, that he had no longer any value for his brother after his death, although he had supported a civil war to reap the advantage of his inheritance. Constantius said, that in banishing Athanasius he imitated his Father Constantine the Great. He imitates him, answers Athanasius, in what is agreeable to the hereticks, but not in what is displeasing to them. Constantine, upon the calumnies of the Eusebians, had sent Athanasius for a season into Gaul, in order to keep him from their cruelty ; but he did not let them prevail with him, to send what Bishop they pleased in his stead ; he prevented them from doing it, and put a stop

to

to their enterprize by terrible threatnings. Wherefore then, since he is for A.D. 357. imitating the conduct of his father, did he at first send Gregory, and at present George the bankrupt? Why does he strive to bring the Arians into the Church, whom his father named Porphyrians? He boasts, that he taketh care of the canons, though he acts quite contrary to them: For by what canon is it enacted, That a Bishop be sent to court; that soldiers are to offer insults in Churches; that Counts and Eunuchs are to preside over Ecclesiastical affairs; and that Bishops be condemned by edicts?

NEITHER does St. Athanasius spare Constantius in this piece. He p. 856. shews his levity by the contradictions both of his letters and orders; by which it appears that he did not act by his own inclination, but according as he was prevailed upon by others. He shews his cruelty, inasmuch as he did not spare his own relations. For, says he, he butchered his uncles, and caused his cousins to be murdered; he saw his father-in-law's daughter suffer without expressing any compassion; he married Olympias to a Barbarian, Amm. lib. 20. c. 11. namely, to Arfaces king of Armenia, though she had been affianced to his brother, who kept her until his death, as designing her for his wife. In short, p. 860. B. he does not scruple treating Constantius as Anti-Christ. In order to shew the injustice of the Arian persecutions, he says, If some Bishops having changed p. 830. D. through fear, be a scandal, much more scandalous is it to have violently forced them to it; and nothing is a greater sign of the weakness of a bad cause, than force. Thus the devil being void of truth, comes with axes and hammers to break down the gates of those who receive it; but the SAVIOUR of mankind is so meek as to be satisfied with teaching, and saying, *If any man will come after me*; and, *He that will be my disciple*. And Luc. ix. 23. when he comes to every one of us, he does not use violence, but knocks at the door, saying, *Open unto me, my sister, my spouse*: If we open unto him, Cant. v. 2. he enters; if not, he goes away. For the truth is not preached with swords and darts, and by soldiers, but by advice and persuasion. And what persuasion is it, where the fear of the Emperor is predominant? and, what advice is it, when the consequence of refusing is banishment or death? And p. 855. A. afterwards, It is the property of the true religion not to force but persuade. For the LORD himself did not use violence; he left all men at liberty, saying to them, *If any man will come after me*; and to his disciples, *Will* Joan. vi. 66. *ye also go away*? And in another place, St. Athanasius says, What Church p. 846. 8. has now the liberty of adoring JESUS CHRIST? If she retains her piety she is in danger; if she dissembles, she is afraid. He hath as much as in him lay filled every thing with hypocrisy and impiety. If there is any faithful servant of JESUS CHRIST, and many there are every where, they are forced to hide 3 Reg. xviii. themselves like the great Elias, until they have found another Abdias; they 4 are either in dens and caves of the earth, or wandering about in deserts. Heb. xi. 38.

THERE is another short letter of St. Athanasius's to the Monks, which is to be met with only in Latin with the works of Lucifer. The Arians, and those Catholics who communicated with them came frequently to the Monks on purpose, that they might afterwards boast, that they were in communion with them. The faithful were scandalized at this, for which reason St. Athanasius besought these Monks carefully to examine the faith of such as came to visit them, and absolutely to reject those who held the doctrine of the Arians; and as to those who were only in communion with them, to advise them to quit it,

A.D. 357. and to communicate with them, if they promised it ; but to avoid those who would not forsake the hereticks.

XLVIII. *St. Cyrill Bishop of Jerusalem deposed.* *Theod. ii. hist. c. 26. Soz. iv. c. 26. Philost. iv. c. 12.* **ACATIUS** of Cæsarea continued still in his See, notwithstanding his being deposed by the decree of the council of Sardica ; he disputed the rights of his metropolis with St. Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, who possessing an apostolical See, alledged, that he was independent of his jurisdiction ; the difference between them was augmented by the opposition of their opinions ; for Acatius preached up Arianism, and St. Cyril followed the Catholick faith, maintaining the Consubstantiality of the Son, and accusing the other of error in his faith. Acatius who had a piercing wit, and was very active, was before-hand with St. Cyril, and cited him frequently ; but St. Cyril not acknowledging him as his superior, took care not to appear. During this time Acatius made use of the pretence of his not appearing to get him deposed in a council, for having refused for two successive years to answer the accusations alledged against him : The chief heads of the accusation against St. Cyril were, that he had sold the treasures of the church. True it is, that the territories of Jerusalem being afflicted with famine, the people chiefly applied to St. Cyril for relief ; but as he had no money, he sold certain vessels and rich stuffs which were reserved for the service of the Church. It was alledged, that after this, a certain person met an actress dressed in a rich stuff which himself had given to the Church ; upon which, he with great exactness informed himself where she had got it, and found that she had bought it of a shop-keeper who had bought it of the Bishop. These are the pretences which Acatius made use of for to depose St. Cyril.

Socr. ii. c. 40. p. 125. Soz. iv. c. 25. **N**OT believing himself justly condemned, he appealed to a higher tribunal, and sent the appeal to those who had opposed him ; the Emperor Constantius authorized this appeal, yet was it esteemed irregular, and St. Cyril accused for being the first that ever appealed from an Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as if it had been a secular tribunal. Acatius not only deposed St. Cyril, but also drove him out of Jerusalem : the Saint went to Antioch, which he found without a Bishop, for Leontius was dead, and had not yet had a successor. He therefore went to Tarsus and lived with Sylvanus the Bishop. Acatius being informed of it, wrote to Sylvanus, and gave him an account of St. Cyril's being deposed ; but notwithstanding this, Sylvanus did not hinder him from officiating in the Church, as well on account of the respect which he had for him, as in consideration of the people who received his instructions with a great deal of satisfaction.

XLIX. *The letters from the Bishops of Gaul to St. Hilary.* *Hilar. de Syn. init.* **I**T was now three years since St. Hilary of Poitiers was banished, and he had received no letters although he had wrote to them several times from different places. He was afraid that this silence was designed, and that they were fallen into error as well as so many others ; he therefore resolved on his part to be silent, and to have no further communication with them, after having several times warned them, according to the command of our SAVIOUR : For he could not imagine that they had received none of his letters, by which he informed them of the state of the Church in the East, and of the zeal and faith of several Bishops. At length he received their letters, and found that the reason of his not receiving them sooner was the not knowing where he was. He learnt with great joy, that they had preserved their purity of faith ; that they remained united to him in spirit, and that they had for three years refused to communicate with Saturninus Bishop of Arles, and that even lately they had not only refused to receive the Creed of Potamius sent to them from Sirmium, but that they had also

also expressly condemned him. They desired him for to explain unto them what A. D. 357. was the faith of the Eastern Church, touching the Divinity of the Son of God, and what was the meaning of so many different confessions of faith composed since the council of Nice. St. Hilary extremely comforted by these letters, answered them soon after in his Treaty of Synods.

THE second Formulary or Creed of Sirmium composed by Potamius, was not only condemned in Gaul, but was also learnedly refuted by St. Phebadius Bishop of Agen. He begins with declaring, that he did not write out of a necessity of defending the faith against heresy which usurped the name, and even took the title of Catholick. He afterwards examines the Creed of Sirmium word by word from the beginning to the end, and shews that what seemed to be good in it was only artificially inserted in such manner as to be turned to an ill sense. Though this treatise was chiefly wrote in defence of the mystery of the Trinity, yet St. Phebadius therein speaks of the incarnation, because of an epistle which Potamius had dispersed both in the East and West, in which he affirmed, that the flesh and soul of JESUS CHRIST being united by the blood of the Virgin, and formed into one body, GOD became capable of suffering. Thus he made a kind of third Being out of the Spirit of GOD and flesh of man, which could not properly be called GOD nor man; and all this he said for to avoid acknowledging that the Word as well as the Father was of its own nature incapable of suffering: after which, he proved from the Scripture the different properties of the two substances of JESUS CHRIST. He opposes those Bishops who forbid any to say, that there was in GOD but one Substance, and he magnifies the authority of the Fathers of Nice. He shews that the word Substance is often used in the Scripture, and that there is nothing in it unworthy of the idea of GOD. After he had learnedly explained the Catholick faith, touching the unity of the Substance and Division of persons, he concludes in this manner: This is what we believe; this is what we hold; this is what we have received from the Prophets; this is what the Evangelists declared unto us, what the Apostles have taught, and what the Martyrs in their suffering have borne witness unto. We are so strongly fixed in this faith, that Gal. i. 8. if an angel from heaven were to contradict it, we should anathematize him. I am not ignorant, after having examined all these truths, and published them for the instruction of the people, that the name of Hosius, the most ancient of all the Bishops will be like a strong tower opposed to me, he having always adhered to the true faith. I shall answer in few words, that we ought not to make use of the authority of a man who either is at present, or has always been deceived; all the world knows what his opinion was till his extreme old age, and with what steadiness he adhered to the Catholick faith, both at Sardica and at Nice, and how he condemned the Arians. If at present his opinion is different, if he now defends what he formerly condemned, and condemns what he once defended, I again say that his authority can have but little weight; for if his faith was erroneous for near ninety years, I cannot believe that it is mended after the expiration of that time; and if he believes now as he ought to do, what shall we judge of those whom he has baptized into the faith which he then believed, and who are since dead? What should we have said of him had he died before this council? therefore, as I said, his authority can have no weight, because it destroys itself; and we find it written, That the righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him Ezech. xxxiiij. in the day of his transgression. Thus finishes this treatise of St. Phebadius of Agen, which was wrote, as appears above, after the fall of Hosius, and before his death.

L.
*Treatise of St.
Phebadius of
Agen.*

C O N-



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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XIV.

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ST. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen did not continue long at Athens after Julian Cæsar : Their studies being finished, they resolved to return home to their country ; but St. Basil left it first. Returning to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, he at first pleaded causes ; for by this it was that they began, who aspired to employments ; and this made learning and eloquence so famous. But Philosophy had already placed Basil above ambition ; and he contemned dignities, not through a motive of humility, but the good opinion which he had conceived of himself and his abilities. His sister Macrina soon gave him a notion of another kind of Philosophy ; so that contemning all the humane glory and esteem which he might acquire by his discourses, he reduced himself to a perfect state of poverty, and to working with his hands, that he might no longer have any obstacle in the practice of virtue.

I.
The retreat of
St. Basil.

Greg. Nyss.
vit. S. Macr.
P. 181. D.

St. Macrina was the eldest of ten children of Basil and Emmelia ; and her mother had brought her up very carefully : For, though she had appointed her a nurse, she most commonly held her in her own arms ; and as this child's disposition appeared to be very extraordinary, both for openness of temper and aptness to learn, her mother would not let her be taught after the common method, which was to begin with instructing children in the Poets ; that is, moving tragedies or unseemly comedies : But she made her learn such portions of the holy Scripture as were most suitable to her age, particularly the books of

Ibid. p. 179.

A. D. 357. of Solomon and the Psalms; the singing of which became so familiar to her, that they attended all her actions, whether she were rising, going to work, or to rest; when she sat down to meat or went from it; when she lay down and when she rose up to pray; she continually sung psalms. She excelled in the manufactures of wool, which was the usual employment of women; and when she was but twelve years old, her beauty was so extraordinary, that several young men sought her in marriage. The person whom her father made choice of above the rest, died before the nuptials were celebrated; and Macrina made this a pretence for continuing a virgin, saying, that she still looked upon him as her husband, and their separation was only as a journey, through the hopes of the resurrection. She therefore continued with her mother, performing all kinds of offices for her, even to making her bread, and providing for her by the work of her hands: and she was a very great assistance to her after her father's death, by enabling her to bear the weight of so numerous a family, and managing her estate, which was very considerable, and lay scattered in three provinces. Such was St. Macrina; and St. Basil, at his return from Athens, found his family in this condition.

Ep. 79.
p. 893.

HE then began, as he himself says, to awake as it were out of a deep sleep, to behold the true light of the Gospel, and to perceive the vanity of humane wisdom; he bewailed his having spent his youth in attaining vain sciences; and having read in the Gospel, that the best way to perfection was to sell his estate and give it to the poor, and to rid himself entirely from the cares and affections of life, he wanted to find some body who having gone in this road, might serve as a guide to him. With this view he took several journeys, and found many of those saints which he sought for, near Alexandria, and other parts of Egypt; he found some in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia; for the monastick state was already spread throughout all these provinces. He admired their abstinence, their constancy in affliction, and their application to prayer: For, as they had overcome sleep, and did not yield to any natural necessity, preserving their mind still free and exalted amidst hunger, and thirst, and cold, and nakedness; neglecting the body, and not thinking it worthy of their care; but living like strangers to the flesh; they might properly be said to be sojourners here below and citizens of heaven. These are the words of St. Basil; and he adds, that he was urged with an earnest desire of imitating such examples.

Carm. 1.
p. 5. B.

Carm. 54.
p. 1. 306.

St. Gregory Nazianzen left Athens soon after him, being without hopes of again meeting with such a friend. He did not receive Baptism till after his return, and from that time he renounced all earthly glory, profit, and delight, in order to apply himself to the true Christian life: He meditated upon the holy Scriptures to purify his mind from the corruption of prophane books; he subdued his flesh and the heat of youth, by extraordinary hardships; by fasting, by restraining his looks, and suppressing his inclination to laughter and choler; lying on the ground in his coarse garments, and seeking no other remedy for his want of sleep but tears: in the day time he bowed his back by his labours, and spent the night in praising God. Thus did he begin at first. He retained no other temporal advantages but eloquence, that he might employ it in the service of God. Being now of age to judge for himself, he was in doubt whether wholly to retire, after the example of Elias, St. John Baptist, and the Rechabites; or to continue in the world to be more perfectly instructed in

Carm. 1.
p. 5. C.

in holy literature. At last he chose a monastick life, in which were joyned the A.D. 357. tranquillity of one state, and the usefulness of the other. But what chiefly Carm. 2. determined him to continue in the world was the great age of his parents, P. 5. C. by which he was obliged to take care of them and their affairs. In this he met with abundance of trouble, both by the difficulty of governing servants, who repine at the severity of their masters, and abuse their goodness; and also by the burthensomeness of the taxes with which the land was loaded, and the brutishness of those who collected them; and after all, by law suits, in which he had to struggle with the villany of the parties concerned, and the corruption of the judges, and in which he found it impossible to retain his integrity without the especial grace of God. These incumbrances hindred him from following St. Basil in his retreat as he had promised.

St. Basil did not stay for him; but at his return from his travels in Egypt and the East, having resolved to imitate the Monks which he had seen, he at first associated with certain persons whom he found in his own country, who seemed to live after the same manner. These were Eustathius of Sebastia, and his disciples, whose course habit, austere life, and their avoiding of pleasure, made St. Basil think that they had an inward holiness, and that their society might be profitable to his salvation. Basil. ep. 79.

SEVERAL people warned him to avoid them, as being suspected of Arianism, on account of their master Eustathius; but St. Basil thought this advice false, and was afraid of judging rashly of his neighbour, and was not undeceived till some time afterwards. In the mean time he chose for his retreat a desert place in the province of Pontus, near the river Iris, and a small Episcopal town called Ibora; it was his sister Macrina that induced him to come hither, she having already retired thither with her mother St. Emmelia to an estate which belonged to them. St. Macrina had there got together several women who were her servants and friends, and formed a monastery, which she governed, and which was not above seven or eight stadia distant, i. e. somewhat above a quarter of a league from a Church of forty martyrs, whom all his family particularly venerated; and St. Emmelia had caused some of their relicks to be placed there, whose translation was attended with two miracles. In this monastery they lived all upon an equality, without any distinction of rank or dignity, having the same table, the same beds, and every thing in common; their pleasures being abstinence, and to be unknown, their glory; their riches poverty, and the contempt of all sensible delights. Their employment was meditating on divine things, praying and singing of Psalms night and day; their Rest was labour, and they daily advanced towards perfection. Greg. Nyss. vita Macr. p. 184.

THE place to which St. Basil had retired was near this monastery, situated in a wild country, at the foot of a mountain, surrounded with wood, deep valleys, and a river falling from a precipice. He gives an agreeable description of it to his friend Gregory, who answers him with a jest, ridiculing his desert as Basil had laughed at a place of retreat which he had proposed to him; for the austerities of these holy men did not lessen their wit and pleasantry. But afterwards St. Basil gives him a serious account of the manner in which he employed himself in his solitude, by well known epistles; however, in that he seems rather to describe what ought to be done in solitude, than how he himself employed his time; for he owns, that he was very little satisfied with himself; H. The life of St. Basil in the desert. Bas. p. 19. Epist. 1.

A.D. 357. self; that he had till then reaped very little advantage from his solitude: he sets forth the advantages of solitude, for fixing the thoughts, and appeasing the passions which he even deprives of their causes. To retire from the world, says he, is not corporally to go out of it, but to break all intercourse between the soul and the body; to have neither habitation nor family, nor friends, nor lands, nor business; to forget what we have learnt from men, that we may be the better prepared to receive Divine instructions. It is the business of an Hermit to imitate the Angels, to begin the day by prayer and praising of his Maker. The sun being up, he applies himself to labour, which he still accompanies with prayer. He meditates upon the holy Scriptures, to acquire the virtues which they teach, and forms his manners by the precepts and examples of the saints; prayer follows, to make his reading effectual. St. Basil also regulated their manner of conversation, supposing that there might be companions in solitude, as in truth he soon after had many: He should ask questions without being contentious, and answer without pride; he should not interrupt others, nor be eager to speak; he should not be ashamed to learn, nor jealous of instructing, and should relate what he learns, with acknowledgments to those from whom he had learnt it; his conversation should be equal, affable, and agreeable, not by affected jests but by meekness and goodness, avoiding all harshness even in his corrections, which humility renders more effectual. The humility of the solitary ought to appear in all his behaviour; his eyes should be melancholy and cast down to the earth, his head uncombed, his clothes dirty, and negligently hung on, such as the people of those times wore when they mourned. He ought to be clothed, only for preserving his body from the inclemencies of the air, without any gaudy colours or effeminacy in his dress: in his food he only ought to seek the satisfying of nature, insomuch, that whilst his health permits, bread, water, and herbs should be his only food; he should eat without eagerness, his thoughts being taken up with pious meditations upon the nature and difference of the food designed for the nourishment of our bodies; his meals ought to begin and end with prayer; and of the four and twenty hours, but one should be taken up in the care of his body, and that should be always the same: His sleep should be short in proportion to his food, and midnight should be to the solitary what the morning is to others; to the end, that he may take the advantage of nature in the silence of the night season for meditating with more intenseness on the methods of purifying himself from his sins, and advancing in perfection. This letter is as it were, an abridgement of what St. Basil taught in the rules of his order.

Greg. Naz. HE himself first practised his rules; he lived in extream poverty, insomuch, Or. 20. p. 357. that he had but one change of raiment, that is to say, a Vest and a Robe; and Greg. Nyss. he lived only upon bread, water, a little salt, and a few herbs: He grew so in Basil. pale and lean that he seemed scarce alive; he wore a hair shirt, but he wore it p. 290. only by night, the better to conceal this his mortification; he had no bed but Greg. Naz. the earth; he never bathed himself, nor ever kindled a fire. As he was natu- ep. 6. rally very tender, these austerities drew on him such frequent fits of sickness, that they became almost continual; so that when he was in his best state of health, he was as feeble as other men are in their sickness.

Greg. Naz. ST. Gregory of Nazianzen at last came to his friend and those that were with ep. 9. him in the solitude: They made Suffering their pleasure; they prayed together;

ther; they studied the holy Scripture; they worked with their hands, carrying of wood, cutting stones, planting trees, watering of them, bringing dung into their garden to raise herbs with, and drawing so heavy a cart, that the marks for a long time remained in their hands. In the mean time their house had neither covering nor door, there was neither fire nor smoke in it; the bread which they eat was so tough and ill baked, that it was with difficulty that they eat it. They quitted the profane books with which their youth had been so much taken up, to apply themselves wholly to the Scripture; for the understanding of which they studied the ancient interpreters, particularly Origen; of whose writings they jointly made an extract under the name of Philocalius, which is still extant. The inhabitants of Neocæsarea offered St. Basil the care of the education of their youth, and to this end deputed some of their magistrates to persuade him to quit his solitude, but he refused them; and even some time after when he himself came into the town, he withstood the intreaties of all the people assembled round him, to persuade him to accept of this employment; and for that purpose promising him whatever he could desire. Gregory brother of Basil, and since Bishop of Nyssa, had not the same resolution; for after his conversion, though a Priest, he suffered himself to be persuaded to teach Rhetorick to the youth; at which his friends and all the Christians were scandalized, and St. Gregory Nazianzen reproves him, in a letter written with a spirit of energy and charity. A.D. 357.
Basil. ep. 84.
Greg. ep. 47.
Greg. Naz. ep. 43.

St. Basil soon had with him in his solitude, a great number of disciples whom he raised towards God, and whom he caused to live in perfect love and charity; he wrote to them at different times various instructions towards a pious life; so that the greatest part of the Monks of the East have taken the rules of their orders from him, and are called the Ascetics of St. Basil. His first treatise is a collection of passages out of holy Scripture, under the name of Morals, of which this was the occasion. In his travels into Egypt and the East, he observed with grief the division of the Churches, the persecution of the most holy Bishops, and the disorders occasioned by the violence of the Arians. He searched out for the cause of so great an evil, and he thought that he had found the reason in this sentence of the holy Scripture, And there was then no king in Israel, but every one did that which seemed good in his own eyes. It is thus, said he, that we live, it seems as if God was no longer our king; we despise his holy laws, in order to prescribe to ourselves our own maxims; we follow humane traditions and evil customs; we remember not what Jesus said, That he descended from heaven not to do his own will but the will of him that sent him, and that he doth nothing of himself, that the spirit of truth shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak. St. Basil after this shews, by examples out of the Old and New Testament, with what severity God punished the smallest disobedience. For these reasons, he thought he ought to make a collection of what was set down in Scripture, as most pleasing or displeasing to God, that it might serve to direct pious men to forsake their own inclinations, evil customs and humane traditions, and only to follow the Scripture. This collection is composed of four and twenty articles, extracted out of the New Testament in the very words of Scripture. III.
The Ascetics of St. Basil, Id. ep. 9.
Basil. de Jud. Dei. Judg. xvij. 6.
John vi. 38.
John xvj. 13.

His other Ascetic tracts are rules of two sorts; the larger, which is more full, but of which there are fewer in number, since they exceed not fifty five:

A. D. 357. the lesser, of which there are three hundred and thirteen articles, but shorter. Both of them are written by way of question and answer between a scholar and his master: the larger rules contain an account of the spiritual life, fully explained, and confirmed by the authority of Scripture; the lesser rules enter farther into particulars, but neither of them contains any precepts which may not be of use to all Christians, and there are very few which belong only to solitaries. The disciples of St. Basil were Coenobites, living in a community; for the climate was too cold for them to disperse and live separate like the Anchorites in Egypt. Some few attribute these Asceticks to Eustasius Bishop of Sebasta, whom they thought to be the founder of the monastick order in Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus; but it is certain, that they were composed by St. Basil, which is proved by the authority of Rufinus, who lived in the same age and translated them into Latin. The Monks of Cappadocia were very useful to the Church, against the heresies of Eunomius and Apollinarius; for the authority that the holiness of their life acquired, held the people in the Catholick faith. St. Basil had for companions in his solitude, his two brothers, St. Gregory afterwards Bishop of Nyssa, and St. Peter afterwards Bishop of Sebasta, who succeeded him in the government of his Monks. Peter was the youngest of the brothers; he lost his father at his first coming into the world, and his sister Macrina served him instead of a father and instructor. She nursed him from his cradle, and suffered him not to apply himself to any profane studies, but cultivated his excellent natural genius, and turned it to the sole study of virtue; in which he made such a progress, that he was not inferior to St. Basil, though he was neither master of his learning nor eloquence.

Soz. iv. 34.
Soz. iii. c. 14.
P. 224. B.
Hier. Script.
Ruf. ii. hist.
c. 9.

Cod. Regul.
to. 1.

IV.
Eudoxius
Bishop of
Antioch.
Socr. ii. c. 37.
Sozom. iv.
32.
Theod. ii.
hist. c. 25.

Philost. iv.
c. 4.

Ath. de Syn.
p. 869. 913.
C.
Sup. xii. n. 47.

LEONTIUS, the Arian Bishop of Antioch, being dead, Eudoxius one of the chief of the same party, took possession of that See. He was in the West with the Emperor, when the news of Leontius's death was brought thither. Upon which Eudoxius very cunningly told the Emperor, that upon this occasion his presence was necessary at Germanicia, and that therefore he desired leave to return immediately; and accordingly the Emperor not guessing his design, gave him leave. Eudoxius had brought the eunuchs of the chamber into his interest; and being supported by them, he forsook his Church of Germanicia and went with all speed to Antioch, where he procured himself to be acknowledged Bishop, as it were, by the Emperor's order, without the consent either of George of Laodicea, or Mark of Arthusa, who were the most considerable Bishops of Syria, or of the rest of those who had a right of election. Eudoxius was a native of Arabissa in the Lesser Armenia, being the son of Cæsarius, who after having given up himself to lewdness and debauchery, at last expiated his offences by martyrdom. The son was of a mild disposition, ingenious and cunning, but very timorous, and addicted to pleasure. St. Eustathius of Antioch refused to admit him amongst his Clergy, because of the corruptness of his doctrine; but after St. Eustathius was banished, the Arians not only admitted him amongst the Clergy, but raised him to the Episcopal dignity, and placed him in Germanicia upon the confines of Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and in this quality he assisted at the council of the dedication of Antioch in 341. He was one of the grosser Arians, being the disciple of Aëtius, who would not acknowledge the Son of God to be *like in Substance* with the Father. The eunuchs belonging to the court held the same error; and

and this sect was called the Anomæans, from the Greek word *ἀνόμοιος*, which signifies *unlike*. A. D. 358.

EUDOXIUS having invaded the See of Antioch, did not take the pains to conceal his malice as Leontius had done; he openly attacked the Catholick doctrine, and whoever durst oppose him he persecuted all manner of ways. Aëtius being informed of his being settled, immediately returned from Egypt, and brought Eunomius along with; chusing rather to live at Antioch than any other place, because he found that Eudoxius and he agreed, both in respect to their opinions, and also in their inclination to an easy and voluptuous way of living. He therefore became his flatterer and parasite, and for the sake of good cheer followed those who made the best entertainments. Eudoxius would have restored him to the Deacon's office, to which Leontius had raised him, and accordingly proposed it in a council, which he assembled as soon as possible; but the aversion to Aëtius prevailed over his desire of serving him, and therefore he could not get him restored. Acatius of Cæsarea, and Uranius of Tyre, who were united in opinion with Eudoxius, came to this council. They equally condemned the terms *ὁμοιόμοιος* and *ὁμοούσιος*, that is, *like in Substance* and *Consubstantial*, under pretence that it was thus determined by the Bishops of the West. It was the second formulary of Sirmium which Hosius had subscribed, and Eudoxius and his party did not fail taking advantage of it. They even wrote a letter of thanks to Ursatius, Valens, and Germinius, attributing to them the happy success of reducing those of the East to entertain good opinions. Socr. ii. c. 37. Sozom. iv. c. 12, 13.

THE enterprizes of Eudoxius met with some resistance, and several of the Church of Antioch were turned out for opposing them. These applied to George of Laodicea, and he gave them a letter to Macedonius of Constantino-ple, Basil of Ancyra, and Cercropius of Nicomedia, in these terms: The shipwreck of Aëtius carrieth away almost all Antioch; for Eudoxius makes all those Clerks whom we rejected, as being the disciples of that infamous heretic, placing them amongst those whom he honours most. Take care of that great city, lest the whole world should fall with it. Assemble as many of you as possible, and require the subscriptions of the rest of the Bishops; to the intent that Eudoxius may turn Aëtius out of the Church of Antioch, and cut off from her communion such of his disciples as he hath promoted to orders. But if he persists with Aëtius, in affirming, that the Son *is not like* the Father, and continues to prefer those who dare affirm it: the Church of Antioch is lost. This letter of George of Laodicea was brought to Basil of Ancyra whilst he was celebrating the dedication of a church which he had built. He had invited several neighbouring Bishops to this ceremony; amongst the rest, Eustathius of Sebasta, and Eleusius of Cyricus. But the council was not very numerous, and several Bishops made excuses by letters, for not coming thither, because winter was but just over, and the festival of Easter drew nigh, which happened this year 358, on the twelfth of April. V. The council of the Semi-Arians at Ancyra. Id. c. 13. Synodica. Ap. Epiph. Hær. 73. n. 2.

It is insinuated, that St. Basil had cast his eyes upon the See of Antioch, and that he was animated against Eudoxius by jealousy. The example of those of the West inflamed the Bishops of this council with a more commendable jealousy; for being informed, that the Bishops of Gaul continuing unshaken in the faith, had rejected the false Creed of Sirmium, not only by not receiving it,

A.D. 358. it, but by condemning it as soon as they knew it. Those of the East were ashamed of having hitherto cherished the heresy; and the result of this council was the condemnation of the Anomæans. We have the synodical epistle, which is addressed to the Bishops of Phœnicia and all others, whom those that write it supposed to be of their opinion. They complain, that endeavours were used to alter the faith, by introducing profane novelties, both at Antioch, Alexandria, and in Asia: And they add, that in order to remedy this, they had composed an exposition of the faith, more full than those that had been made against Photinus at Antioch in the council of the dedication at Sirdica, that is to say at Philippopolis, and at Sirmium; all which they received as Catholick; but make no mention of the council of Nice. They besought the Bishops to receive this new exposition, and to cut off those from the Church who continued in the opposite errors.

Philostorg. iv.
c. 6.
Hilar. de
Syn. p. 320.
Ap. Epiph.
Hær. 73.
n. 2.

THEIR exposition of faith is longer, but solid and theological. They begin with laying down the necessity of acknowledging a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the Divine nature; and consequently excluding the idea of a creature from the Son. Now the idea of a Son comprehends *Likeness of Substance*; otherwise it is only an empty name, which in effect signifies no more than a creature: Whatever other prerogative is granted to the Son, if he is deprived of that of being *like in Substance*, he still continues upon the level with created beings: For we cannot imagine, that GOD made use of the term *Son* for any other reason, than to express a production like its principle, in respect to its substance; all other ideas comprehending filiation in created beings, are unworthy of the Divine nature. We must exclude any metaphorical sense, in which the name of Son is communicated to men and other creatures; those are only equivocal; and it is not without reason that JESUS CHRIST is styled the *only Son*. In this point we must not regard humane reason, nor the subtilties of Logick, which is urged against Aëtius, whose chief skill was in Aristotle's logick. They very learnedly explain that passage of St. Paul, where he says, that JESUS CHRIST is the image of GOD; and compare together the chief passages of the Old and New Testament, relating to the generation of the Word. All this doctrine is collected into eight anathema's, which concludes the letter, and is subscribed by twelve Bishops, the first of whom are Basil of Ancyra, and Eustathius of Sebasta. But what is wrong in this is, that in laying it down for a rule, that the Son is *like the Father in Substance*; they deny that he is of the *same Substance*; and the last anathema expressly condemns the term *Consubstantial*. This is what occasioned those who maintained this doctrine to be called Semi-Arians.

n. 6.
Sup. lib. 12.
n. 47. n. 7.
&c.

Col. i. 15.

n. 10, 11.

Basil ep. 74.
p. 875. C.

VI.
The deputies
of Ancyra at
Sirmium.
Sozom. iv.
c. 13.
Theod. ii.
c. 25.

THE Bishops of the council resolved to make the Emperor acquainted with what they had done, and to desire him to take care that the decrees of Sardica, Sirmium, and other councils, which had ordained, that the Son is *like the Father in Substance*, were put in execution. Under the name of the council of Sardica, they all along mean their false council of Philippopolis. Basil and Eustathius undertook the deputation, and with them Eleusius of Cyzicus, and a Priest named Leontius, who had formerly been a servant in the Emperor's chamber. They found the court still at Sirmium; and having cut off from their exposition of faith the last anathema, for fear of offending those who adhered to the *Consubstantiality*, they presented it to the Emperor, and at the same

same time made a long speech, in which they shewed that the Son is *like* the A.D. 358.
 Father in all things.

WHEN they came to court they met with a Priest of Antioch, named Asphalis, a very zealous follower of Aëtius, who having finished the business which he came about, returned with letters from the Emperor in favour of Eudoxius; and he was just going to depart. But Basil of Ancyra having made the Emperor sensible of the poysonous nature of this heresy, persuaded him to condemn Eudoxius, to take back the letter which he had given to Asphalus, and to write another, quite contrary to it, to the Church of Antioch; by which he disowned Eudoxius, and said that he had not sent him. He therein treats Aëtius as a sophist and a dangerous deceiver; he recommends it to the faithful to avoid him as well as Eudoxius, but contents himself with forbidding them to assist at Ecclesiastical assemblies; threatening them with more severe punishment if they did not amend. This letter is a plain proof of the levity of Constantius.

Philostorg.
 iv. c. 8.
 Sozom. iv.
 c. 13.

IN the mean time a council was held at Sirmium; whether it was that the second had not yet broken up, or that a third was assembled, of the Bishops who happened to be at court; however, Basil of Ancyra, and the other Semi-Arians prevailed there. They caused the second formulary of Sirmium to be repealed, which was drawn up by Potamius, and in which the *Consubstantiality* and *the likeness of Substance* were equally rejected. Valens and Ursatius abandoned it themselves, and said, that they were equally for suppressing the *Consubstantiality* and *likeness in Substance*, thinking them to be the same; as if Bishops who had grown old in these disputes could be ignorant of the difference of these terms. The deputies of Ancyra not being satisfied with condemning the formulary of Potamius in this council, were for taking away all the copies; and as several concealed them, the Emperor, by an edict, ordered them to be sought for, under certain penalties; but this piece had already spread too much to be suppressed. On the contrary, Basil and Eustathius comprehended in one writing all that had been decreed against Paul of Samosata, Photinus, and Marcellus of Ancyra, in the council of the dedication at Antioch. And all this he did, that the word Consubstantial might be rejected as an abominable term that had been already condemned in several councils. The Emperor had caused Liberius Bishop of Rome to come from Bercea to Sirmium; they forced him to approve this piece, and consequently to give up the *Consubstantiality*; and they forced the like consent from three African Bishops who happened to be present, viz. Athanasius, Alexander, Severinus, and Crescens. They also obliged Ursatius, Valens, and Germinius of Sirmium to subscribe; but Liberius for his part declared, that he would excommunicate those who alledged, that the Son was not like the Father in Substance and all things else. This he did, because Eudoxius and the rest of Aëtius's party at Antioch had reported, that he believed that the Father and Son were not of like Substance as well as they. The Emperor being pleased with Liberius upon this account, permitted him to return to Rome. The Bishops that were assembled at Sirmium wrote to Felix who was put in his place, whom they acknowledged as legal Bishop, to receive him and govern the Church of Rome in conjunction with him, and to forget all that was past; for the affection which the people bore to Liberius had excited a great tumult, and even occasioned several murders.

Sozom. v.
 c. 15.

BASIL.

A.D. 358. BASIL and Eustathius not only accused Aëtius of heresy, but also of treason, and of having had a share in the conspiracy of Gallus: Theophilus the Indian, whom the Arians pretended was an apostle and a worker of miracles, being engaged in the same accusation, was banished to Heraclea in Pontus. Eudoxius received orders to leave Antioch and to stay at his own house. Aëtius was delivered up to his accusers, and was sent into banishment to Pepuza in Phrygia. Eunomius whom Eudoxius had lately ordained Deacon, and sent as a deputy to the Emperor for his justification, was taken upon the road by Basil's party and banished to Midaia in Phrygia. Eudoxius himself retired into Armenia his native country; and several others were banished, to the number of seventy. Thus the party of the Anomæans seemed to be entirely dissipated.

VII.
Liberius re-
turns to
Rome.
Anast. in
lib. Libell.
Marc. &
Faust. p. 4.

Sozom. iv.
c. 15.

Theod. ii.
hist. c. 17.
Philostorg.
iv. n. 3.

Libell. Marc.
& Faust.

VIII.
An earth-
quake at
Nicomedia.
Soz. iv, c. 16.

Amm. Marc.
lib. 17. c.

LIBERIUS Bishop of Rome returned thither in the third year of his banishment, that is, in 358, on the second day of August. He entered as a Victor, and the people ran with joy to meet him. Felix the Anti-bishop being odious to the senate and people, was driven out of the city; but as his faction was not extinguished, he returned again soon after by the assistance of the Clergy of his party, and ventured to chuse his station in the Basilick of Julius, on the other side of the Tiber; but the multitude of the faithful, with the nobles, shamefully drove him from Rome a second time. The Emperor was for keeping him there with Liberius, and having them govern the Roman Church in common, contrary to the canons, which allowed not of two Bishops in one See; but he was forced to abandon him contrary to his inclination. Felix being turned out a second time, retired to a small estate which he had upon the road to Porto, where he lived near eight years after, retaining the Episcopal dignity without performing the office, and died not until the tenth of the calends of December, under the consulship of Valentinian and Valens, that is, on the twenty second of November 365. He is not reckoned in the succession of the Bishops either by Optatus or St. Augustine.

THE Emperor not content with what he had lately done at Sirmium, thought it necessary to assemble a general council against the Anomæans, because of the enterprizes of Aëtius and what had happened at Antioch. He at first appointed it at Nice, but Basil of Ancyra and those of his party persuaded him from it, on account of the great council, whose memory was odious to them. He therefore resolved to assemble the council at Nicomedia; and the Emperor's letters were sent to invite thither with all speed, on a certain day, those Bishops who were esteemed the most learned and eloquent. They were each of them to assist at the council in the name of all the Bishops of their several nations, that is to say, the Emperor named the deputies of every province. Most of them were now upon the road when the news was spread abroad, that the city of Nicomedia was just destroyed by an earthquake. And as all misfortunes are magnified at first, it was said farther, that Nice, Perinthus, the neighbouring cities, and even Constantinople itself had shared in it; and that at Nicomedia several Bishops had been overwhelmed in the Church with a great number of people, men, women and children who had fled thither for shelter. But the truth is, that on the ninth of the calends of September, under the consulship of Dacian and Cerealis, i. e. on the twenty fourth of August, in this year 358, at the second hour of the day, or according to our reckoning, at eight in the morning,

morning, this earthquake began ; and as it was not the time of assembling in A.D. 358. the Church, no body was surprized there ; and this accident was so sudden, that no body had time to fly thither for shelter. Every one perished or escaped according to the place where he happened to be ; and there died there but two Bishops, Cecropius of Nicomedia, and another Bishop of a city in the Bosphorus, and these were surprized without the Church. The earthquake lasted but two hours, but it was followed by a fire that continued fifty days ; for the fire in the furnaces, kitchens, baths, forges, and such like places, reaching the tops of the houses, and other combustible matter, by their being overturned, got head every where, and made but one great funeral pile of the whole city. The shock of the earthquake reached a great way into Pontus and Asia, and on this side the sea into Macedonia ; so that there were reckoned to the number of one hundred and fifty cities which felt it.

THERE was at that time at Nicomedia a certain holy Monk named Arfaces, a Persian by nation, who had been keeper of the Emperor's lions, and had been famous amongst the Confessors in the persecution of Licinius. Having quitted his arms he retired into the citadel of Nicomedia, and lived in a tower there, leading an Ascetick life : He wrought miracles ; and one day, by invoking the name of JESUS CHRIST, he stopped a person that was possessed, who ran through the city with a sword in his hand, making every body fly before him. This Arfaces being informed by revelation of the misfortune which threatened the city, and having received orders to leave it, ran immediately to church, and advised the Clergy to pray earnestly to avert the wrath of GOD. They scoffed at his prediction, and he returned to his tower, where he went to prayers, lying prostrate on his face, and when the earthquake was over, he was found dead in this posture. It is said, that he chose rather to die, than to see the destruction of a city, where he first began to know JESUS CHRIST, and to learn the Christian philosophy ; for thus the Ascetick life was called.

THE journey of the Bishops having been hindred by this accident, some waited for fresh orders, and others declared by letters their sentiments concerning the faith. Constantius consulted Basil of Ancyra, who wrote to him, commending his piety, and condoling with him for the misfortune of Nicomedia, by examples from sacred history, and exhorting him to hasten the council, and not to send back the Bishops, who were already upon the road, without determining any thing. He mentioned Nice for the place of assembling, thinking to please the Emperor who had named it at first. In pursuance of this letter, the Emperor appointed the Bishops to assemble at Nice in the beginning of summer the following year 359, excepting those whose health would not permit them to come, ordering such to send in their stead either Priests or Deacons, whichever they should chuse, in order to declare their opinion, to deliberate upon doubtful matters, and to determine every thing in common. He likewise ordered six deputies of the West, and as many of the East, chosen by the council to come to court, to report to him what should be determined, that he might also see whether it was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and determine what was most proper to be done. Thus he made himself the judge of a general council, and the arbiter of the faith.

IN the mean time he again changed his resolution : For the Anomæans, that is to say, the partizans of Eudoxius, Acacius, Ursatius, and Valens, ha-

IX.
Proposals for
councils.
Sozom. iv.
c. 16.

Philostorg.
iv. c. 10.
Sozom. iv.
ving c. 16.

A.D. 359. ving somewhat raised their credit, so managed the matter, that he called two councils instead of one. They saw that their condemnation was inevitable, if all the Bishops assembled in one council, because they would all either be for the Nicene faith and the consubstantiality of the Word, or for the formulary of the dedication of Antioch, which likewise contained the word *Substance*.

Confil. Parif.
ap. Hilar.
fragm.

Besides, it was easier to sow divisions in the minds of the Bishops when separated, and to make false reports from one council to another whilst they were at a distance. Besides, they were in hopes, that if they could not gain both councils, they might gain one; and, that if they were condemned by the one, they might not be condemned by the other; these were their secret motives.

Soz. iv. c. 17. Those which they published, and which took with the Emperor, were to save him the expence and the Bishops the fatigue of too long a journey. Eusebius the eunuch who favoured Eudoxius, forwarded the passing of this resolution by his interest. Whilst the place for holding each council was determining, the Emperor sent to the Bishops to continue in their Sees, or in those places where they happened to be; and he wrote to Basil of Ancyra, to consult with all the Bishops of the East concerning the place for holding the council, in order to inform him of it in the beginning of the spring. For he did not now think Nice a proper place, because of the disorder which the earthquake had occasioned. Basil sent the Emperor's letter to the Bishops, and wrote to them likewise himself, exhorting them to send him word with all speed what place would be most agreeable to them. Some proposed Tarsus in Cilicia, but those of Eudoxius's party opposed it, probably because of Silvanus the Bishop of that place, who was an enemy to them; and the same reason might make them reject Ancyra, which was likewise named: for the West, it does not appear that there was any other place proposed besides Ariminum or Rimini, where the council was indeed held.

Philostor. iv.
c. 14.

Sozom. iv.
c. 16.

Ap. Athan.
de Syn.

p. 875 & ap.
Socr. ii. c. 37.

WHILST the Bishops of the East were in this uncertainty, as to the place for holding their council, Basil went to the Emperor, who then resided at Sirmium. He there met with certain Bishops who came upon their private affairs; amongst the rest Mark of Arethusa, and George the usurper of the See of Alexandria. It was resolved, that the council of the East should be held at Seleucia in Isauria. Afterwards Valens, who was likewise at Sirmium, and his partizans, i. e. the Anomæans, there drew up a new formulary, and caused it to be signed by the Bishops that were present, wherein the word *Substance* was expressly rejected, as being unknown to the people, and an occasion of offence, and as not being found in Scripture. It was ordered, that for the future, in speaking of God, no mention should be made of *Substance*. The formulary concludes with these words, We say that the Son is *like* the Father in all things; as the holy Scriptures affirm and teach. What is most singular in this formulary is the date, which is placed at the beginning of it, in these terms: An exposition of faith made in the presence of our lord the most pious and victorious Emperor Constantius, Augustus, the eternal; under the consulship of Flavius, Eusebius, and Hypatius, at Sirmium, on the eleventh of the calends of June, i. e. on the twenty-second of May, 359. It was drawn up by Mark of Arethusa, in Latin, and subscribed by those who happened to be present, viz. Mark of Arethusa, George of Alexandria, Basil of Ancyra, Germinius of Sirmium, Hypatian of Heraclea, Valens of Murfa, Ursatius of Syngidon, and Pancras

Soz. iv. c. 17.
V. Valef. ad
Socr. ii. c. 30.
Epiph. Hær.
73. n. 28.

Pancras of Pelusium. There were two subscriptions signed after a very particular manner, viz. that of Valens in these terms : Those who are present know that we have signed this on the Eve of Pentecost ; and our pious Emperor knows it, he to whom I have given testimony of it, both by word of mouth and writing. Afterwards he subscribed as usual with this clause, viz. That the Son is *like* the Father, without saying, *In all things* ; but the Emperor obliged him to add it. On the contrary, Basil suspecting the ill meaning which might be given to this formulary, subscribed thus : I Basil, Bishop of Ancyra, believe as is above written, that the Son is *like* the Father *in all things* ; that is to say, not only in respect to his will, but also in respect to his Substance, Existence, and Being, as he is the Son according to Scripture, Spirit of Spirit, Life of Life, Light of Light, GOD of GOD, and in one word *In all things like the Father*. And if any one asserts, that he is like him only in some respects, I look upon him as separated from the Catholick Church, as not holding that the Son is like the Father, according to the Scriptures. We may here remark that Basil not daring to make use of the word *οὐσία*, or Substance, which they had agreed to suppress in this formulary, he uses words that come very near it, and are equivalent to it ; because he was really of opinion, that the Son is of *like Substance* with the Father. This formulary thus subscribed, was delivered to Valens, who carried it to the council of Ariminum.

It being determined to hold the two councils, and the place for each of them being pitched upon, the Emperor gave orders for sending the Bishops thither, not by their deputies, but in general ; and he sent officers to all parts to provide carriages and other necessaries for their journey. He wrote to each council to regulate the disputes concerning the faith, afterwards to examine the causes of the Bishops, who complained of their being deposed or banished unjustly ; and, when they had judged every thing, to send him six deputies from each party, to give him an account thereof. The council of Ariminum assembled first. There came thither Bishops of Illyria, Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. Those belonging to the two last provinces refused what was offered them by the Emperor, not thinking that they could decently accept it, and chusing rather to live at their own expence. There was but three British Bishops that accepted it, who were so poor that they had not wherewithal to subsist, and therefore rather desired to be a charge to the publick treasury, than to their brethren, who offered to contribute towards their expences. Such was the charity and disinterestedness of the Bishops.

Those of Gaul and Britain were well instructed in the belief of the Bishops of the West, by a writing which St. Hilary had sent them from Phrygia. This was his Treatise of Synods, composed about the end of the year 359, whilst they were in dispute where the council of the East should be held. In this treatise St. Hilary explains the different formularies of faith which those of the East had made since the council of Nice, in order to shew those of the West which of them were good, or at least tolerable ; and that they ought not to look upon those as Arians who received them. He desires them to judge themselves of those formularies, which they had desired him to explain, and to suspend their judgment until the end of his treatise. The first formulary which he explains is that which the Semi-Arians had just made at the council of Ancyra in the same year 358 ; and to make them the better understand it, he first

A.D. 359.

Socr. iv. c. 17.

Sulp. Sev. ii. hist. p. 420.

X. St. Hilary's treatise of Synods.

Sup. xiiij.

n. 42.

Hilar. de Syn.

Sup. xiiij.

n. 50.

Sup. n. 2.

A. D. 359. gave an account of that which the grosser Arians had drawn up at Sirmium in 357, which he calls the blasphemy of Hosius and Potamius; because Potamius was the author, and Hosius had subscribed it during his fall. From the determination of Ancyra, he explains only twelve anathema's, amongst which the first is not inserted, which condemned the *Consubstantiality*, and which had not been published with the rest. Not that the Fathers of Ancyra are excusable upon this article, by saying, that they only reject the *Consubstantiality* in the bad sense of the term which was given it by some people. The second formula which St. Hilary explains, is that of the council of the dedication of Antioch, held in 341, which is in great repute amongst those of the East. This is the second of those which were proposed to the council, and it was approved by ninety seven Bishops who assisted at it. It is attributed to St. Lucian the martyr, and only wants the term *Consubstantial*; but even that rendered it the more acceptable to those by whom this term was suspected. St. Hilary shews, that it is entirely Catholick. He afterwards reports for the third, that of the council of Sardica, i. e. of the pretended council of Philippopolis, which falsely assumed that name; but, however, the confession of faith was Catholick, and only wanted the word *Consubstantial*. The fourth is that of the first council of Sirmium, held in 351, against Photinus by those of the East, with twenty seven anathema's, which in reality do not positively exclude the doctrine of the Semi-Arians; but yet it does not contain any thing notoriously bad, and positively excludes several errors of the grosser Arians, of Sabellius, and Photinus. This is what St. Hilary extolls.

Sup. xii. n. 11.

Sup. xii.
n. 40.Sup. xiii.
n. 9.P. 33. &c.
P. 347.

P. 352.

P. 354: B.

P. 358..

BE not surprized, my brethren, adds he, with these frequent expositions of faith; the madness of the Hereticks has made them necessary: For the Churches of the East are in so much danger, that it is very rare, even amongst the Bishops, to find that faith of which I have given you an account, and which I submit to your judgment. I speak of mine own knowledge, of what I myself have heard and seen. Except Elcufius the Bishop, and some few with him, the greatest part of the provinces of Asia, where I live, know not GOD, or only know him to blaspheme him. Every place is full of scandal, schism, and infidelity. How happy are ye for having preserved the apostolick faith in its purity! for being hitherto ignorant of these written professions, and being contented with professing with the mouth what you believe with the heart! Afterwards he explains the terms, which because of their uncertainty, made the faith of the Bishops of the West suspected by those of the East. In the first place the word *Substance*, shewing the bad constructions that might be given to that proposition: that there is but one Substance of the Father and the Son; for we may comprehend one person of that Substance, or the same Substance that is two fold. Wherefore he desires them to explain distinctly what is their belief of the Father and the Son, before it is comprehended in that short expression. He afterwards explains the term *Like*, and says, that it is the same thing to say, that the Son is *like* the Father *in all things*, as to say, that he is equal to him. Thus the word *ὁμοιότης*, which signifies *like in Substance*, may have the same construction as *ὁμοούσιος*, which signifies *of the same Substance*. St. Hilary afterwards addresses himself to those of the East, who were well disposed, in order to remove the scruples which they had, concerning the term *Consubstantial*; and quoting the Nicene Creed, he shews, that That term is only

only made use of to condemn those that are really Arians, who were for having A.D. 359. the Son to be a mere creature, and to shew that he is produced of the same substance with the Father. He proves in general, that a proper expression should not be rejected, because of the wrong interpretation that might be put upon it; and this by the example of the Scriptures, which the Hereticks abuse. He presses those of the East not to make their term *ὁμοούσιος* suspicious by rejecting the term *ὁμοούσιος*, and not to boggle at words, since they agree as to the thing itself. Then he adds these remarkable words, I take the LORD of heaven and earth to witness, that before I ever heard of either of these, I always believed them both: that by the *ὁμοούσιος*, we must necessarily believe the *ὁμοούσιος*; that no one thing could be like another, according to nature, which was not of the same nature. Though I have been long since baptized, and for some time a Bishop, I never heard the faith of Nice spoken of, until the instant of my being banished; but the gospels and the writings of the Apostles made me acquainted with these terms.

THE Bishops of Gaul being thus instructed in the faith of those of the East, came with the rest of the Western Bishops to Rimini, in Latin Ariminum, a famous city of Italy, lying upon the Adriatick Sea. The council was very numerous, and there came thither above four hundred Bishops, amongst whom are reckoned about four score Arians. The most celebrated Catholics whom we know any thing of were, Restitutus Bishop of Carthage, who seems to have presided in the council, Musonius Bishop of the province of Byzacium in Africa, to whom all the rest gave place, on account of his great age; Grecianus Bishop of Gallia-cisalpine; and from Gaul itself St. Phebadius of Agen, and St. Servais of Tongres. Amongst the Arians, there are remarked, Ursatius, Valens, Germinius, Cajus of Pannonia, Demophilus of Beroea, Auxentius, Epictetus, Mygdonius and Megasius. Taurus the *præfectus prætorii* in Italy, assisted there for the Emperor, having orders not to let the Bishops go away till they had all agreed upon the same faith; and the Emperor promised to make him consul if he succeeded; as indeed he was in the year 361. Constantius wrote to the council, chiefly to warn the fathers not to decree any thing contrary to those of the East, declaring to them, that he would not support it by his authority; and repeating the order which he had given for sending six deputies to him. This letter bears date the sixth of the calends of June, under the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius, i. e. on the twenty seventh of May, in 359, and the council of Rimini began soon after.

THE Catholics assembled in the church, and the Arians in another place, which was left empty on purpose, and of which they made their oratory; for they no longer prayed together. When the faith began to be treated of, all the rest of the Bishops founded it only upon the holy Scriptures; but Ursatius and Valens, with the other chiefs of the Arians, came with a paper, and read the date to them, requiring that no further mention should be made of any other writing concerning the faith of any other council; and alledging, that they should not require any thing else of them, nor examine into their sentiments, but content themselves with that writing only. This was the last formula of Sirmium, drawn up on the twenty second of May, in this year 359; in which rejecting the terms *Substance* and *Consubstantial*, it is only said, that the Son is like the Father in all things. It is better, said they, to speak of God, after

XI.

The council of Rimini.

Ath. de Syn.

p. 874. C.

Sever. lib. 2.

p. 419.

Gest. 6. Id.

Orob. ap.

Hilar. fragm.

p. 453.

Hier. in

Lucifer. c. 7.

Sever. l. 2.

p. 419.

Ap. Hilar.

fragm.

p. 457.

p. 457.

p. 457.

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A. D. 359. after the most simple manner, provided that we think of him as we ought, than to introduce new words which favour of the subtilties of Logick, and only serve to stir up divisions; and we ought not to disturb the Church by two words which are not to be found in Scripture. Thus did they think to surprize the Western Bishops; for those of the East, by whom these Arians were instructed, looked upon them as simple people.

Theod. ii.
c. 18.

Socr. ii.
c. 37. ex
Athan. de
Syn. p. 870.
D.

THE Catholick Bishops replied, that they had no need of a new formulary, and proposed to have the doctrine of Arius expressly condemned. Every body agreed to this, except Ursatius, Valens, and the rest of their faction; and thus their artifices were discovered. We are not assembled, said the Catholick Bishops, to learn what we ought to believe; we learnt it from those by whom we were catechised and baptized, and from those by whom we were ordained Bishops; from our fore fathers, from the martyrs and confessors, whom we succeeded; that multitude of saints who assembled at Nice, many of whom are still alive: We will have no other faith, and we assembled here only to cut off those novelties which are contrary to it. What means your formulary with the date of the year and month? Have we ever seen any like it? Were there no Christians before this date? And all those saints, who before this time fell asleep in the LORD, or sacrificed their blood for the faith, did they not know what they ought to believe? It is rather a proof which you leave to posterity of the novelty of your doctrine. The Arians endeavoured to defend their date by the example of the prophets; but they were answered, that the prophets came not to lay the foundation of a religion, or to teach a new faith; they only made known the promises of GOD, chiefly in respect to the Messiah, and afterwards concerning what was to happen to the Israelites and other nations: thus the observing of time was necessary for shewing when they lived, and when they foretold what was to come. The Church has usually dated the acts of councils, and other regulations, in matters subject to change; but never dated confessions of faith, wherein she only declares what she always believed. It was moreover thought an absurdity in this dated formulary to give the Emperor the title of Eternal at the same time that they refused it to the Son of GOD.

Soz. iv.
c. 17.
Ap. Hilar.
fragm. in
fin.

Ibid.

THE council caused the professions of faith of the other sects, and that of the council of Nice to be read, to which alone she adhered, rejecting all the rest, and made her decree almost in these terms: We are of opinion, that the best way to satisfy all the Catholicks is not to recede from the Creed which we have been taught, whose purity we acknowledged after conferring together. It is the faith which we received from the prophets of GOD the Father, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD, which the Holy Ghost hath taught us, by all the Apostles, until the council of Nice; and which remains at present. We believe that we ought neither to add to, nor diminish it; that there is nothing to be done anew; and that the word *Substance*, and the thing which it signifies, established by several passages of the holy Scriptures, ought to continue with the same force, as the Church of GOD hath always professed it. All the Catholick Bishops, not so much as one excepted, subscribed this decree; as likewise another, by which they condemned the new doctrine of Arius in these terms. The blasphemies of Arius, though condemned already, remain concealed, because it was not known that they professed them; but GOD hath

hath permitted his heresy to be again examined, whilst we are at Rimini. A.D. 359. Wherefore we condemn it with all the heresies that have risen against the Catholick and Apostolick tradition, as they have already been condemned in former councils. They afterwards pronounced ten anathema's against several errors of Arius, Photinus, and Sabellius.

As Ursatius and Valens, and the rest of the Arians would, by no means, consent to this decree, the Catholick Bishops judged them to be ignorant and malicious persons and hereticks, and as such condemned and deposed them. The act by which they were deposed is still remaining in these terms: Under the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius, on the twelfth of the calends of August, i. e. on the twenty first of July, the council of the Bishops assembled at Rimini, after having considered of the faith, and determined what was to be done, Grecianus a Bishop of Gaul, said, My dear brethren, the council has bore as long as possible with Ursatius, Valens, Gaius, and Germinius, who have disturbed all the Churches by the frequent alterations in their opinions, and have now presumed so far as to endeavour to join the arguments of the hereticks with the Catholick faith, to destroy the council of Nice, and to propose to us in writing a strange faith, which it is not lawful for us to receive. They have long been hereticks, and we have owned, that they are so now; neither have we admitted them to communion with us, condemning them by word of mouth in their presence. Say then again what you decree, that every one of us may confirm it by his subscription. All the Bishops said, We desire that these hereticks may be condemned, that the Catholick faith may continue steadfast, and the Church be in peace.

Ap. Hilar.
fragm. in
fin.
Ap. Athan.
de Synod.
p. 879. D.

THE council having thus proceeded, both in respect to their determination concerning the faith and their personal sentence, might have broke up, had it not been for the Emperor's order, which obliged them to send deputies to inform him what was transacted. They complied with it, and accordingly sent ten Bishops, to whom they gave a letter for the Emperor. In the beginning they acknowledge, that it is by his order that they assembled; that they had agreed to preserve the ancient faith received by the preaching of the Prophets and Apostles, and even by JESUS CHRIST himself, especially as defined by the council of Nice, which was performed by so many holy Bishops, with such mature deliberation, and in the presence of the Emperor Constantine, who was baptized in that faith, and died therein. They frequently repeated their protestation of making no innovations in the faith; and intreat the Emperor several times not to suffer any thing to be added or diminished, declaring to him, that there is no other way of establishing peace, and causing divisions to cease, particularly at Rome. They bewail Ursatius and Valens, who having been excommunicated long before, had recanted in writing at the council of Milan; and yet, added they, they presumed to offer us a writing for introducing of innovations; and finding that it was not approved, they came into our assembly, as it were, to draw up another. They take notice of what they gave in charge to their deputies; which was only to preserve the ancient decisions, to inform the Emperor of what passed at the council, and to shew him the names and subscriptions of the Bishops. They besought the Emperor to give their deputies a favourable hearing, and to send them all to their Churches, that they might not continue long without shepherds, and that those who laboured under

XII.
The deputati-
on to the
Emperor.
Ap. Socr. ij.
c. 37.
Sozom. iv.
C.
Athan. de
Syn. p. 877.
Hilar. fragm.
p. 451.

A.D. 359. under inconveniencies in a strange country, by reason of their great age and poverty, might not suffer any more. In short, that he would not again permit them to be harrassed by such journeys, and separated from their flocks; but that he would leave them at peace in their Churches to pray for the prosperity of his reign.

Serv. Sulp.

THE deputies who carried this letter, amongst whom was Restitutus of Carthage, were young men of no great abilities or prudence; on the contrary, the Arians at the same time sent very able and cunning old men; at the head of whom were Ursatius and Valens. They were likewise ten in number; so that there were in all twenty, who stiled themselves deputies of the council of Rimini. The Catholicks had orders not to communicate in any manner whatsoever with the Arians, and not to enter into any treaty with them, but to refer all to the council; and, doubtless, by this means they thought to remedy their want of capacity. Constantius was not now in Illyria, but had advanced towards the East, on account of the war with the Persians. The Arians having made haste, came first to him, and easily prepossessed him against the council, reading the formulary to him which they had presented them. For, as it had been composed in his presence at Sirmium, he was displeased that it had not been received at Rimini. He treated the Arians with abundance of respect and civility, and shewed nothing but contempt for the Catholicks. His officers, who were in concert with the Arians, took the council's letter to deliver to him; but they would not let the deputies come near him, saying, that he was too much taken up with the business of the state to admit them to audience. Thus they wearied them by a long attendance upon the court.

Soz. iv. c. 19.
Theod. ij.
c. 19.

Ap. Socr. ij.
c. 37.

At length the Emperor wrote a letter to the council in a very unconcerned manner; in which he excused himself, on account of his journey against the Barbarians, for not having yet seen the twenty Bishops whom they had sent to him; for he confounds them all together. You know, says he, that our mind ought to be free, when we consider of religious matters; therefore, we have ordered them to wait for our return at Adrianople: In the mean time, be satisfied to wait for their answer, that when mine is brought to you, you may be able to determine the affairs of the Church. The Bishops of the council of Rimini replied to this letter, by protesting anew, that they would never depart from what their forefathers had decreed concerning the faith, and intreating him again to send them back to their Churches before the winter. It was perhaps during this interval, that considering of the privileges of the Church, they resolved to address the Emperor, that the lands belonging to the Churches might be exempt from publick burthens. The Emperor refused it, reserving only to the Churches the exemption from such as were extraordinary. But as to the persons of those Clerks who merchandized, and lands possessed by way of property, he even made them liable to the extraordinary burthens; as appears by a letter written in the following year 360, on the thirtieth of June, to Taurus the *præfectus prætorii*, the same who had assisted at the council. It is true, that when he was at Antioch, in the year 361, he made an order contrary to this, and restored all Clerks to their exemption from extraordinary impositions.

Ap. Socr.
ibid. ap.
Theod. ij.
c. 20.

Soz. iv. c. 19.
L. 15. Cod.
Theod. de
Episc. & ib.

Gothofr.
L. 16. ibid.

XIII.
The assembly
at Nice.

IN the mean time the Bishops deputies who staid at Adrianople, were called whether they would or no to a little town in the neighbourhood, called Nice,

Nice, and formerly Ustodizo; where the Arians seducing the more simple, and A. D. 359. intimidating the rest, made them subscribe to a formulary of faith, like the last Theod. ii. of Sirmium, which had been rejected at Rimini; and which was even worse, c. 21. as affirming, that the Son is *like* the Father, according to the Scriptures, with- Athan. ad Afric. p. 934. out adding *in all things*. It absolutely rejected the term *Substance*, as being in- Ap. Theod. introduced by the fathers in so simple a manner and offending the people; and it ibid. forbids mention being made of one *hypostasis* only in the person of the Father Son and Holy Ghost. In short, it pronounces anathema against all heresies, as well ancient as modern, that are contrary to this writing; that is to say, it condemns the Catholick doctrine. Those who were at Nice signed this for- Sozom. iv. mulary; and the Arians endeavoured to make it pass for the profession of faith c. 19. of Nice in Bithynia, to deceive the simple by this confounding of names; for it was for that reason that they chose this place; but the imposition was so plain, that very few were deceived by it. The deputies of the council of Rimini having signed this formulary, made an act of reunion with the Arians, in these terms.

UNDER the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius, on the sixth of the ides Ap. Hilar. of October, i. e. on the tenth of October, 359, the Bishops, sitting at Nice, fragm. p. 4524 called formerly Ustodizo in the province of Thrace, viz. Restitutus, Gregory, Honoratus, and the rest of those who are therein named, fourteen in number, whom we find no where else. It is probable, that the ten first deputies are inserted therein, and that the other four brought the second letter of the council of Rimini. After naming them, the act continues thus: Restitutus Bishop of Carthage hath said, You know, holy brethren, that when the faith was discourd of at Rimini, the dispute caused a division amongst the Priests of the LORD, by the suggestion of the devil, from whence it came to pass, that I Restitutus and the Bishops who followed me, pronounced sentence against Ursatius, Valens, Germinius, and Gaius, as the authors of an evil doctrine, i. e. we cut them off from our communion. But having more nearly examined all things, we have found what ought not to be displeasing to any one, namely, that their faith is Catholick, according to their profession of faith, which we likewise have subscribed, and that they never were hereticks. Wherefore, peace and concord being very acceptable to GOD, we have thought fit, with common consent, to annul all that has been done at Rimini, and to receive them to perfect communion with us, and to leave no blemish upon them. As we are here present, every one ought to declare whether what I have advanced is true, and to subscribe it with his hand. All the Bishops said, We desire it, and so subscribed.

THE deputies were then at liberty to return to Rimini; and the Emperor XIV. at the same time sent word to Taurus not to let the council separate, until all The continua- tion of the council of Rimini. the Bishops had subscribed this formulary of Nice in Thrace, and to send the most obstinate into exile, provided that they were not above fifteen in number. He also wrote to the Bishops, enjoining them to suppress the terms *Substance* Sulp. Sev. lib. 2. p. 427. and *Consubstantial*. Ursatius and Valens returned therefore victorious to Ri- Ap. Hilar. fragm. mini; their party got uppermost, and seized the Church, from whence they p. 453. F. drove the Catholicks. Those who had been all along of their party in the council, wrote to the Bishops of the East, that they were of the same opinion with them, and had always been so. Afterwards answering the Emperor's let- Ap. Hilar. ter, ibid.

A. D. 359. ter, they wrote to him another full of flattery and base compliances ; in which they declared, that they have obeyed his orders, and consented to the faith of those of the East, and to the suppression of the terms *εὐα* and *ὁμοούσιος*, words, say they, unknown to the Church, and which give offence ; words which are unworthy of GOD, and are not to be found in the holy Scriptures. Wherefore they beseech the Emperor to order the præfect Taurus to send them back to their Churches, and not to detain them any longer with those who are infected with a perverse doctrine. By this we see that this letter was sent but from one part of the Bishops ; and besides, it is in the name of the council of Rimini, consenting with those of the East, to the distinction which they had not agreed upon amongst themselves ; and bears the names of Mygdonius, Megafius, Valens, and Epictetus, all professed Arians.

Ap. Hilar.
ibid.

Sulp. Sev. 2.
P. 427.

THE Catholick Bishops who were at Rimini, refused at first to communicate with their deputies after their return, although they excused themselves on account of the violence used by the Emperor ; but when they knew the orders which he had given, their concern was much greater, and they were at a loss what to resolve upon. The greater part overcome, by degrees, some through weakness, and others by being weary with their abode in a strange country, yielded to their adversaries, who had got uppermost since the return of the deputies ; and their minds being once shaken, they went over in such crouds to the other party, that the Catholicks were at last reduced to twenty, which became so much the more resolute as their number decreased ; and they had at their head Phæbadius Bishop of Agen, and Servais of Tongres. The præfect Taurus perceiving that they did not yield upon his threatnings, attacked them by intreaties, and conjured them with tears, to take a more moderate resolution. This, says he, is the seventh month since the Bishops have been shut up in a city ; oppressed by the hardships of the winter and their own poverty, without any hopes of returning ; shall this never end ? Follow the example of the rest, and the authority of the greater number. Phæbadius declared, that he was ready to suffer banishment and all the torments they could lay upon him ; but that he would never receive the form of faith drawn up by the Arians.

THIS contest lasted several days ; and as there was no likelihood of peace, Phæbadius gave way by degrees, and at last yielded to a proposition of the hereticks : For Ursatius and Valens affirmed, that it was a crime to reject a profession of faith proposed by the Bishops of the East, and by the Emperor's authority, and which contained nothing but Catholick doctrine ; and they desired to know how an end could be put to their divisions, if the Bishops of the West rejected whatever was proposed by those of the East ? But this was false, for most of those of the East rejected this formulary, which was entirely Arian, and condemned the word *Substance* ; whereas on the contrary they were for retaining it, as we have seen in the council of Ancyra, saying only, that the Son is *like in Substance* ; whereas those of the West and the true Catholicks say, that he is of the same substance. It is said, that by this deceit the Arians caused most of the Catholicks to fall, persuading them that suppressing the term Substance would reunite the Western Church with that of the East. It is also said, that they asked them whether it was JESUS CHRIST whom they adored, or the *Consubstantiality* ? and that they thereby made that word odious to

Sup. n. 9.
Soz. iv. c. 19.

Conc. Parif.
Ap. Hilar.
fragm.

to them. Valens and Ursatius went yet farther, and said to Phæbadius and Ser-
 vaïs, that if that formulary of faith did not seem full enough for them, they
 might add what they pleased to it, promising on their part to give consent. So
 plausible a proposition met with a favourable reception from every one; and
 the Catholicks, who endeavoured to conclude the matter at any rate, durst not
 oppose it. Nothing seemed more fit for the servants of GOD, than seeking
 unity. The formulary of faith which they proposed, and which was that of
 Sirmium and Nice in Bithynia, seemed to contain nothing heretical. It was
 not therein said, that the Son of GOD was a creature, made out of nothing,
 nor that there was a time when he was not; on the contrary they say, that he
 was born of the Father before all ages, and was GOD of GOD. The reason
 for rejecting the word *substantia* or Substance was plausible, viz. because it was not
 to be found in the Scriptures, and offended the simple on account of its novel-
 ty. The Bishops were under no concern for a word, thinking the Catholick
 meaning secure.

At length a report being spread amongst the people, that there was some
 trick in this exposition of faith, Valens of Mursa, who had composed it, de-
 clared in presence of the præfect Taurus, that he was not an Arian; but on
 the contrary, that he was entirely averse to their blasphemies. But this decla-
 ration made in private, was not sufficient to stop the people's suspicions; where-
 fore the next day the Bishops being assembled in the Church of Rimini, with
 a great crowd of laymen, Musonius Bishop of the province of Byzantium in
 Africa, to whom they all yielded the first rank, on account of his age, spoke
 thus, We order that one of us may read to your holiness what is spread abroad
 amongst the people, and is come to our ears; that we may condemn with one
 voice, what is bad, and ought to be removed both from our ears and from our
 hearts. All the Bishops answered, We desire it. Then Claudius Bishop of
 the province of Italy, called Picenum, by order of all the rest, began to read
 the blasphemies attributed to Valens: But Valens disowned them, and cried
 out, If any body says, that JESUS CHRIST is not the Son of GOD, be-
 gotten of the Father before all worlds, let him be anathema. If any body say,
 that the Son of GOD is *not like* the Father *according to the Scriptures*, let him
 be anathema. If any one does not say, that the Son of GOD is eternal with
 the Father, let him be anathema. They all answered every time, Let him be
 anathema. Valens added, as it were to strengthen the Catholick doctrine, If
 any one says, that the Son of GOD is a creature, like other creatures, let him
 be anathema. They all answered, Let him be anathema, without perceiving
 the poyson that was concealed in this proposition: For, it was the opinion of
 the Catholicks, that he was not a creature in any respect; and Valens thought
 him a creature, but more perfect than others. They found out when it was too
 late the double meaning of this equivocation, and their chief fault was being
 surprized by it. Valens added, If any one say, that the Son is derived from
 nothing, and not from GOD the Father, let him be anathema. They all cried
 out the same. At last he said, If any one says, that there was a time when he
 was not, let him be anathema. This expression of Valens was received with
 extraordinary joy and applause; because those expressions seemed to be the pro-
 per character of Arianism. They extolled Valens to the skies, and condemned
 with repentance the opinion which they had of him. Then Claudius the Bi-
 shop

A. D. 359. shop added, There is still something which came from Valens our brother ; let us, if you please, condemn it in common, that no scruple may remain. If any one say, that the Son of GOD is before all worlds, but not absolutely before all time, so as to place something before him, let him be anathema. They all answered, Let him be anathema ; and Valens condemned after the same manner several other propositions which seemed suspicious, according as Claudius pronounced them. Such was the conclusion of the council of Rimini, whose beginning was so promising ; and the Bishops returned with joy to their provinces, not perceiving that they had been imposed upon. Before they separated, they sent deputies to the Emperor ; the chief of whom were Ursatius, Valens, Mygdonius, Megasius, Gajus, Justin, Optatus, and Martial ; by this we may see what party prevailed at the unhappy conclusion of this council, whose acts remain, and are quoted by St. Jerome. The deputies went to Constantinople, where they found those of Seleucia.

Epist. Orient.
Ap. Hilar.
fragm. p. 428.
Hier. adv.
Lucif. c. 7.

XV. FOR at the same time that the Bishops of the West were at Rimini, those of the East assembled at Seleucia, the metropolis of Isauria, surnamed *Aspera*, doubtless, because of the mountainous country. There came thither one hundred and sixty Bishops of three different parties, viz. Semi-Arians, Anomæans, and Catholicks. The chief of the Semi-Arians were George of Laodicea, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, Silvanus of Tarsus, Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, and Eustathius of Sebastia ; these were the majority, and were an hundred and five in number. There were reckoned about forty Anomæans, and the chief were Acacius of Cæsarea, George of Alexandria, Eudoxius of Antioch, Uranius of Tyre, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis. The smallest number was of the Catholicks, who defended the Consubstantiality of the Word ; they were scarce fifteen in number, and most of them Egyptians. St. Hilary of Poitiers happened to be there by the providence of GOD. It was now the fourth year of his banishment into Phrygia ; and although there was no particular order for him, yet upon the general order for sending all Bishops to the council, the Vicar of the *præfectus prætorii*, and the governour of the province obliged him to go thither, and provided him with a carriage. Upon his arrival at Seleucia he met with a very favourable reception, and excited every body's curiosity. The first thing they did was asking him, what was the belief of the Gauls ; for the Arians had caused them to be suspected of holding the Trinity only nominally like Sabelius. He explained his faith agreeable to the Nicene Creed ; and testified for the Bishops of the West, that they held the same belief. Thus having removed all suspicion, he was admitted to communion with the Bishops, and received into the council.

Sulp. Sev.
lib. 2. p. 431.

THERE assisted at it two commissioners from the Emperor, viz. Leonas who was a questor, a person considerable for his birth and wisdom, but a favourer of the Anomæans ; and Lauricius who commanded the forces in Isauria ; for it was a frontier country, exposed to the inroads of the Barbarians. Leonas had orders to be moderator at the council, and Lauricius to use force if there was occasion. There were likewise writers sent to compile the acts of the council, that is to say, the verbal process, which were afterwards found in the collection of Sabinus Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, one of the Macedonian party. The council of Seleucia began to assemble on the twenty seventh

of September, in this year 359, under the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius A.D. 359. Leonas exhorted every body to propose whatever they pleased; but the Bishops said, that they could not debate upon any question until all that were wanting arrived. The absent were Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, and certain others who were apprehensive of being accused. Macedonius pretended to be sick; Patrophilus staid in the suburbs of Seleucia under the pretence of having sore eyes; and each of the rest had some such excuse. Leonas maintained, that the question should be proposed notwithstanding their absence; but the Bishops found out another way of hindring it, and said, that no question should be debated until they had first examined into the conduct of those who were accused. They meant Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Sebasta, and some others. Cyril had been deposed by Acacius of Cæsarea, as we have before related: he afterwards came to a council at Meletius in Armenia, in which Eustathius was deposed; and St. Cyril had opposed the decrees of that council with Eustathius and Elpidius of Satales. The Bishops then began to be divided amongst themselves; some were for examining the accusations first; others would have the faith treated of before all things. The Emperor's various orders inflamed the dispute; for his letters were urged, which sometimes ordered them to begin with the one, and sometimes with the other: this dispute proceeded to an open division between the Acacians and the Semi-Arians, which divided the council of Seleucia into two parts.

Sup. xij.
n. 48.

Sozom. iv.
c. 25.
Basil ep. 74.
p. 875. C.

It was carried at length to begin with the question concerning the Faith. The Acacians, that is, the Anomæans openly rejected the Nicene Creed, and insinuated that another formulary ought to be drawn up. But the rest who were the majority received the Nicene Creed in every other particular, excepting the term *Consubstantial*. The Anomæans would by no means have the word *Substance* made use of, and were guided by the formulary that was composed at Sirmium by Mark of Arethusa, on the twenty-second of May. They advanced none but impious propositions, saying, that nothing could be like the Substance of God, that there could be no generation in God; that JESUS CHRIST was a creature, whose creation was considered as a Divine generation; that he was derived from nothing, and consequently neither the Son nor likeness of God. They publicly read these words, which were taken out of a sermon, preached at Antioch, by Eudoxius the Bishop, God was what he is; he was not a Father, because he had no Son; for if he had, he must also have had a wife; and so on, as we read in St. Hilary: For, it is he who relates with horror these blasphemies which he had heard with his ears; and there arose likewise a great uproar in the assembly upon reading this. After the dispute had lasted until night, Silvanus of Tarsus cried out with a loud voice, that they ought to make no new exposition of Faith, but adhere to that of the council of the dedication of Antioch. When he had said this, the Acacians withdrew; those of the other party gave an account of the formulary of Antioch, and it was read; and thus ended the first session of the council.

Sup. n. 62.
Hilar. ad
Const. i.

Hilar. ad
Const. i.
p. 292.

Soc. ii. c. 39.

THE next day being assembled in the Church, and having shut the doors, they confirmed the formulary which had been read by their subscriptions. The Readers and Deacons subscribed instead of those who were absent, who had given them power to that purpose. In the mean time Acacius and his partizans complained of these proceedings, and of their having subscribed when the doors

A.D. 359. doors were shut, alledging, that what was done in secret was to be suspected. He therefore on this very day, viz. the twenty eighth of September drew up a protest, against the violence which he pretended to have suffered by those of his party, and made it serve as a preface to a new form of Faith, which he had prepared to publish, and which he had already communicated to Leonas and Lauricius. There was nothing else done that day.

XVI.
Acacius's con-
fession of
Faith.

Ap. Soer:
ibid. ap.
Epiph. Hær.
73. n. 25.

Ap. Athan.
de Syn.
p. 904.

Col. i. 15.
Soc. ii. c. 40.

In Const. i.
p. 293.

ON the third day, which was the twenty ninth of September, Leonas contrived to assemble both parties; and Macedonius of Constantinople and Basil were likewise at the council. But the Acacians still refused to come, alledging, that they ought first to exclude those who had been already deposed, and those who were accused again at that time. After a great debate, it was carried for this advice; the accused withdrew, and the Acacians came in. St. Hilary was one of those who withdrew, unless he had before retired. Then Leonas said, that the Acacians had given him a writing without mentioning what was contained in it. They all attended quietly, never imagining that it was an exposition of Faith, and the writing was read in these terms: Yesterday being the fifth of the calends of October, we used our utmost endeavour to preserve the peace of the Church with all possible moderation, and to establish the Faith upon a solid foundation, according to the order of the Emperor who is favoured by GOD, and agreeable to the words of the Prophets, without mixing therein any thing that is not taken from Scripture. But certain persons in the council have insulted us, have stopped our mouth, and forced us out against our will, having with them those who have been deposed in several provinces, or ordained contrary to the canons; so that the council was filled with disorder, as the most illustrious Count Leonas, and the most illustrious governor Lauricius have seen with their eyes: Wherefore we declare, that we do not refuse the authentick formulary of Faith drawn up at the dedication of Antioch. And forasmuch as the terms *Consubstantial* and *like in Substance*, have hitherto occasioned great disorders, and that some are accused of having lately said, that the Son is not like the Father: We declare, that we reject the term *Consubstantial* as unknown in Scripture, and that we condemn the term *not like*, looking upon all those as aliens to the Church who hold these opinions. But we plainly confess the *resemblance* of the Son to the Father, according to the Apostle, who says, that he is the *Image of the invisible GOD*. Afterwards they insert a form of Faith like that of Sirmium of the twenty second of May, as they themselves observe at the conclusion. After this was read, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis cried out, If it is exposing the Faith, daily to propose our particular sentiments, we shall lose the rule of truth. There were several other discourses upon this subject relating to the accused, and then the session broke up.

THE Acacians condemned the doctrine of the *Son's not being like* the Father, only in words, and that to appease the heat which their blasphemies had raised. One of them coming to sound St. Hilary, the saint, as if he had been ignorant of what had passed, asked him what was the meaning of rejecting the *unity and likeness of Substance*, and condemning the contrary. The Arian answered, That JESUS CHRIST is not like GOD but his Father. This seemed to St. Hilary to be still more obscure, and he desired him to explain it. The Arian replied, I say that he is *not like* GOD, and we may apprehend, that he is *like* his father; because it pleased the Father to make a creature, who desired things

things in like manner as he did. He is therefore like the Father, because he is **A. D. 359.** rather the Son of his Will than his Divinity : But he is not like **GOD**, because he is neither **GOD** nor born of **GOD**, that is, of his Substance. St. Hilary remained mute, and could not believe that this was their opinion, until they declared it publickly.

ON the fourth day they all assembled, and disputed again very obstinately. Acacius said, Forasmuch as they have once altered the Nicene Creed, and changed it several times since, nothing hinders but that another confession of Faith be again drawn up. Eleusius of Cyzicus answered, The council is not now assembled to learn what they are ignorant of, or receive a Faith which they have not ; she walketh in the Faith of her forefathers, and goeth out of the way neither to life nor death. His maxim was good ; but by the Faith of his forefathers, he means that of the dedication of Antioch. Upon which Socrates the historian remarks, that it was much better to adhere to that of Nice, which was proposed by the forefathers of those who assembled at Antioch, and who by drawing up a new formulary seemed to renounce that of their forefathers. **Socr. ii. c. 40.**

THEY proceeded afterwards to another question ; for as the Acacians in the formulary which they had read, said, that the Son was like the Father ; it was asked in what respect he was like him. The Acacians said, that it was only in respect of his Will and not of his Substance ; all the rest said, that it was also in respect of his Substance. The day was spent in this kind of disputes. They reproached Acacius, that in the writings which he had published, he said, that the Son was *like* the Father *in all things*. How is it then, said they to him, that you now deny the *likeness in Substance* ? He answered, that no author, either ancient or modern had been judged by his writings. The dispute growing warm, the Acacians were for taking advantage of the confession of Faith drawn up at Sirmium by Mark of Arethusa, and subscribed by Basil of Ancyra, in which it was agreed to abolish the word *Substance* ; upon which Eleusius of Cyzicus said, If Basil or Mark have done any thing as private men, or if they have any dispute with the Acacians, That does not relate to the council ; and it is not at all necessary to enquire, whether their exposition of the Faith is good or bad. We must follow that which hath been authorized at Antioch by Bishops more ancient than they : whosoever introduceth any thing else is not in the Church. All that were of his party, that is, the Semi-Arians, applauded him. **Sozom. iv. c. 22.**

THERE being no end of the dispute, Leonas arose and dismissed the assembly ; and such was the conclusion of the council of Seleucia ; for on the next day the Acacians would come there no more ; and Leonas himself being desired to come, refused, saying, that the Emperor had sent him to assist at a council in which they agreed ; but that since they were divided, he could not come thither any more. Go then, added he, and talk vainly in the church. Those who went to invite him in the name of the council, found the Acacians with him ; so that they plainly saw that he favoured them, and that he had broke up the council to oblige them ; and from that time too they thought that they had carried the day. The rest of the Bishops desired them several times to return, but they would not ; sometimes they proposed to them to come to the house of Leonas by their deputies, and sometimes they pretended that **XVII.** *The conclusion of the council of Seleucia.* **Socr. ij. c. 40.**

A. D. 359. that the Emperor had given them commission to try the rest. In short, they would neither agree upon the same Faith, nor defend themselves from the accusations that were made against them, nor come to examine the affair of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whom they themselves had deposed; and there was no body to oblige them to it.

*Basil, cont.
Eun.
Athan. de
Syn. p. 881.* At length, after several citations and delays, the rest of the council pronounced a sentence of deposition against Acacius of Cæsarea, George of Alexandria, Uranius of Tyre, Theodulus of Cheretapes in Phrygia, Theodosius of Philadelphia in Lydia, Evagrius of Mitylene, Leontius of Tripoli in Lydia, Eudoxius of Antioch, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis. All those Bishops were deposed; and these confined to the communion of their churches, viz. Asterius, Eusebius, Abgarus, Basilus, Phæbus, Fidelis, Eutychius, Magnus, and Eustathius. It was decreed, that they should continue in this state, until they were cleared from the crime of which they were accused. They re-established St. Cyril in Jerusalem; and for Antioch in the place of Eudoxius, they appointed Anianus Priest of that Church, who was immediately consecrated by *Soz. iv. c. 24.* the care of Neonas Bishop of Seleucia. After all these proceedings, they wrote to the Churches, whose Bishops they had deposed, to give them notice of it. The ordination of Anianus for Antioch was to no purpose; for the Acacians laid hold on him and delivered him to Leonas and Lauricius, who caused him to be guarded by soldiers, and afterwards condemned him to banishment. The Bishops who had elected him, complained of it, by a protest against Acacius, directed to Leonas and Lauricius; but at length, not being able to obtain any redress, they broke up. Their sentence was executed no better in other respects; the deposed Bishops did not obey them; some of them returned to their dioceses, as Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and George of Alexandria; others went to Constantinople to complain to the Emperor, and Acacius carried Eudoxius thither, encouraging him against his natural timoroufness.

*XVIII.
St. Athana-
sius's treatise
of Synods.
V. Hermant
vie de St.
Ath. viij. 27.
Ecclaire.
Athan. de
Syn. p. 369.
p. 371. A.
p. 372. B.
p. 375.
p. 373. D.* ST. Athanasius being informed in his retreat, of what passed at Seleucia until the conclusion of the council, and at Rimini until the first deputation to the Emperor, immediately gave notice of it to his friends; these probably were the solitaries, because he supposes that they might only have heard of these councils, and that they were not informed even of the measures that were publicly taken for calling them together. He shews, that these two councils were assembled at the instance of the Arians, under pretence of establishing the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, but in truth to destroy the decree of Nice; after which, there was nothing more to be sought. He magnifies the absurdity of their formulary dated with the month and day of the consulate: To shew, says he, to all men of understanding, that their Faith did not begin till this time under Constantius. And afterwards, If, according to them, the Faith began under the present consulate, what will become of our forefathers, and the blessed martyrs? By this it appears that this treatise was written in this year 359. He afterwards relates what happened at Rimini, concluding with the sentence of deposition against Ursatius, Valens, and the rest of the Arians; then he proceeds to the council of Seleucia, of which he gives a brief account. AFTER this, to shew the continual variations of the Arians, he repeats what they have said at several times, beginning with the blasphemies of Arius, extracted

tracted from his *Thalia*. He adds the writings of his disciples; and amongst A.D. 359. others, those of the sophist Asterius. From thence he proceeds to the council p. 887. D. cils which they had held, for drawing up new confessions of Faith, and suppressing that of Nice; and he begins with the council of Jerusalem, held under Constantine the Great, in 335, because they did not meddle with the Faith Sup. lib. 11. at that of Tyre, of which this was as it were the sequel. He proceeds to the council of the dedication of Antioch, in 341, of whose three formularies he p. 892. gives an account; afterwards of that which they sent into Gaul by Narcissus p. 895. and his companions; then of the long exposition which they sent into Italy in p. 896. the year 345, by Eudoxius and his companions; then of that of Sirmium p. 900. drawn up against Photinus in 351; then of the second of Sirmium drawn up p. 902. D. by Potamius, in 357. He afterwards takes notice of the third of Sirmium, p. 904. D. which he had mentioned before, and which bears date the twenty second of May, this year 359. At last he adds that of Seleucia, drawn by the Acacians p. 904. C. on the twenty eighth of September, in the same year.

IN this place there is a supplement added by some other hand, or by St. A- p. 905. C. thanasius himself, giving an account at length of the formulary of Faith drawn up at Nice in Thrace, and approved at Constantinople in 360, and taking notice of that of Antioch in the following year, and the death of the Emperor Constantius. All this could not be written till after the year 361, but it is plainly an addition. In the rest of this piece St. Athanasius undertakes to de- p. 908. fend the term *Consubstantial*, which was so much abhorred by the Arians, and to suppress which they made so many formularies. He in the first place attacks p. 915. the grosser Arians, afterwards those who approved the Nicene Creed, excepting only the word *Consubstantial*; as for instance, Basil of Ancyra; and these he treats as Brethren who are of the same opinion, and differ only about a word. He confutes what was alledged concerning the word *Consubstantial* being con- p. 917. D. demned at the council of Antioch, held against Paul of Samosata in the year 269, and shews that That council rejected it in a quite different sense, which Sup. lib. 8; was that of Paul; and upon this occasion he explains the opinion of St. Dio- n. 4. nysius of Alexandria, who is calumniated upon this head. At last he shews the p. 922. D. solid reasons which obliged the fathers of Nice to make use of the term *Consubstantial*. St. Athanasius intimates, several times in this treatise, that he has not by him all the vouchers that were necessary to prove what he asserts, and of which he wishes that he could send them copies: this shews that he was in a state of flight, and not at his own home.

THESE two points concerning the word *Consubstantial*, that is to say, the reasons which induced the Nicene fathers to make use of it, and the real sentiments of St. Dionysius of Alexandria, who seems to have rejected it; these two points were of such importance, that St. Athanasius makes two separate works of them; being moreover thereunto determined by the particular need that there was of them. The treatise of the decrees of Nice is addressed to a De Decr. learned man, who had entered into dispute with the Arians and Eusebians in Nic. init. the presence of several Catholics, and had written an account of the conclusion of it to St. Athanasius; namely, that the Arians finding themselves pressed, were forced to ask why the fathers of Nice made use of the words *Substance* and *Consubstantial* unknown in Scripture. St. Athanasius, in order to satisfy this friend, shews him that the Fathers had been forced to make use of this word, p. 267.

A.D. 359. by the wicked subtilties of the Arians, since it cut them all off and left no room for doubt. He authorizes the terms *Substance* and *Consubstantial* by tradition, alledging the passages of the most ancient authors, who had used them : in the first place Theognistes, whom he styles a very learned man, and whom we hear of no where else ; afterwards St. Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, and St. Dionysius Bishop of Rome, who lived at the same time : at length, Origen, whom he all along styles the laborious. He quotes the passages of all these authors, and adds them at the end of his treatise. When you receive it, says he, read it in private ; if you approve it, read it likewise to the Brethren that are present, that they may know how to esteem the council and condemn the Arians. Another conference, in which the Arians, being at a loss what to say, had asserted, that St. Dionysius of Alexandria was of their opinion, obliged St. Athanasius to undertake his defence, and to shew that he never entertained any other opinions than those of the Church, which are entirely opposite to those of the Arians. He complains at first, that this conference came late to his knowledge, and seems curious of being informed of such matters.

p. 548.

XIX.
The Emperor
condemns
Acacius.

Sulp. Sev. A.
p. 431.
Sozom. iv.
c. 23.
Hilar. in
Const. i.
p. 293.

Epit. Orient.
ap. Hilar.
fragm.
p. 429. A.
Theod. ij.
c. 27.

THE Semi-Arians, before they left Seleucia, chose ten deputies to go to the Emperor to give him an account of what they had done, according to the order which they had received when he appointed the two councils. The chief of these were Eustathius of Sebasta, Basil of Ancyra, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Eleusius of Cyzicus. St. Hilary set out with them, and went likewise to Constantinople, to know what the Emperor determined concerning him, and if he would send him back again into exile. But Acacius, and those of his party were more diligent than the Semi-Arians ; for they arrived first, and prepossessioned the Emperor, having gained the most powerful of the courtiers, by means of the conformity of their sentiments, by flattering them, and by making them presents at the expence of their Churches. The authority of Acacius was considerable, he had naturally a strength of genius, and a persuasive speech, and was industrious in putting his designs in execution ; he governed a very famous Church, and gloried in being the disciple of Eusebius his predecessor, whose writings and reputation made Acacius pass for a man of more learning than others. It was therefore very easy for him to give the Emperor an ill impression of the council of Seleucia, by telling him that they had therein rejected the profession of Faith which had been drawn up at Sirmium in his presence. The ten deputies of the Eastern Bishops being come to Constantinople, chose rather not to come into the Church at all, than to communicate with those whom they had deposed at Seleucia. They besought the Emperor, that the blasphemies and crimes of Eudoxius might be examined ; the Emperor told them, that it was first requisite to determine the dispute concerning the Faith. Basil of Ancyra depending upon his former intimacy was for speaking freely to him, and representing that this way of proceeding tended to destroy the doctrine of the Apostles ; but the Emperor, in a passion, ordered him to be silent, upbraiding him that he was the occasion of the confusion of the Churches.

UPON which Eustathius took the word, and said, My lord, since you will have the Faith examined, consider the blasphemies which Eudoxius has presumed to advance against the Son of GOD. At the same time he presented him an exposition of Faith, wherein amongst other impieties there were these words, That which is expressed differently is not like in Substance. There is but one GOD.

GOD the Father, of whom are all things, and one LORD JESUS CHRIST, A.D. 352. by whom are all things; *of whom* and *by whom* are not like expressions; the Son therefore is *not like* GOD the Father. The Emperor Constantius having caused this exposition to be read, and being very much exasperated at the impiety of it, asked Eudoxius if that writing was his; he said that it was not his, but Aëtius's. The Emperor ordered Aëtius to be sent for; for he was at Constantinople, as also Eunomius. Aëtius being come in, the Emperor shewed him the exposition, and asked him if he had composed it. He, who knew nothing of what had passed, nor what was the intent of this question, followed the natural prejudice of men in favour of their own performances, and thought that owning this work would be only a credit to him; he therefore said, that he himself was the author of it. The Emperor offended at the great impiety of it, caused him to be driven out of the palace, and gave orders to send him into banishment into Phrygia.

EUSTATHIUS continued to affirm, that Eudoxius entertained the same sentiments; that Aëtius lodged and eat with him; and that it was by his orders that he had written these blasphemies. The proof, says he, that he had a share in it is clear; for none but he said, that the exposition was of Aëtius's composing. We must not, says the Emperor, judge by conjectures, but carefully examine facts. Well then, says Eustathius, if Eudoxius would persuade us, that he does not entertain the same sentiments, let him anathematize the writing of Aëtius. The Emperor willingly accepted the proposal, and ordered him to do it. Eudoxius excused himself, and had recourse to several artifices, in order to evade it; but when he perceived that the Emperor, being exasperated, threatened to send him with Aëtius, as an accomplice of his impiety, he denied his own doctrine, which he at that time maintained, and which he did not cease contending for afterwards. The Emperor being desirous of condemning Aëtius judicially, gave the commission for it to Honoratus, whom he had lately made præfect of Constantinople, and joined the chief of the senate with him. He himself assisted in person at the trial, where Aëtius was convicted of error in the Faith; and the Emperor and all the by-standers were scandalized at his blasphemies; his partizans were greatly surprized at this; for they expected that no body could resist him in his argument, believing him to be invincible in disputation.

IN the mean time the last deputies from the council of Rimini arrived at Constantinople, viz. Ursatius, Valens, and the rest of the chiefs of the Western Arians. They at first joined themselves inconsiderately to those who had been condemned at Seleucia, because, in reality, they held the same opinions. The deputies of the council of Seleucia, viz. the Eastern Semi-Arians, informed them of what had passed, and endeavoured to stop them by a letter which they wrote; at the beginning of which we find the names of eighteen Bishops, viz. the ten deputies, and the other four who had joined them. The first are Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, and Neon of Seleucia. By this letter they exhort the deputies of Rimini to join with them, to stop the heresy of the Anomæans from prevailing in the Church. We have, say they, represented it to the Emperor; he is displeased at it, and would have all this anathematized; but they contrived a device to condemn Aëtius the author of this heresy, rather than the error of itself; forasmuch as the sentence seems to be pronounced against

Philostorg.
iv. c. 12.
v. c. 1.

XX.
The Anomæ-
ans recover
themselves.
Sozom. ibid.
Sup. n. 11.
Hilar. fragm.
p. 428.

A.D. 359. gainst his person and not his doctrine. They also desire them to give notice to the Churches of the West, of all that happened; with this letter they sent them a copy of the blasphemies of Aëtius.

Hilar. fragm.
p. 429, 430.

THE Western Arians were so exasperated against the Bishop of their party, who had received this letter, and were so enraged to see their hypocrisy discovered, that they were about to have deposed him; for they were obliged either to condemn the error of Aëtius, with those of the East, or by not condemning it, to discover their sentiments. But they resolved upon the latter, and continued in communion with those who had been condemned at Seleucia, that is, with the Anomæans. It being asked in a great assembly, why they had not likewise declared at Rimini, that the Son of GOD was a creature; they answered, that they had not said that he was not a creature, but that he was not like other creatures, by saying, that he was not a creature as others are. And St. Hilary maintaining, that he is before all time, they explain his eternity like that of angels and humane souls, not of that which preceeds the duration of the world, but of the time to come. They had likewise a way to come off for the term *Likeness* which they allowed him, by that clause *according to the Scriptures*, which gave room for several evasions. Thus did they evade by subtil explanations, the anathema's which they had pronounced at Rimini, abusing the simplicity of the Catholicks.

Sozom. vi.
c. 23.

THE Eastern Anomæans, that is, Acacius and his party, greedily embraced this unexpected relief which came so seasonably to them, when the condemnation of Aëtius forced them to swear contrary to their sentiments, that they would not give up the term *Substance*, nor believe that the Son was *unlike in Substance*. When they found that those of the West had given up the term *Substance* at Rimini, they declared that they willingly received the same formulary. For, said they, if it should prevail, they with the term *Substance* will abolish the Consubstantiality, which the Western Bishops had so much regard to, on account of the council of Nice. The Emperor gave into this proposal, and approved the formulary of Rimini, in consideration of the great number of Bishops. He thought that in respect to the sense, it availed little, whether they said *like in Substance* or *Consubstantial*, but that it was very requisite not to use words unknown in Scripture, provided that they made use of others of the same import; and such he thought the terms, *like according to the Scriptures* made use of in the formulary of Nice in Thrace, and received at Rimini. He therefore obliged the Bishops who were at Constantinople to subscribe to this formulary, even the deputies from Seleucia. He spent the last of December intirely in this, and even some part of the night, although he was preparing for the ceremony of the next day, in which he was to begin his tenth consulate with the year 360.

Sup. n. 13.

XXI.
The council
of Constanti-
nople.

Philost. iv.
c. 12.
Sozom. iv.
c. 24.

THE Acacians having thus prevailed, held a council the beginning of this year at Constantinople, to reverse what had been done at Seleucia. They sent for the Bishops of Bithynia hither, and there were at least fifty in number. The most noted are Acacius of Cæsarea, Eudoxius of Antioch, Uranius of Tyre, Demophilus of Berœa, George of Laodicea, Maris of Chalcedon, Ulfias Bishop of the Goths, who however were Catholick. As they were disputing about the Faith in this council, St. Hilary perceiving the great danger that it was in, because those of the West had been imposed upon, and

and those of the East oppressed by the faction of the stronger party, he presented A. D. 360. a petition to the Emperor, which is the third of his discourses to Constantius that Sulp. Sev. ii. are extant. He at first speaks of the injustice of his banishment, and submits P. 432. himself to spend the rest of his life in penance on the rank of laicks, if he has Hier. Script. done any thing not only unbecoming the sanctity of a Bishop, but even the in Hilar. character of an ordinary believer. He offers to convict the author of his banishment of falshood, viz. Saturninus of Arles, who was then present at Constantinople.

BUT leaving it to the Emperor's discretion to hear him upon that point, when he thought fit; he speaks of the danger of the Faith; and after representing to him the absurdity of so many new formularies, he desires to be admitted to an audience upon that subject, in the presence of the council who were then disputing about it. And I desire it, says he, not so much upon my own as your account, and that of the Churches of GOD. I have Faith in my heart, and need not make any outward profession; I keep that which I have received; but, remember, that there is no heretick who does not pretend that his doctrine is agreeable to Scripture. He promises to say nothing that is foreign to the Gospel; nothing that may give offence, and which is not advantageous to the peace of the East and West. The Arians durst not accept this challenge, but persuaded the Emperor to send St. Hilary back into Gaul, as a person that sowed discord, and disturbed the East. He was therefore sent back, but without revoking his sentence of banishment.

THE Acacians being delivered from so powerful an adversary, confirmed the Soz. iv. c. 23. formulary of Faith which had been received at Rimini, and caused it to be sub- & vi. c. 7. scribed by the Semi-Arians, by promising them to condemn the opinion of the Anomæans, which however they did not. Thus all the Bishops that were Philostorg. present signed it; and afterwards, the council, to satisfy the Emperor, pro- iv. c. ult. ceeded to the condemnation of Aëtius, deposed him from the office of Deacon, and turned him out of the Church. They wrote letters upon this subject, to Ad Theod. ii. George of Alexandria, by which they declare, that they have deposed Aëtius c. 28. as the author of scandal and division in the Churches, and forbidden his writings to be read, as being unprofitable, threatening to anathematize him and his followers, if they persist in the same opinion: That all the Bishops have subscribed to his condemnation, except Serras, Stephen, Heliodorus, and Theophilus; although Serras testifies, that he heard Aëtius say, that GOD had revealed to him whatever he had kept secret from the days of the Apostles until that time. They therefore declared, that they separated from their communion these four Bishops for the space of six months; upon condition, that if in that space they do not submit, they should be deposed, and successors appointed in their places. Serras was Bishop of Paretoina in Egypt, Stephen of Ptolemais, and Heliodorus of Sozousa, both in Libya; and it is probably for this reason that the letter is addressed to George of Alexandria, upon whom they depended. What is most remarkable in this letter is, that they are very careful not to stile Aëtius an heretick, nor to condemn his opinion of the Son's not being like the Father.

BESIDES these four Bishops, there were certain others who refused to con- Phil. vii. c. 6. demn Aëtius, viz. Theodulus of Chersapes in Phrygia, Leontius of Tripoli; Theodosius of Philadelphia, and Phebus of Polycalandes, all three in Lydia. Id. v. c. 1. Aëtius

A. D. 360. Aëtius himself being thus condemned by his weak and politick friends, was sent into banishment to Mopsuesta in Cilicia, and afterwards to Amblada in Pisidia, at the foot of Mount Taurus, an unhealthy place, and inhabited by Barbarians. It was there that he maintained his heresy more openly, and published a piece in writing to support it, containing forty seven articles, which St. Epiphanius hath preserved and confuted. He had composed three hundred of these syllogisms, in order to destroy the doctrine of the Trinity by humane reasoning.

XXII. AFTER the Acacians had thus satisfied the Emperor, they themselves were contented with deposing several Bishops of the East of the contrary party: But as they were not thoroughly agreed amongst themselves concerning the Faith, they did not ground their sentence upon any error in doctrine, but only on manners, and upon pretended transgressions of the canons; pretences which are never wanting, to calumniate the most holy Bishops. Macedonius was deprived of the See of Constantinople, for having admitted a Deacon convicted of adultery to communion; but what was most prejudicial to him was, his having disobliged the Emperor, by removing the body of Constantine the Great from one church to another, and by that occasioning a sedition, in which several murders were committed.

BASIL of Ancyra was looked upon by the Anomæans as the chief of the opposite party; wherefore they got together a great number of accusations against him, viz. That he had abused a Priest named Diogenes, as he was going from Alexandria to Ancyra; that he had taken papers from him and struck him: That he had caused certain Clerks of Antioch, and others near the Euphrates, of Cilicia, Galatia, and Asia to be banished, and condemned to other punishments by the magistrates, without any formal process; so that being loaded with irons, they gave all that they had left to the soldiers who guarded them, that they might not be abused. They added, that the Emperor having ordered Aëtius and some of his followers to be carried to Cecropius to answer the accusations that were laid against them; Basil had persuaded the person who received the Emperor's orders, to do as he thought fit; that he had written to the præfect Hermogines and the governour of Syria, to tell him whom he should banish, and the places of their exile; and that the Emperor having recalled them from banishment, he had hindered it, by opposing the magistrates and Bishops. They added, that he had stirred up the Clergy of Sirmium against the Bishop Germinius; and that though he wrote word of his communicating with him, Valens, and Ursatius, he nevertheless disparaged them to the Bishops of Africa: That being accused thereof, he had denied it with a false oath; that being afterwards convicted, he had endeavoured to excuse his perjury by subtil arguments. That he had been the cause of the division in Illyria, Italy, and Africa; and of that which had happened in the Roman Church. That having caused a slave to be put in irons, he had forced him to swear falsely against his mistress: That he had baptized a man and made him a Deacon, who led an ill life, and co-habited with a woman without being married: That he forbore excommunicating an impostor, because of certain murders which he had committed: That he had performed the act of conjuring before the holy table, swearing with horrid execrations, and causing his Clerks to swear, that they would not accuse each other, in order to secure himself by this artifice from the accusations

accusations of the Clergy whom he governed. This is what Basil of Ancyra A.D. 360. was reproached with.

It was alledged against Eustathius of Sebasta, that whilst he was a Priest he had been condemned and excluded from the prayers, by his father Eulalius Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, because he wore an habit that did not become a Priest; that afterwards he had been excommunicated by a council at Neocaesarea in Pontus, and deposed by Eusebius Bishop of Constantinople, for having acted wrong in certain affairs with which he was intrusted: That he had been convicted of perjury, in a council at Antioch; that he endeavoured to reverse the decrees of the council of Melitina, in which he had been deposed. In short, that having been accused of so many crimes, he presumed to judge others, and to treat them as hereticks. Eleusius Bishop of Cyzicus was accused of having rashly ordained a Deacon named Heraclaius a Tyrian, and the Priest of Hercules, who being accused of Magick and prosecuted, fled to Cyzicus, and pretended to be a Christian. They added, that Eleusius being afterwards informed what he was, had not turned him out of the Church. They also reproached him with having ordained certain persons condemned by Maris Bishop of Chalcedon, who was present at the council. Hortasius was deposed for having been made Bishop of Sardis, without the consent of the Bishops of Lydia; and Dracontius of Pergamus, for having before had another Bishoprick in Galatia; and both their ordinations were pronounced illegal. Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, was accused of having through avarice sold again the offerings that had been presented to the Church; and, because, after the first and second citation, having at length appeared, he would not defend himself before the council, but had required secular judges. They accused Neon of Seleucia in Isauria, of having pretended that Anianus Bishop of Antioch had been ordained in his church, and of having made certain officers, (viz. Decuriones) Bishops, who were ignorant of the holy Scriptures and the canons, and who had afterwards declared in writing, that they had rather continue liable to publick offices, that they might preserve their estates, than to quit them in order to be made Bishops. St. Cyril of Jerusalem was again deposed for having communicated with Eustathius and Elpidius, who had acted contrary to their duty at the council of Melitine, where they had assisted with them, and of having communicated with Basil of Ancyra, and George of Laodicea since his being deposed; the pretence for which was, as hath been said, his selling the Oblation during the famine. They moreover deposed, under several pretences, Silvanus of Tarsus and Elpidius of Satales, but chiefly as the authors of the last disorders in the Church.

It must not be supposed, that all these accusations were thoroughly proved; the enquiry into them was irregular; the accusers were the judges, the witnesses suborned, and the suffrages forced. There were ten Bishops who refused to subscribe to the depositions: the Acacians suspended them from their functions and from the communion of the rest, until they had subscribed and declared, that if they did not comply in six months they should be deposed. This council had the same advantage as that of Seleucia, which was having its decrees put in execution by the Emperor's authority. The deposed Bishops were in effect driven out of their Sees and banished; Basil of Ancyra was sent into Illyricum, Eustathius into Dardania; Macedonius was only turned out of Constantinople,

Socr. ij. c. 43.

Soz. iv. c. 24.

Sup. 15.

Basil, ep. 74.

P. 795.

Sup. xiiij.

p. 48.

Basil, cont.

Eun. p. 64.

D.

Greg. Naz.

Orat. 21.

p. 387. A.

Soz. iv. c. 35.

Basil Ep. 73.

stantinople, p. 870.

A. D. 360. Constantinople, and retired to an estate in the neighbourhood, where he died. Soz. iv. c. 26. The Bishops that were banished, as they were on the road, revoked the subscriptions of the formulary of Rimini; some declaring for the *Likeness in Substance*, and others even for the *Consubstantiality*. They wrote letters to all the Churches against Eudoxius and those of his party, conjuring them to avoid communicating with them as hereticks and defenders of an abominable doctrine, who had seized on their churches only through a desire of vain glory and temporal power; and that for their part they could not agree to their deposition.

XXIII. HOWEVER the Acacians filled their Sees. Eudoxius placed himself in Constantinople, and took possession thereof on the twenty seventh of Audinea or January, in this year 360, in the presence of seventy two Bishops. Thus the same council that had just deposed Dracontius, for having been translated, approved the second translation of Eudoxius, who had removed from Germanicia to Antioch, and from thence to Constantinople. He officiated the first time at the dedication of the Church of St. Sophia, on the sixteenth of the calends of March, or the fourteenth of Peritios, that is February, about thirty four years after Constantine the Great had laid the foundations of it. At this ceremony Eudoxius began his discourse with equivocal Greek words, which seemed to signify that the Father is impious, and the Son pious; but which he afterwards explained, by saying, that the Father honoureth no man, but the Son honoureth the Father: So that the indignation which he had at first excited, was turned into laughter; and by this means it was, that these hereticks accustomed the people to their blasphemies. At this dedication the Emperor Constantius made considerable presents to the Church. He offered several large vessels of gold and silver; several carpets for the altar of gold tissue adorned with precious stones; as also curtains of gold, and divers colours for the doors of the church, and for those of the outward porches. He also gave magnificent donatives to the Clergy, the virgins, and the widows who were upon the canon, i. e. upon the church list, and in the hospitals. For the maintenance of these persons, the poor, orphans, and prisoners, he assigned a larger quantity of corn than what had been granted by his father Constantine the Great.

Philostorg. v. c. 1. ATHANASIUS was made Bishop of Ancyra instead of Basil; Acacius, not him of Cæsarea, was placed in Tarsus instead of Silvanus; Onesimus in Nicomedia, in the place of Cecropius, who died two years before by the earthquake. At Cyzicus, instead of Eleusius, they placed Eunomius, who was afterward an heresiarch: he being counted a very eloquent man, Eudoxius thought it expedient to have him so near Constantinople, in hopes that he would allure all the people by his discourses. But Eunomius would not accept that place until Eudoxius and Maris had promised him that in three months time his master Aëtius should be recalled from exile and restored. Eunomius was put in possession of the Churches by the Emperor's order; but the followers of Eleusius built a church without the city, in which they kept their assemblies. In Jerusalem in the place of St. Cyril, they put Irenæus or Herennius. At Sardis they placed Theosebius instead of Heortasius, although he was convicted of horrid blasphemies.

Soz. ij. c. 43. THE council of Constantinople sent the formulary that was subscribed at Soz. iv. c. 26. Rimini all over the Empire, with an order from the Emperor to send all those into

into banishment, who would not subscribe to it : Acacius and the rest, hoping A.D. 360. by this to erase the memory of the council of Nice. They wrote likewise to those of the East, who held the same opinions, to give them notice of what they had done ; amongst others, to Patrophilus of Scythopolis, who went directly home from Seleucia. Thus ended this council of Constantinople.

THE subscriptions which were every where exacted in prosecution of this order, caused a very great disorder in the Church ; it was a kind of persecution, more dangerous than that of the Heathens, as proceeding from within : Subscribing became the necessary qualification both for obtaining or for keeping a Bishoprick. Almost every body signed, even without being convinced of the error ; a very few were exempt from it, either such as had the courage to resist, or were neglected, on account of their obscurity : But we find not so much as one in the East who continued steadfast and kept possession of his See, though it is certain that there were several ; and in all the provinces there were some turned out upon this account. All the rest yielded to the times, some sooner, others later, either through fear, interest, or ignorance. The pretence of peace, and submission to the Emperor, brought over almost all the Prelates to the Arian communion. The old Bishop Gregory of Nazianzen was so weak as to sign as well as the rest, though his Faith was entirely pure ; but he suffered himself to be imposed upon through simplicity, by the artful expressions of the hereticks. The Monks who were the purer part of his Church, after this, thought that they might not continue in communion with him ; they therefore separated themselves, and drew abundance of people along with them. Gregory the son, who lived with him, to assist him in his old age, always continued united with him, without approving in any wise their error by whom his father was seduced ; and at length he reconciled to him the Monks, and the rest of those who had separated without any ill will, but out of pure zeal for the Faith. Dianæus Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, fell into the same fault, and subscribed as well as the rest, to the formulary of Constantinople. St. Basil was greatly afflicted at it, as well as several other religious persons of that country. But St. Basil's concern was so much the greater, as he had been brought up from his childhood, with a particular respect and affection for his Bishop, by whom he had been baptized and made Reader ; and besides, Dianæus was in himself very valuable, on account of his gravity, meekness, and noble simplicity. Indeed, he had not resolution enough to declare for the honest party ; he assisted at the council of Antioch that was held on account of the dedication in 341, and in that of Sardica he joined with the Arians ; but he made amends for these crimes before his death.

IN the West, St. Hilary returning to his Church, found the like disorders in all places. The Emperor had given full power to Ursatius and Valens, and sent the formulary of Rimini throughout all the cities of Italy, with orders to turn out the Bishops who refused to subscribe it, and to place others in their stead ; and thus the persecution was general. The Bishops who had suffered themselves to be surprized at Rimini, were content to govern their Churches without communicating with the rest of the Bishops ; some of them wrote to the Confessors who were banished on account of St. Athanasius, making a declaration of their own Faith, and desiring their communion ; others continued in communion with the Arians, although unwillingly, being in no hopes of

XXIV.

The persecution for the formulary of Rimini.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 21.

p. 387.

The Hier. Chr.

Anno 361.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 19.

p. 297.

Or. 12.

p. 196, &c.

Basil Ep. 86.

Id. de Sp.

S. c. 29.

p. 217. D.

Sup. lib. 12.

n. 10.

Ibid. n. 40.

Inf. xv. n. 15.

Socr. ii. c. 37.

Soz. iv. n. 19.

Hier. ix.

Lucif. c. 7.

A.D. 360. any alteration ; and some were for defending what they had done by surprize, as being done on purpose : However, some continued stedfast ; amongst others, Damas. Liberius Bishop of Rome, and Vincent of Capua, who resolutely refused to sign the formulary of Rimini, and by that atoned for the fault which they committed a few years before. It is even said, that Liberius was forced to leave Rome and to hide himself in the burial places near the city, where Damasus and others of his Clergy came to him, and that he remained there until the death of Constantius. In Spain, Gregory Bishop of Elvira, signalized his courage, by opposing the prevarication of the rest of the Bishops. He wrote about it to St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, who sent him an answer from the place where he was banished the third time, viz. from the Thebais, praising him for having opposed the scandal of Hosius, and for refusing his assent to those who had lapsed at Rimini, and had communicated with Ursatius, Valens, and the rest of those whom they themselves had before condemned. He exhorts him to keep the Faith of Nice without being afraid of the temporal power ; he offers him his communion, and beseeches him to give him an account of those who had continued stedfast, or whom he hath brought back. This Gregory was neither turned out, nor banished, as others had been.

Mart. &
Faust. p. 40.

XXV.
The first Acts
of St. Martin.
Sulp. Sev.
de vit.
Mart. c. 1,
2, 3. &c.

St. Hilary being come into Gaul, found again his dear disciple St. Martin, who had followed him before his banishment. Martin was born at Sabaria in Pannonia, that is, on the confines of Austria and Hungary ; but the city is now no more. He was brought up at Pavia in Italy ; his parents were Pagans, and his father a military tribune. Martin at first likewise followed the same profession, but against his inclination, and served in the horse, under Constantius and Julian. He was converted at that time ; for at the age of ten years he fled to the Church against his parents will, and desired to be made a catechumen. At twelve years old he was for retiring into the desert, and would have done so had not his tender years hindered him ; but his heart was always bent upon the Church and Monasteries. There coming out an order from the Emperor for enrolling the children of veteran soldiers, his father himself discovered him ; he was taken and chained, and forced to take the military oath. He contented himself with one servant, and him he treated as if he were his equal ; they eating together, and the master frequently performing even the lowest offices for him. Whilst he bore arms, he kept himself free from all the vices which usually attend that profession, and procured the love of all his companions by his goodness and charity ; he was patient and humble above what humane nature is capable of ; but, however, he was not yet baptized. He comforted all those who suffered, reserving to himself out of his pay only sufficient for his daily support. One day having nothing left but his arms and clothes, in the midst of an hard winter, when several perished with cold, he met at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man quite naked, who in vain besought the passers by to have pity on him ; whereupon he thought that he was reserved for him ; and so drawing his sword he cut his coat into two pieces and gave him one. Some of the by-standers made a jest of his disfigured dress, and others were concerned that they had not performed that act of charity. At night he saw JESUS CHRIST in a dream, dressed in the half of his coat, who commanded him to look upon him, and said to the angels which surrounded him, Martin who is yet but a catechumen, hath clothed me with this garment. This vision determined

terminated him speedily to receive baptism; but after he had received it, he still A.D. 360. continued two years in the service, at the desire of his tribune, with whom he lived in great friendship, and who promised him to renounce the world when the time of his office was determined. At last, he took the opportunity of Julian the Cæsar's giving a donative to the soldiers, to ask for his dismissal. Julian upbraided him, that it was for fear of being in the battle that was to be fought the next day. But Martin replied, To morrow I will be at the head of the troops without arms, and guarded only by the sign of the cross, I will rush without fear amongst the enemies. They put him in prison to make him keep his word; but the Barbarians sent the next day to desire peace.

MARTIN having quitted the service, went to St. Hilary the most famous Bishop of the Gauls, and staid some time with him. St. Hilary would have ordained him Deacon, to tie him the more strongly to him; but he thinking himself unworthy, he was forced only to make him an Exorcist, to satisfy his humility. Being warned in a dream to go and visit his parents, who were still Pagans, he obtained leave from St. Hilary, who made him promise to return again. He converted his mother and several others, but his father continued a Pagan. Martin strenuously opposed the Arians who prevailed in Illyrium; in-
 somuch as to be several times ill treated, and at length beaten with rods, and turned out of the city. He therefore returned into Italy, and knowing that the Church of Gaul was likewise afflicted, and St. Hilary banished, he retired near Milan, and there led a monastick life: But he was there more violently persecuted than ever by the Arian Bishop Auxentius, one of the chiefs of the party, who at last drove him out of the country. St. Martin thought it necessary to yield to the times, and retired into the little island Gallinaria on the coast of Liguria near Albenga, with a Priest of great virtue. He there lived some time upon roots; and having one day inadvertently eaten Hellebore, he was near dying; but he cured himself by prayer. Being informed of St. Hilary's return, he went to meet him as far as Rome; and he being already gone through it, he went after him. Having overtaken him, he met with a very pleasing reception, and retired near Poitiers, two leagues distant from the city, in a place called at that time Locociagum, at present Ligugè; and this is the first monastery that we have any account of in Gaul. A catechumen there joined himself to him, in order to receive his instructions a few days after he was seized with the fever, and St. Martin who was from home, returning after three days space, found him dead, and so sudden was his death, that he had not received baptism. He caused every body to go out, and having shut himself up in the cell where the body was, he laid himself upon it; and after having continued some time in prayer, he rose up, and looking stedfastly upon him, waited for the effects of his prayer with great confidence. After two hours space the limbs of the dead body began to move, and at last he opened his eyes. Being restored to life, he was immediately baptized, and lived several years. A little while after, as St. Martin was going through the lands of a person of distinction named Lupicinus, he heard great cries, and was told that one of the slaves had hanged himself: Upon which he in like manner shut himself up with the dead body, and having prayed some time, raised him up and led him by the hand to the porch of the house where all the people were waiting for him. These miracles caused St. Martin to be considered as an apostolical person.

Greg. Tour.
nier. v.

A.D. 360. ST. Hilary likewise raised a child to life, who had died without baptism. Upon his return he found his daughter Abra in perfect health, and asked her if she would go and meet the spouse which he designed for her. She replied, that she earnestly desired to be united to him as soon as possible. Upon which, he did not cease praying till without either sickness or pain, she died to go unto JESUS CHRIST, and he bound her up with his own hands. St. Hilary's wife seeing her daughter's happy end, desired him to procure her the same happiness; and accordingly he sent her also into eternal glory by the force of his prayers; so free was he from the affections of flesh and blood.

XXVI.
St. Hilary's
piece against
Constantius.
Hier. de
Script.
Eccl. 111. 7.
Joan. x. 12.

IT was about the time of his return that he wrote his treatise against the Emperor Constantius; but it is thought that he did not publish it till after that Prince's death; and it is doubted, whether it was finished. It begins thus: It is time to speak, since the time of being silent is past. Let us expect JESUS CHRIST, since Anti-Christ bears rule; let the shepherds cry, Since the hirelings are fled; let us lose our lives for our sheep, because the thieves are entered, and the devouring lyon turns about; let us go to martyrdom with these cries; because the angel of satan is transformed into an angel of light. And afterwards, Let us die with JESUS CHRIST, that we may reign with him. To be any longer silent would be diffidence, and not moderation; it is no less dangerous to be always silent than never to be silent. He afterwards takes notice of what he had done five years before, after the banishment of St. Paulinus of Treves, Eusebius of Vercellæ, and other Confessors, i. e. in 355, which is a proof that he wrote this in 360. He shews, that he does not write through passion, but for the interest of religion, forasmuch as he hath so long kept silence since his being persecuted. He laments that he did not live in the time of Nero and Decius, that he might have attacked an open enemy, rather than a persecutor in disguise, who has recourse to nothing but artifices and flatteries, and who under the pretence of honouring JESUS CHRIST, and procuring the union of the Church, destroys peace and renounces JESUS CHRIST.

HE maintains, that he has reason to treat Constantius as Anti-Christ and a tyrant; he reproaches him with the violent proceedings at Rimini, and the cabals of the Eastern Bishops at Seleucia. He calls him a ravaging wolf in sheep's clothing, who shews himself by his works. You adorn, says he, the sanctuary with the gold belonging to the publick; you offer GOD that which you have taken from the idol temples, or taken as a forfeiture from criminals; you salute Bishops with a kiss, by which JESUS CHRIST was betrayed; you bow your head to receive their blessing, and you tread their faith under foot; you receive them to your table, like Judas who went from thence to betray his master; you forgive them the tribute money which JESUS CHRIST paid to avoid giving offence; you give it away to invite Christians to renounce the faith; you give up your rights, that GOD may lose those which belong to him. We see by these reproaches what honours were paid to Bishops by the Christian Emperors. The rest of the piece contains a solid confutation of the pretences, under which Constantius rejected the terms *Consubstantial* and *like in Substance*; together with a defence of the Nicene Creed. He concludes with magnifying the rashness of endeavouring to fathom the Divine Being with our reason, whilst we are so little acquainted with our selves. But this piece seems to be imperfect. He wrote a piece also against Ursatius and Valens, in which he gives

gives the history of the council of Rimini and that of Seleucia. We have A.D. 360. only the fragments of it remaining, but they are very precious, and chiefly on account of the acts and letters that are there preserved.

AMONGST other things there was the synodical letter of the council of Paris; by which the Bishops of Gaul answer those of the East, who had written to St. Hilary, in order to discover to him the artifices which the hereticks made use of to separate the East from the West under pretence of the word *Substance*. It was probably Basil of Ancyra and the other Catholics, or Semi-Arians, who having been deposed at the council of Constantinople, by the faction of the Anomæans, wrote against them from all quarters. The Bishops of the council of Paris acknowledge, that those who have consented to suppressing the word *ὁμοούσιον* or Substance, whether at Rimini or Nice in Thrace, did it for the most part only under authority of the name of these of the East. You have, say they, formerly introduced this word in opposition to the heresy of the Arians; we have received it, and always inviolably preserved it. We have taken the word *ὁμοούσιον* to express the true and legal birth of the only Son of GOD, abhorring the union introduced by the blasphemies of Sabellius. Neither do we conceive, that the Son is a part of the Father; but that of GOD, unbegotten, entire, and perfect, GOD the only Son is born entire and perfect; and when we say, that he is of the same Substance with the Father, it is only to exclude his being created, adopted, or the simple denomination. Neither are we uneasy at hearing it said, that he *is like* the Father, because he is the *image* of the *invisible* GOD; but we cannot conceive any resemblance worthy of him but that of Very GOD to the Very GOD, which excludes the union, and confirms the unity; for union implies singularity, the unity only shews the perfection of him who is begotten. And afterwards:

THUS, dear brethren, knowing by your letters, that they abuse our simplicity concerning the suppressing of the term *Substance*, and being informed by our brother Hilary, that those who went from Rimini to Constantinople, could not be prevailed upon to condemn such plain blasphemies, although you had informed them thereof, as appears from your enclosed letter: we also revoke all that hath been done amiss and ignorantly. We look upon Auxentius, Ursatius, Valens, Cajus, Megasus and Justin as excommunicate according to your letters, and according to the declaration of our brother Hilary, who hath protested, that he will never have peace with such as follow their errors. We also condemn all the blasphemies which you have afterwards inserted in your letters; but we more especially reject the apostate Bishops, who through the ignorance or impiety of certain persons, have been put in the place of our brethren, who are so unjustly banished; protesting before GOD, that if any person in Gaul undertakes to oppose what we have decreed, he shall be deprived of the communion and the priesthood. And as Saturninus hath with great impiety opposed these wholesome ordinances, know that he hath been excommunicated by all the Bishops of Gaul, according to the letters which our brethren have written twice already, having rendered himself unworthy of the name of Bishop, as well by his former crimes so long dissembled as by the new impiety of his presumptuous letters. Thus ends the synodical letter of the council of Paris. It seems probable that it was held soon after St. Hilary's return, and whilst Constantius was living. The Bishops of Gaul were secured from

XXVII.
The council of
Paris.

Sup. n. xxij.

Coloss. i. 15.

A.D. 360. from the persecution by the authority of Julian, who was declared Augustus at Paris from the year 360, and his residing in that city might occasion the council's being held there rather than any where else; for he as yet professed Christianity.

Pagi,
Anno 360.
n. 23.
Inf. n. 34.

XXVIII.
The writings
of Lucifer of
Cagliari.

ON the other side Lucifer of Cagliari published several books, during his exile, in defence of the faith, and against the persecution of Constantius. The first of his works he dedicated to the Emperor, in defence of St. Athanasius; it is divided into two books, and begins in the following manner: You force us, O Constantius, to condemn our brother Athanasius in his absence; but the law of GOD forbids us to do so. By your royal authority you oblige the Priests of GOD to imbrue their hands in blood; you consider not that this is forcing us to forget the laws which we have received from GOD himself. Can you say, that GOD allows the absent, and which is more, the innocent to be condemned without hearing, when you see that Adam and Eve, our first parents, were not punished by GOD's judgment, until they were heard? GOD called Adam, and said unto him, Adam, where art thou? &c. for he inserts this piece of Scripture at length; after which he adds, Whence therefore proceeds thy presumption, to order the servants of GOD to judge by a law not authorized by the law of GOD? without fearing as they said then, The serpent hath deceived us, we say unto GOD, The Emperor Constantius hath seduced us. Do you not consider that you will be struck with the same sentence of an avenging GOD, as the serpent was? to whom it was said, Since thou hast done thus, thou shalt be accursed, and so on. He continues to alledge many other passages of Scripture at full length, and to apply them to the Emperor, with as much freedom and vehemence as if he spoke to the meanest of the people. He observes no other method in his works, but in this manner, quoting the books of Scripture in order. He uses frequent repetitions; his stile is rude and harsh as he himself calls it; his writings are only valuable for the generosity of his sentiments and the force of his expressions.

Gen. iii 9.

Ibid. 14.

De trop. part.
p. 274.
Ed. Paris,
1568.

De non com.

THE second of his works is intituled, *Of Apostate Kings*; and is designed, as he himself declares, to undeceive Constantius in the advantage that he pretended to draw from his temporal prosperity, by saying, that if the faith which he professed was not Catholick, and that if the persecution against the defenders of the Nicene Faith was not agreeable to GOD, he should not have enjoyed so flourishing an empire. Lucifer refutes this error, by the example of evil princes, whom GOD permitted to reign even over his own people, not to mention infidels. The title of his third work is, *The Hereticks are not to be communicated with*; the design is to answer the reproaches which Constantius made to the Catholick Bishops, of their being enemies to peace, union, and brotherly love. In this he proves, from the authorities of the Scriptures, the necessity that we are under of separating ourselves from the wicked.

P. 253.

THE title of his fourth work is, *That we ought not to spare those who sin against GOD*; and he begins in this manner, directing his discourse to the Emperor: Finding thy self vanquished every way, by the servants of GOD, thou hast said, that we do not honour but injure thee, and that we are insolent. He next justifies his own conduct, by examples drawn from holy Scripture. He says in this piece, If thou hadst fallen into the hands of Matathias, or of Phineas, they, seeing that thou livest like the infidels, had cut thee off with the edge

edge of the sword ; and I, because with my words I gaul thy soul, dipped in A.D. 360.
the blood of Christians, I injure thee. Why, O Emperor ! dost not thou
then revenge thy self on me ? Why dost not thou obtain the reparation of these
injuries from me a poor beggar ? It is not for want of inclination, but it
is because thou hast not as yet received power from him, who, because I
belong to him, gives me the power to reprimand thee for thy crimes, and to
tell thee that I defy thee, the riches of thy empire, and thy father the devil.
Know that we are afflicted, because thou shewest us mercy, thou who art ac-
customed to give up to the sword them who displease thee. It is this that ren-
dereth these holy Bishops so bold, it is because they despise wealth and life also ;
he goes on : Ought we to value thy ear-rings, thy diadem, thy bracelets, thy p. 292.
rich garments, and to despise the Creator of all things ? How small is thy un-
derstanding, when you say, I am abused by Lucifer, by a wretch, I who am p. 300.
an Emperor ; and you do not add by a Bishop, who has found thee to be a ra-
vening wolf ! And again, You accuse me of abusing you ; to whom will you
complain ? to GOD whom thou dost not know ? To thy self ? What wilt
thou do, O mortal man ! thou who canst not hurt the servants of GOD ? If
thou dost torment us, we shall by torments grow stronger ; if thou puttest us
to death, thou shortenest our journey to a blessed eternity.

HE starts an objection from that text of Scripture which commandeth obe- p. 297.
dience to kings and higher powers ; but to this he answers, that the Emperor Rom. xiiij.
himself, since he professeth himself a Christian, ought in that capacity to re-
ceive with respect the correction of the Bishops ; for they are ordained to speak
and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, and to be despised by no man. He Titus ij. 15.
goes on : Know thou that we acknowledge the obedience which we owe unto
thee, and to those in power ; but we are to obey in just things only ; we are
not out of obedience to condemn the innocent ; we are not to abandon the
Faith. I may add, continues he, that the Apostles spoke of princes and ma-
gistrates, who did not believe in the Son of GOD, and who were to be drawn
to the Faith by patience, humility, and obedience to all their just commands.
But as thou being Emperor, pretendest to be one of us, shouldst thou, under
this pretence, order us to forsake GOD and embrace idolatry ; ought we then
to obey thee, for fear of disobeying the precepts of the Apostle ? Lo ! here is
the bounds of temporal power. Christians ought to obey infidel princes in all
their reasonable commands, and to disobey even Christian princes in all that e-
vidently contradicts the word of GOD. On the other hand, Christian princes
ought in matters of religion to submit to Bishops, and receive from them in-
struction and correction, whilst in all other things they ought to command
them. The last work of Lucifer was intituled, *It is fitting to die for the Son of*
GOD ; the design was to shew Constantius, that by all his temporal power he
cannot overcome the Catholicks, who are prepared to receive martyrdom.

LUCIFER was not content with composing these works, but he sent a copy
of them to the Emperor ; who, surprized at his boldness, ordered Florentius,
one of his great officers, to answer him in these terms : A book hath in thy
name, Lucifer, been presented to the Emperor, which he orders me to send
unto thy holiness, to know if it was really thou who didst send it ; thou
oughtest therefore to answer this, and send back the book, that it may again be
presented to the eternal Emperor. Lucifer answered, Know that I did send
the

A. D. 360. the book to the Emperor ; and after having again considered it, that I have sent it by Bonosus agent to the Emperor. It is now therefore left to your generosity to assert boldly, that I have acknowledged it ; for when you have examined seriously the reasons for which I wrote in this manner, you will find that we have been strengthened by GOD, so as to wait with gladness the death which is preparing for us.

Ap. Lucif. ST. Athanasius having heard of the works of Lucifer, wrote to him from the place where he was concealed, to congratulate his steadfastness ; and sent unto him a Deacon, named Eutychez, to desire of him a copy of his works ; which having received, he again wrote to him, praising him greatly, and saying ; that he was the lively image of the courage of the Apostles and Prophets ; that he was the Elias of that age ; and that it was the Holy Ghost that spoke

Libel. Marcel. p. 72. by him. St. Athanasius so much esteemed the works of Lucifer, that he translated them into Greek. Lucifer was exiled into four different places, first to Germanicia in Syria, next to Eleutheropolis in Palestine, the Bishop of which place Eutichius, frequently insulted him, and persecuted all those who communicated with him. One day he ordered the door of the house where Lucifer was shut

Ibid. p. 89. up with the Catholics to be cut down ; they fell upon him furiously, overturned the altar, beat the people that assisted, and carried away the sacred vessels, and the holy books. The third banishment of Lucifer was in Thebais ; but we know not where his fourth was.

XXIX. EUDOXIUS having established Eunomius at Cyzicus, fearing that he should declare himself too soon, if he at once professed himself one of the grosser Arians, as he was, and that the Emperor would not bear him ; he therefore advised him to dissemble, that he might give no pretence to his accusers. The time will come, says he, of publishing what we now conceal ; in the mean while we will instruct those who are ignorant, and those who resist we will either persuade them, or cause them to be punished. Eunomius, pursuant to this advice, preached his impious doctrine under dubious terms ; but those who had been nursed up with the word of GOD, easily perceived the artifice : But whatsoever indignation they might conceive at it, they thought it imprudent openly to contradict him. They pretended therefore to be heretics ; they came to him to his own house, prayed him to declare clearly to them the truth of his doctrine, and not to leave them any longer in doubt. This emboldened him to discover his sentiments, upon which they persuaded him that it was against justice and piety to conceal the truth from those whom he governed. Thus induced by these persuasions, he preached openly heresy.

Socr. iv. 7. THESE new discourses of Eunomius occasioned a great tumult at Cyzicus ; and even those who advised him to declare, went with several other Ecclesiasticks to Constantinople to accuse him to Eudoxius ; for having taught that the Son was not *like* the Father ; and for persecuting those who were not of his opinion. A Priest named Hesychius pursued him the most violently, and made a great noise at Constantinople. Eudoxius angry that Eunomius had not followed his advice, promised to take care of the matter, but he delayed it, always pretending that he had not time to consider it : the accusers guessing his design went to the Emperor, who was then at Constantinople, loudly complaining against Eunomius, and affirming, that his blasphemies exceeded those of Arius. The Emperor commanded Eudoxius to summon Eunomius, and if he were guilty,

to depose him ; but Eudoxius continually delayed, notwithstanding the solicitation of his accusers, who returned weeping to the Emperor, and so far prevailed on him, that he threatned Eudoxius to drive him from his See, and to send both him and Eunomius to keep company with Aëtius, if he did not do justice in this matter. Eudoxius obeyed, and cited Eunomius publickly to appear at Constantinople, and give an account of his Faith ; but privately advised him to retire from Cyzicus, since he had no body but his own imprudence to blame for the misfortune that had befallen him. After this, he condemned him when absent, and deposed him from his Bishoprick, in a council held for that purpose at Constantinople. Eunomius did not appear, but complained that his accusers were made his judges. From that time forward he separated himself from the other Arians ; for many despising the baseness with which Eudoxius had abandoned him, joyned themselves to him, and were called Eunomians : However, he himself had formerly abandoned his master Aëtius ; for it was not till after he was condemned that he separated himself from Eudoxius. He retired into Cappadocia, which was his native country ; where, notwithstanding his being deprived, he ordained Bishops and Priests. No other Bishop was appointed for Cyzicus, because the people remained firm to Eleusius who was Bishop before Eunomius. A.D. 360.

MACEDONIUS likewise became head of a Sect after he was deposed from Constantinople : For, having declared himself against Eudoxius and the grosser Arians, whose sect then prevailed, he maintained, that the Son was the same in Substance, or indeed *Consubstantial* with the Father, as some authors have it ; but he continued to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghost as the grosser Arians did. He maintained the Spirit to be a created Being, like the angels, but of a superior rank. Basil of Ancyra, Eustasius of Sebasta, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, Eleusius of Cyzicus, and all those who had been deposed by the council of Constantinople, in the year 360, embraced his opinions. Some Catholics also fell into his errors ; that is to say, holding no error relating to the Son, but believing the Holy Ghost to be only a created Being. Philostorg. vi. c. 3.

THE greatest support of this sect was Marathionius Bishop of Nicomedia and disciple of Macedonius. As he was very rich, charitable to the poor, and one who led an exemplary life, he had great interest among the people and the Monks, insomuch, that some have called this sect by his name. It spread itself through many monasteries, and amongst the people of Constantinople, notwithstanding which, they had neither Church nor Bishop whilst the Arians prevailed, nor until the reign of Arcadius. This heresy extended chiefly in Thrace, Bithynia, and the Hellespont, but more especially in the city of Cyzicus. These hereticks were for the most part irreproachable in their manners, their appearance was grave, their manner of life almost monastick ; they were usually called *πνευματόμαχοι* in Greek, that is to say, enemies of the Holy Ghost. XXX.

St. Athanasius was informed of this new heresy by Serapion, who gave him an account of the principal reasons by which they supported their opinion and exhorted him to answer them. It is thought this Serapion was Bishop of Thmouis. St. Athanasius was then in the desert, persecuted and searched after by the Arians, who endeavoured to destroy him. This news encreased his affliction, and notwithstanding the bad condition that he was then in, he did not neglect writing to Serapion a long treatise which yet he calls a short letter with The Heresy of Macedonius. Ruf. i. c. 25. Theod. ii. c. 6. Socr. ii. c. 45. Sozom. iv. c. 27. Sup. xiii. 431. XXXI. St. Athanasius's treatise of the Holy Ghost. Tom. i. p. 173.

A.D. 360. respect to the importance of the matter of which it treats ; and which he sent to him, says he, only to give him an opportunity to fill up what was wanting. He gives these new hereticks the name of (*Τροπικοί*) *Tropici*, because they explained the Scripture by *Tropes*, that is to say, figures of speech. He first refutes the passages by which they pretended to prove, that the Holy Ghost was a creature, and very carefully distinguishes the various significations of the word Spirit in the holy Scriptures. After this, he comes to the objections which they drew from humane reason, viz. If, say they, the Holy Ghost is neither a creature nor an angel, he must proceed from the Father ; he is therefore the Son, and the Word and he are brethren. How then can the Word be called the only Son ; and wherefore do they name the Word after the Father, and the Holy Ghost after the Word, if they are equal ? But if the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, then is the Father grandfire to the Holy Ghost. Thus did they, with a sacrilegious curiosity, trifle with the Divine mysteries.

ST. Athanasius answered in the first place, that if such questions were allowed, and that in speaking of GOD, we were to follow the idea's of humane generation, we might as well ask who was the Father to the Father, and Son and grandson to the Son, since amongst men he who is Father with respect to one, is Son with respect to another, and so on to infinity ; and the Son is but a part of the Father : But it is not so with GOD, where the Son is the intire image of the whole Father, and always Son as the Father is eternally Father, so that the Father cannot be Son, nor the Son Father ; therefore, it is not permitted to speak of GOD with respect of Brother or Grandfire, since the holy Scripture speaketh not in this manner ; and the Holy Ghost is never called by the name of Son, but is called the Spirit of the Father, and the Spirit of the Son. The holy Trinity is but one Divine nature, and one GOD, with which a creature cannot be joined. This is sufficient for the faithful. Humane knowledge goes no farther ; the cherubims veil the rest with their wings.

HE afterwards proves, out of the Scriptures, that the Holy Ghost is GOD, that the attributes given him can only belong to GOD ; for instance, as being the sanctifier, the giver of life, immutable and immense. He insists farther on the tradition of the Church, which hath always believed and taught a Trinity in the Godhead, not only in name but in reality, and founded upon the words of JESUS CHRIST: Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If the Holy Ghost be a creature, it is no longer a Trinity, but a duality, or else the Trinity must be a most monstrous composition, and the Christians would adore the creature with the Creator, as the Arians are reproached with doing. He shews also, that what the *Tropici* alledged against the Holy Ghost, the Arians alledged against the Son. He concludes by entreating Serapion to correct his epistle, and excuse the weakness of his expressions, protesting that he has said nothing but what he received from apostolical tradition, without any addition but writing according to the sense of the Scriptures.

SOME time after St. Athanasius wrote two other epistles to Serapion much shorter, though on the same subject. The one, because that he had desired him to give an abstract of his first treatise ; the other to answer the arguments which the hereticks drew from humane reason. The first letter shews, that all that is said of the Son is said of the Holy Ghost, and consequently, that he ought

ought to be acknowledged GOD as the Son was ; the second proves, that the Holy Ghost cannot be called the Son, and that we ought to say nothing of GOD but what he reveals unto us ; for the rest the reasons are the same as those in the first treatise. We see by these epistles how much St. Athanasius esteemed Serapion, since he submitted them to his censure ; and he was in truth not only a man of a holy life, but also master of a piercing wit and great eloquence ; from whence he had the title of *Scholasticus*, or the Scholar. St. Anthony loved him particularly ; for before he was Bishop he was a Monk, and superior to several other Monks. He left several writings behind him ; amongst others a treatise against the Manicheans, which is still extant, as also several epistles. There was another Serapion a Priest and Abbot of the district of Arsinoe, he had under his jurisdiction ten thousand Monks in various monasteries. He used to hire them out during the harvest, to reap corn, and each man thereby gained twelve Artabi, i. e. twenty-four bushels ; of which he sent great part to their abbey for the poor ; and these alms were so abundant, that none in their neighbourhood wanted bread : They even loaded several boats with it, which they sent to Alexandria.

THE war against the Persians drew the Emperor Constantius into the East. In the year 360 he passed the winter at Antioch, and the next year he assembled there a very numerous council, resolving to cause the doctrine of the *Consubstantiality* and the *Likeness in Substance* both to be condemned. The Bishops demanded, that the first step should be to nominate a Bishop for the Church of Antioch, with whom they might regulate the Faith : For St. Eustasius was dead, Eudoxius had quitted Antioch for Constantinople, and Anianus, chosen by the council of Seleucia, was exiled as soon as chosen. Several even of the Bishops strove to get this great preferment ; and as the people and the Bishops were divided in their Faith, each favoured those of their own belief. At last, they all agreed to chuse Meletius Bishop of Sebasta ; he was of an illustrious family of Meletine in the Lesser Armenia, and was bred up in wealth and luxury ; but had applied himself from his youth to fasting and mortification ; he was a just, sincere, and plain man, fearing GOD, blameless in his manners, and the meekest of men. The calmness of his soul shewed itself in his eyes, an agreeable smile adorned his lips, and his hands were ever stretched out to embrace and bless : he was chosen Bishop of Sebasta in Armenia, in the place of Eustathius ; but not being able to overcome the obstinacy of his flock he retired to Boerea. The Arians believed him to be of their sect, and the chief authors of his promotion to Antioch were Acatius of Cæsarea and George of Laodicea, hoping that he would unite the Church of Antioch to their Faith, and even the Eustasians themselves ; for Acatius began already to incline again to the Catholick Faith. Those who knew better the Faith of Meletius willingly consented to his election. The decree was drawn and subscribed by all without opposition, and put into the hands of Eusebius Bishop of Samosata.

THE Emperor having given orders to bring Meletius to him, the Bishops went in a body to meet him, attended by the Clergy and people ; the Arians and Eustasians equally pressed to see him ; the one on account of his reputation, the other in hopes that he would declare for the Faith of Nice ; curiosity drew even the Jews and Pagans, and all admired his meekness and modesty. He began to enter upon his function with a sermon according to custom.

A. D. 360.

Hier. Scripta.

Canis. Antiq.

Pallad. Lanf.

c. 76.

XXXII.

The council of Antioch.—

St. Meletius.

Am. Marc. xx.

ult. xxi. c. 6.

Theod. ii.

c. 31.

Soz. iv. c. 18.

Ruf. i. c. 24.

Philostorg. v.

c. 5.

Greg. Nyss.

or. in Mel.

p. 1023. C.

Greg. Naz.

Corm. de vit.

S. p. 24. C.

Theod. ij.

c. 31.

Sozom. ii.

c. 25.

Socr. ij. c. 44.

Epiph. Har.

73. n. 18.

Philostorg. v.

c. 1.

Theod. c. 31.

Const. Apost.

lib. 8. c. 5.

A.D. 361. The Emperor desired, that the text should be that famous passage of the *Prov. viij. 22.* verbs, *The LORD † created me in the beginning of his ways*; for thus it is in the Greek; and this was the main support of the Arians. The Emperor ordered that what every one spoke should be taken down by scribes. George of Laodicea began and openly preached heresy; Acatius of Cæsarea spoke next and held the middle between his blasphemies and the Catholick truth. Meletius spoke in the third place, and his discourse is preserved to us by St. Epiphanius, and it is a model of Christian eloquence. It begins with humility and peace, and insensibly proceeds to the subject, speaking very worthily of the Son of God, and saying, that he remains in his own Identity; that he is *like* the Father and his perfect image. He explains this text of Scripture by others, where it is plainly said, that the Son is begotten. The Scripture, says he, makes use of the word * *created* or *founded*, in order to shew that he subsists by himself, and that he is permanent; and the word *begotten* is used to shew his excellence above those things that were produced from nothing. He concludes with blaming the rash curiosity of men, who strive to fathom the depth of the Divine nature, and exhorts them to adhere to the simplicity of Faith. And all this he spoke in a quarter of an hour, which was but a series of Scripture.

Hier. 73.
B. 29.

Hier. Chron.
Anno 361.
Philost. v.
c. 5.
Chrysoft. in
Mel. to. 3.
p. 538.
l. 10. Edit.
Savill.

Theod. ij.
c. 32.

THIS discourse delivered so boldly in the presence of the Emperor, drew loud acclamations from the people; but the Arians were extremely enraged; for though Meletius discreetly abstained from the terms *Consubstantial* and *Substance*, yet he plainly enough declared himself for the Catholick truth. Eudoxius used all his utmost endeavours to oblige him to retract; but finding him inflexible, he and the other Arians who repented their election of Meletius accused him to the Emperor of sabellianism, which was their usual method. They accused him also of having received the sacrament by the hands of Priests deposed by Eudoxius; that is to say, from Catholicks unjustly persecuted. Constantius, with his accustomed levity, gave credit to them, and banished him to his native city Melitine in Armenia, a month after his arrival at Antioch. St. Meletius had so improved this short time, that he had banished error out of his Church; and by excommunicating the incorrigible, he left the rest so steadfast as not to be shaken in the Faith. The governour having taken him into his chariot, in order to carry him towards his place of exile, was pursued by the people with stones; but St. Meletius covering him with his robe, protected him from their violence.

DURING this time, St. Eusebius of Samosata retired to his Bishoprick, carrying with him the decree by which St. Meletius was elected Bishop of Antioch, which was entrusted with him. The Arians being afraid of this testimony of their breach of Faith, persuaded the Emperor to recall it; accordingly he sent for it with all speed; but Eusebius replied, I cannot give up what was publickly committed to my charge, unless all those from whom I received it be assembled. The Emperor being angry at this answer wrote again to him, pressing him to return this act; and added, that if he did not return it, he had given orders to have his right hand cut off. But this was only to frighten him, for he had given orders to the person who carried the letter, not to put it in execution. Eusebius having read the letter, stretched out both his hands, and said to the messenger, Cut them both off: for I will not return the decree

† This is taken from the Septuagint; but it is possessed in our version and the Vulgate. * *intra.*

gree which is so plain a conviction of the villany of the Arians. The Emperor A.D. 361. Constantius could not forbear commending his extraordinary courage, and respected him ever afterwards.

To fill up the See of Antioch the Emperor sent to Alexandria for Euzoïus, ^{XXXIII.} one of the first disciples of Arius, who was deposed from the office of Deacon ^{Euzoïus Bi-} at the beginning of that heresy, by Alexander his Bishop. The Emperor ^{shop of An-} caused the Bishops to lay hands on him; but that ordination made a greater di- ^{Philost. v.} vision in the Church of Antioch. None of the Catholicks would communi- ^{c. 5.} cate with Euzoïus; and those who for thirty years had suffered all manner of ^{Sup. lib. 10.} ill treatment from the Arians, under Stephen, Leontius, and Eudoxius, thought ^{n. 28.} themselves at length obliged to separate, and began to hold their assemblies a- ^{Theod. ij.} part in the church of the Apostles, called in Greek *παραίη*, i. e. the Ancient, ^{c. 31.} because it was indeed the first of Antioch, and situated in the quarter called the ^{Socr. ij. c. 44.} Old City. They were for uniting again with the Eustathians, that is, with ^{V. Vales. in} those Catholicks who, after the unjust deposition of St. Eustathius had never ^{Theod. hist.} communicated with the Arians; but the Eustathians refused this union, because St. Meletius had been rejected by the Arians, and many of those who followed him had received baptism from them. The Church of Antioch therefore was divided into three parts; for besides the Arians, who acknowledged Euzoïus for their Bishop, there were two parties of Catholicks who were divided by this schism, without any difference of belief, viz. the Eustathians and the Meletians who assembled in the old church, and were the most numerous. ^{Chrysost. in} These retained such an affection for their holy Pastor, though he had go- ^{Mel. p. 537.} verned them but a month, that there were every where marks of it to be seen. As soon as they had received him into the city, they called their children after his name, so that the name of Meletius was heard every where; in the markets; in the streets, and in the villages. They had his image engraved upon their seals, or in sculpture upon their vessels; in their chambers, and all other places. St. Chrysostom, who relates this, had seen it whilst he was a child.

It was much about this time that the Arians composed their last formulary ^{Socr. ij.} of Faith, being assembled at Antioch in a small body, whilst the Emperor was ^{c. 47.} there, and Euzoïus was Bishop, i. e. during the consulate of Taurus and Florentius, which happened in this year 361. It was probably in this council that they chose St. Meletius. What is certain is, that this small number of Bishops started questions again which had been already determined; alledging, that it was necessary to take the term *like* out of the exposition of Faith received at Rimini and at Constantinople, so that without any farther dissimulation they said, that the Son was in every respect *unlike* the Father, not only in respect of ^{Athan. de} Substance, but in respect to *his will*; and they declared, that he was ^{Syn. p. 906.} *made out* of nothing, as Arius had at first asserted. The followers of Aëtius who were at Antioch, embraced this opinion, and the council received the most inveterate Arians, and gave the churches to them, that they might freely publish their impiety. But the Catholicks of Antioch took occasion from this new formulary to add to the name of Arians that of Anomæans and Exoucontians, deriving this last from three words, *ἐκ οὐκ ὄντων*, which in Greek signifies *from nothing*, or *that which hath no existence*. When they asked the Arians, why they said in their exposition of Faith, that the Son was GOD of GOD? the Arians replied, It is as the Apostle speaks, That all things are of GOD; in which the Son of GOD.

A.D. 361. GOD is comprehended. For which reason they add to their confession of Faith these words, *According to the Scriptures*. George of Laodicea was the author of this sophism, not knowing, says the historian Socrates, how Origen had before explained this expression of the Apostle. However, these Arian Bishops, not being able to bear the reproaches with which they were loaded, returned to the formulary of Constantinople, and retired every one to their own home.

Socr. ij. c. 41. It is not easy to reckon up all the professions of Faith which the Arians de Synod. had then made. Socrates reckons nine to this, which is the tenth. St. Athanasius counts as many; but we may reckon up sixteen. The first will be Arius's letter to St. Alexander; the second, the declaration of Arius and Euzoius to the Emperor Constantine, and approved at the council of Jerusalem in 335; the third, that which was made at the council of Constantinople against Marcellus of Ancyra in 336, which we have not: The fourth, fifth, and sixth are those of the council of Antioch, held at the dedication in 341. The seventh, that which was drawn up four months after, and brought into Gaul to the Emperor Constantius by Narcissus and the rest in 344. The eighth is the long exposition brought into Italy in 345, by Eudoxius and his companions. The ninth, that of the false council of Sardica held in 347. The tenth is that of the council of Sirmium against Photinus in 351. The eleventh, that of Sirmium, drawn up by Potamius in 357. The twelfth, is the letter of the council of Ancyra, with the eighteen anathema's. The thirteenth is, the formulary of Sirmium, dated the twenty second of May 359. The fourteenth, that which the Acacians proposed at the council of Seleucia, on the twenty eighth of September of the same year 359. The fifteenth, that of Nice in Thrace, subscribed at Rimini and Constantinople, and by most of the Bishops; and the sixteenth was that of the council of Antioch in 361.

XXXIV. WHILST the Emperor Constantius was busy in holding councils, and drawing up new formularies of Faith, the Cæsar Julian advanced considerably in Gaul. He several times overcame the Barbarians, who had long endeavoured to settle themselves in the territories of the empire, particularly the Franks and Almans; he drove them to the other side of the Rhine, and laid waste their country a good way forward. He was brought under suspicion with Constantius, who was naturally diffident; so that in order to weaken his force, he sent for a considerable part of his troops under pretence of the war against the Persians. These soldiers who were either born in Gaul or Germany, where they had their wives and children, looked upon this order as a sort of condemnation for banishing them to the extremities of the world; and although Julian exhorted them to obey, they mutinied, took arms, and declared him *Augustus*, notwithstanding the opposition which he made to it. This happened at Paris, where Julian chose to reside, because it was very advantageously situated, and he had there built a palace, some baths, and an aquæduct, the magnificent remains of which are now visible. The night before Julian's being thus declared Emperor, he had told those who were most intimate with him, that in his sleep he had seen a person such as the genius of empire was represented, that is a young man naked, and holding an horn of plenty, who reproached him after this manner: It is a long time, Julian, since I lay concealed in the porch of your house, desiring to encrease thine honour; I have withdrawn several times,

as

as being refused ; if you do not receive me at this time, when so many are a-
 greed about it, I shall depart in confusion and sorrow ; but consider well, that
 I will not stay long with you. Such a dream had great weight with Julian ;
 and he thus gives an account of his manner of accepting the empire : Jupiter, Epist. ad
Ath. p. 521.
 Sol, Mars, Minerva, and all the rest of the gods know, that I suspected no-
 thing until the time that I heard the news, which was about sun-set. The
 palace was immediately surrounded, and I heard loud cries ; I was afraid to
 venture myself, and was in doubt what I should do. I was gone up to an up-
 per chamber, separated from that of my wife, who was still alive : From thence
 through a window I adored Jupiter ; and as the noise increased, and all the pa-
 lace was in confusion, I besought him to give me an omen, which accordingly
 he did, ordering me to suffer myself to be persuaded, and not to oppose the
 army's affection : But although I had such signs, I did not easily comply, but
 resisted as long as I possibly could. Some time before he had sent for one of Eunap. in
Maxim p. 90.
 the ministers of the false gods out of Greece, which in their language are called
 (*ἱεροφάνται*) *Hierophantes*, with whom he had performed a certain ceremony with
 great secrecy ; for he still made an outward profession of Christianity ; and
 there was none but Oribasius of Pergamus his physician, and an African named
 Evemerus, who were trusted with the secret.

HAVING accepted the empire, he wrote to Constantius to desire his ap- Amm. xx.
c. 8, 9.
 probation of it, protesting that he would not be the less obedient to him, and
 offering to receive from him a *præfectus prætorii*. But as for the rest of his of-
 ficers he would have the appointing of them himself. This letter was carried
 by Pentadius and Eleutherius two officers of distinction, who found Constan-
 tius at Cæsarea of Cappadocia. When he heard the letter read, he was ex-
 ceedingly enraged, and looked upon those who brought it with such looks as
 threatened no less than death ; and he sent them out without asking any ques-
 tions, or hearing what they had farther to say. Then he considered whether he
 should quit the war against the Persians, in order to march against Julian ; but
 he was satisfied with writing to him, that he could not approve what had been
 done. And if, says he, you desire to secure your self and your friends, you
 ought to be contented with the title of Cæsar, and to receive the officers which Sup. n. 12.
Julian ad
Athan. p. 525.
 I shall send you. This letter of Constantius was carried by the questor Leonas,
 who had assisted at the council of Seleucia. He likewise sent to Julian a Bi-
 shop of Gaul named Epictetus, to assure him, that he would give him his life,
 pretending, that he did him a very great favour.

LEONAS being come to Paris, Julian received him as became his dignity Amm. xx. 9.
 and merit ; the next day he assembled the soldiers in the place where they ex-
 exercised ; where ascending his tribunal, he caused Constantius's letter to be pre-
 sented to him : It was read publicly ; but when they came to the place where
 Constantius condemned all that had been done, and would have Julian only
 take the title of Cæsar, terrible outcries were heard on all sides, confirming
 to Julian the title of Augustus, in the name of the province, the soldiers, and
 the state ; to which they said he was necessary for opposing the Barbarians ;
 and thus Leonas thought himself very happy to return in safety. This hap-
 pened in the year 360 ; and Julian having made some certain military expeditions
 on the other side of the Rhine, returned into Gaul, and spent the winter at
 Vienna. He wore the habit peculiar to the Emperor, i. e. the purple robe and Amm. xxi. 1.
 the

A.D. 361. the diadem adorned with precious stones; and having pacified the Gauls and
 Amm. xxi. 1. lost his wife Helena the sister of Constantius, he was the more inclinable to
 make war against him; although he foresaw that he would not live a great
 while: whether it was that he knew this by the art of divination as the Pagans
 thought, or that he had caused him to be poisoned, as the Christians have re-
 ported. He pretended to have a vision at Vienna in the night of a phantom of
 light, which several times repeated to him four Greek verses, signifying, that
 when Jupiter was in Aquarius, and Saturn in the twenty fifth degree from
 Virgo, the Emperor Constantius would die in Asia after a lamentable manner.
 Amm. ibid. Julian still pretended to be a Christian, that he might engage all the world on
 Greg. Naz. Or. 3. p. 68. his side and meet with no obstacles, though he had long since renounced it in
 B. secret, addicting himself to the Pagan superstitions of the Heruspices and Au-
 Amm. xxi. 2. gurs. On the day of the Epiphany, being the sixth of January, in the year
 Valef. hist. 361, he went to Church and said solemn prayers with the Christians; and at
 that time the birth as well as baptism of our SAVIOUR was celebrated on that
 day.

JULIAN went afterwards into Pannonia, surprized Sirmium, secured the
 way to Sucæ, which was the entrance into Thrace, and staid at Naïssa whilst
 Ep. 38. his forces were assembling. It was then that he openly renounced Christianity:
 P. 182. For in a letter to the philosopher Maximus, where he mentions his going from
 Gaul into Illyria, he has these words: We serve the gods openly, and the great
 number of troops which serve me are pious. We publicly sacrifice oxen;
 and we have offered the gods several hecatombs by way of thanks. The gods
 command me to preserve purity in every thing as much as possible, and I wil-
 lingly obey them; and they promise me considerable rewards for my labours,
 if I am not negligent.

XXXV.
 The death of
 Constantius.

Amm. in
 Marc.

Socr. ij.
 c. 49.

Philost. vi.
 c. 5.

Athan. de
 Syn. p. 907.
 A.

Chr.
 Anno 361.

Chr. Pasch.
 p. 294. D.
 Amm. xxi.
 c. 16.

CONSTANTIUS being busied in the war against the Persians, could not
 immediately march in person against Julian, whose progress he was informed of
 at Edissa, for he had advanced thither; but the next day hearing that Sapor
 had retired, he returned speedily to Antioch, and set out from thence at the
 end of Autumn for Constantinople. When he came to Tarsus he was seized
 with a slight fever, which he thought to throw off by the exercise of the
 journey, but was forced to stop at the first stage at Mopsuerene, i. e. the foun-
 tain of Mopsus the god of Cilicia who was famous for his oracles. This was
 at the foot of Mount Taurus, in the farthest part of the province towards
 Cappadocia. Constantius finding himself near his end desired to receive bap-
 tism, which he had hitherto deferred; and accordingly he received it from the
 hands of Euzoius the Arian Bishop of Antioch. Thus died he on the third of
 the Nones of November, under the consulship of Taurus and Florentius, i. e.
 on the third of November, in the year 361. He was in the forty fifth year of
 his age, and twenty fifth of his reign, since the death of his father Constantine
 the Great. He disturbed the Christian religion, which of itself is simple, by
 an old superstition, and by making it his business rather to examine it curiously
 than regulate it seriously, he caused several divisions, which he afterwards fo-
 mented by disputes about words; and he destroyed the publick carriages, by
 sending great numbers of Bishops backwards and forwards to his councils,
 where he would needs be the arbitrator of Religion himself. Thus Ammianus
 Marcellinus speaks of him, who being a Pagan cannot well be suspected.

As soon as Constantius was dead, those about him sent two Counts to give A.D. 361. notice thereof to Julian, and to intreat him to come into the East immediately Amm. xxii, which was ready to submit to him. They found him at Naissa in Dacia, employed in consulting the Haruspices upon the intrails of beasts, and the Augurs concerning the flight of birds, and perplexed about the doubtfulness of the omens. At length, this agreeable news made him easy; he marched towards Thrace, and came to Constantinople on the eleventh of December in the same year 361. Constantius's body was carried thither, being conducted by Jovian who was afterwards Emperor, and buried with suitable magnificence, near his father Constantine the Great in the Church of the Apostles.



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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XV.

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SOON after the Emperor Julian had entered Constantinople, he A.D. 361. set up an extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, to try those who had enjoyed the greatest power under the Emperor Constantius; wherein their proceedings were examined with a severity, which even Julian's flatterers thought too great. The two consuls Taurus and Florentius were of the number of those who were accused. Taurus had obtained the consulship as a reward for the outrages which he had committed at the council of Rimini; he was sent into exile to Vercellæ; and the most shameful circumstance in his punishment was, that the records of his trial were dated in his own consulship. The examinations for instance began thus: In the consulship of Taurus and Florentius, Taurus being brought by the publick criers, &c. The death of Ursulus Count of the Largesses, that is to say, Chief Treasurer, was attended with the greatest odium; for he had supported Julian in Gaul, causing the treasurers of those places to supply him with all the money that he required contrary to the orders of Constantius, who was unwilling that he should have money to give to the soldiers; so that Julian seeing the reproaches and curses which the death of this man drew upon him, was obliged to disown it. There were others put to death, whose sentence was approved by every body, especially the inveterate Arian the eunuch Eusebius, who was Præfect of Constantius's chamber; for he was condemned and executed among the rest.

I. Julian changes the court of Constantinople. Amm. Marc. lib. 22. p. 3. Sup. lib. 15. n. 11.

A. D. 361. SEVERAL Christians were included in the number of those who were ex-
Greg. Naz. Or. 3. p. 75. amined, and among those officers of the court who were turned out of their
Amm. xxii. c. 4. places by Julian, under the pretence of banishing luxury, and living like a
Socr. iii. i. philosopher. He one day called for a barber to comb his hair; for as to his
Liban. Ora. 10. p. 292. beard he affected to let it grow: whereupon, Constantius's barber came to
him magnificently dressed. Julian was surprized at it, and said, I sent for a
barber, not a senator. He enquired into the value of his place, and found
that he had of bread every day the allowance of twenty men, and the same
proportion of forage for his horses, and a large yearly salary, besides extra-
ordinary gratuities. This caused him to remove all the barbers, cooks, and
such like officers, saying, that he had no occasion for them, especially the
eunuchs, his wife not being alive. It is certain, that luxury was got to a
prodigious heighth in the court of Constantius, both as to their habits of
gold and silk, and the delicacy of their eating. The number of the barbers
and cooks amounted to a thousand each; and of cup-bearers and waiters,
there were many more. Several officers of this court had made an ill
use of their good fortune; but among other things they were accused of en-
riching themselves with the spoils of the idol temples.

Jul. ad Athan. p. 504.

II.
Philosophers
sent for.
A. D. 362.
Eunap. in
Max. p. 90.

Amm. xxii. c. 7.
Liban. Orat. 13. p. 299.
B.

Eunap. p. 93.

JULIAN having by this means made the palace desolate, filled it with
philosophers, magicians, diviners, and impostors of all sorts. One of the
first whom he sent for was the philosopher Maximus, who was in Asia with
Chrysanthus. Having received the letter which he wrote to them both,
they consulted their gods with all the art and circumspection they were ma-
sters of; but they met with nothing but ill omens. Chrysanthus being ter-
rified with what he saw, said to Maximus, My dear friend, I intend not only
to stay and die here, but if possible to hide myself under the earth. Me-
thinks Chrysanthus, replied Maximus, you have forgotten the doctrine
which we have learned. Perfect Hellenists ought not to submit to what they
see at first, but even to force the divine nature to come to them. Perhaps,
replied Chrysanthus, you have skill and courage enough to perform it; for
my part I cannot oppose such prodigies; and having thus spoken, he went
away. But Maximus continued practising all the secrets of his art, until
he had found out what he desired: Then he set out, and all Asia was in
motion to do him honour; the people came in crowds to meet him on the
road, with their magistrates at their head, and the women were likewise de-
sirous of making their court to his wife. When he arrived at Constantino-
ple, the Emperor was speaking in the senate; but as soon as he heard the
news of the arrival of Maximus, unmindful of his dignity and common de-
cency, he ran with all his might to meet him a great way beyond the porch,
embracing and kissing him, as a private person might have done, and brought
him into the senate-house, although he was not a senator. The Emperor,
together with Maximus, was continually consulting the gods, spending whole
nights as well as days in this employment. This philosopher kept so close to
him; that he seemed to govern not him only, but the whole empire. Be-
ing elated with the favour that was shewn him, he began to wear more de-
licate cloathing than was suitable to his profession; and became more rigid
and difficult of access to those who came to him: But the Emperor did not
perceive this alteration.

PRISCUS, whom the Emperor had also sent for from Greece, was more moderate in his good fortune. Chrysanthus being again very earnestly solicited to come, consulted the gods; and finding still the same ill omens, he persisted in his resolution, and stayed at Sardis; however, the Emperor constituted him chief Priest of Lydia, and his wife chief Priestess. Chrysanthus foreseeing the approaching revolution, either by magick or natural prudence, used the power which he enjoyed by his office with moderation. He was not over forward like others, to rebuild the temples; he did not abuse the Christians upon any slight occasion, but behaved himself with such gentleness, that the restoration of the sacrifices, or the suppression of them, which followed soon after, was hardly perceived in Lydia. Julian likewise sent in a very pressing manner for several whom he had known in the schools of Asia, and raised their expectations by his great promises; but when they came to him he put them off with fine speeches, called them his companions, made them sometimes eat with him at his own table, drank to their health, and dismissed them without doing any thing for them: However, he gave places and governments to several rhetoricians and sophists, whose credit increased daily, and their hopes still more.

Eunap. ibid.
& Chrys.
p. 182.

AMIDST this company of philosophers, the new Emperor lived like one himself, wearing the outward marks of a philosopher, particularly as to his beard. Constantius obliged him to cut it off when he made him Cæsar; for the Romans at that time were shaven; but he resumed his beard when he had the power in his own hands, as we see by his medals; for in all those wherein he hath the title of Cæsar, he is without a beard; and in the greatest part of those wherein he is stiled Augustus, he wears a beard as long as could be worn by a man of thirty years of age; for he was no older when he came to the empire. He called himself a Grecian, affected to imitate the Greeks, as more learned than the Romans; and all his writings that are extant are in Greek. In fine, it was his ambition to restore Hellenism, i. e. the manners and customs of the antient Greeks, to its former perfection, especially their religion; for at that time the word *Hellenæ* signified the pagans, as well among the Christians as the pagans themselves.

Sup. lib. 12.
n. 1.
Misopog.
106.
Sup. lib. iv.
n. 1.

JULIAN'S first care, therefore, as soon as he was possessed of the government, was to restore paganism: He gave express orders for opening the temples, and for repairing or rebuilding those that were destroyed; he appointed great revenues for them, caused the altars to be again erected, and renewed the sacrifices, and other ancient ceremonies of each city. He was himself publickly seen to offer victims and libations; he honoured all the ministers of the heathen religion, viz. the sacrificers, the *Hierophantæ*, those who initiated people into their mysteries, and those who had the keeping of the idols and the temples: He re-established their pensions, and restored to them the honours, privileges, and exemptions which had been granted them by the antient kings of those countries. He likewise required them to observe exactly the superstitious abstinence from certain meats, and the external purifications prescribed by their religion. They who pretended to be acquainted with his most secret actions affirmed, that he began by effacing his baptism with the blood of victims, opposing to our holy ceremonies those which the pagans thought served them for an expiation, and taking in his hands

III.
The restoration
of idolatry.
Amm. xxii.
c. 3.
Liban. or. 10.
p. 289, &c.
Soz. v. c. 3.

Greg. Naz.
or. 3. p. 70.
B.

A. D. 362. hands the intrails of the beasts that were offered, to purify them from the Eucharist which he had received with them. As he was curious in observing the intrails of the victims, it is said, that on a certain day he saw therein a cross crowned, that is, incompassed with a circle; at which all that were present were amazed: But the Haruspex who presided at this ceremony, said, that the circle which incompassed the cross shewed that the Christians were taken and inclosed on all sides. Another time as he was sacrificing several Heifers to Proserpine, the sacrificer cried out, that the ceremonies could not have their effect, and that they were hindered by the presence of some Christian, requiring that these should be sent away who had been washed and anointed, i. e. who had received baptism. The Emperor being terrified, looked about on all sides, and found that it was a young man one of his guards; who did not disown it, but throwing down his half pike, which was adorned with precious stones, withdrew, leaving the Emperor and the Pontiff in disorder.

Prudent.
Apotheos.
p. 405.

Socr. iii.
c. 11.
Sup lib. 11.
n. 45.
Sozom. v.
c. 4.
Ibid. c. 3.

Sup. lib. 11.
n. 33.

JULIAN caused the image of Fortune to be erected in the principal Basilick of Constantinople, and publicly offered sacrifices to it, as to the Genius of that city, from whence Constantine had banished idolatry. As he was sacrificing to this idol, Maris Bishop of Chalcedon openly upbraided him with his impiety and apostacy; but Julian only answered him, that he was blind; for his sight was weakned by extreme old age, and he was led by the hand; and thy Galilean god, added he, will not heal thee. Maris replied, I return thanks to my God that I am blind, that I might not behold such an apostate as thou art. Julian, to shew his moderation, went on without saying any thing. He ordered, that the line made use of in measuring the increase of the Nile, which was of such great importance to Egypt, should be carried back to the temple of Serapis, whence Constantine had caused it to be taken, in order to be laid up in the Church. Julian more particularly honoured Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, as may be seen by his medals. He is often represented under the figure of Serapis with a bushel on his head, and his wife Helena by his side under that of Isis. He wrote several times to the corporations of the cities, encouraging them to idolatry, favouring those whom he saw inclined thereto, and offering to grant them all that they should ask. On the contrary, he expressed all manner of aversion to the Christian cities; he would not come into them in his journeys, receive their deputations, nor give ear to their complaints.

IV.
The exiles re-
called.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 3. p. 79.
D.
Id. p. 80.
& 4 p. 133.
D.
Socr. iii. c. 1.

Greg. Naz.
p. 72.

HE had conceived two great enterprizes, viz. the downfall of the Christians within his empire, and the Persians without. That of the Christians he had most at heart; but he was afraid to attack them openly, being informed of their prodigious multitude, which was so great that they could not even be assaulted in secret, without exposing the empire to the hazard of a general revolution. Thus does St. Gregory Nazianzen speak of this matter: Besides, he was afraid of being thought a tyrant and becoming odious: on the contrary he affected to appear mild and gentle like a philosopher, who was only governed by reason: He therefore sought all possible means of gaining the affection of the people, by revoking all the rigorous and unjust decrees of Constantius, recalling the banished, restoring the confiscated estates, and allowing to all the free exercise of their religion. In short, he knew

knew that the Christians dreaded neither death nor tortures: And he was A. D. 362. not willing to procure them the honour of martyrdom, knowing by experience of the former persecutions, that the more severe they were, the more they strengthened Christianity. Not only Christian authors, but Libanius Lib. Or. 10. a Pagan, and a great admirer of Julian, gives us this account of the motives P. 290. by which he proceeded.

HE resolved therefore to attack the Christians by more subtle ways: He recalled from banishment all the Bishops, and others without distinction of heretick or Catholick, who had been sent into exile by Constantius, on account of their religion. He even sent for some to his palace, and exhorted them freely and openly to exercise their respective religions. This procedure had a fair appearance of Clemency; but Julian acted in this manner, saith Ammianus Marcellinus, to the end that having increased their divisions by this licence, he might be freed from his apprehensions of their uniting against him.

THE Catholick Bishops taking the advantage of this liberty, St. Meletius came back to Antioch; Lucifer and St. Eusebius of Vercellæ left Thebais to return to their Churches: But St. Athanasius durst not yet quit his retreat, because George was still the most powerful at Alexandria. The Arians had the same liberty of returning, Aëtius in particular was recalled with Honour, because it was his Friendship to Cæsar Gallus, Julian's brother, that had drawn upon him the indignation of Constantius. Julian wrote a very obliging letter to him, desiring him to come to him, and likewise gave him an estate near Mytilene, in the isle of Lesbos. He also wrote a Letter to the Heresiarch Photinus, in which he commended him for denying the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and broke out into violent expressions against Diodorus a priest of Antioch, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus. He ordered Eleusius of Cyzicus, under a severe penalty, to rebuild in two months time the Church of the Novatians, which he had destroyed in the time of Constantius. He favoured the Donatists in Africa, and defended the Hereticks, not only against the Catholicks, but against each other.

HOWEVER those who made the greatest advantage of this liberty were the Catholicks; and the Arians, who before had the chief power, were humbled. Julian understanding that the Arians had misused the Valentianians at Edessa, wrote in these terms: I have resolved to deal so gently with all the Galileans, that none of them whatever shall suffer violence, that they be not dragged to the Temple; nor compelled by force to act in any manner contrary to their religion. But the Arians grown insolent by their riches, have attacked the Valentinians, and committed at Edessa such enormities as ought never to happen in a well governed city. In order therefore to assist them in the practice of their admirable law, and render their entrance into the kingdom of heaven the more easy, we have ordained that the Church of Edessa shall be deprived of all the wealth belonging to it, the money to be distributed to the soldiers, the land to be united to our demesnes, to the end that becoming poor, they may become more wise, and may not be deprived of the heavenly kingdom which they hope for. Such were the marks of Julian's persecution, a seeming gentleness, and at the same time scoffing at the Gospel. In another letter he saith: By the gods,

A. D. 362.

Epist. 7.

Artabio.

Epist. 52.

Bostr.

Soz. v. c. 5

Greg. Naz.

Or. 3. p. 18.

B.

Jul. epist. ii.

Byfant. l. 50

cod.

Th. de decur.

c. 4.

Ibid. de coll.

lustr.

Soz. v. c. 5.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 3. p. 86.

D.

Ibid. p. 94.

c.

Soz. v. c. 18.

VI.

Teaching and
studying pro-
hibited.

Amm. xxv.

c. 4.

Epist. 42.

gods I will not have the Galileans put to death, beaten without cause, or suffer any wrong; but it is my opinion, that the servants of the gods ought to be preferred before them. The folly of the Galileans had well nigh brought a general destruction upon us, had not the goodness of the gods preserved us. And in another letter; We do not permit them to be dragged to the Altars; on the contrary we plainly declare to them, that if any among them desires to partake in our libations, he must first offer sacrifices of expiation, and make the gods propitious to him. So far are we from desiring or having a thought, that any impious person should partake in our holy sacrifices, before he has cleansed his soul by prayers addressed to the Gods, and his body by lawful purifications. A man who spoke in this manner, might well seek the means of effacing his Baptism. But although he spared the blood of the Christians, he nevertheless plainly attacked them. In the first place he endeavoured to give them a contemptible name, by calling them Galileans; and he even ordained it by a law. He afterwards abrogated all the privileges granted by the Christian Emperors in favour of that religion; as exemption from attendance on publick offices, which privilege the clerks enjoyed, although they were Decurio's. He took away the revenues which Constantine had assigned them; as also those belonging to the widows and virgins, maintained by the Church: For Constantine when he settled the affairs of the Church, assigned them a sufficient maintenance out of the income of every city. But Julian took away these pensions, ordering them even to restore what had been already paid to them, which was exacted with the utmost severity; but all was settled again upon the former establishment after his death. He likewise caused all the gold, and silver, the rich vessels, and the rest of the wealth of the Church to be taken away, under pretence of obliging the Christians to practise the poverty which is enjoined by the Gospel; and because the Gospel orders us to bear with injuries, and to shun honour and promotion, he forbade the Christians to plead; to defend their rights in courts of justice, or to execute any publick office.

HE went still further, and forbade the Christians to teach human learning; the order is still remaining by which he prohibits it, wherein he gives his reason for it; viz. that those who teach ought to be men of upright behaviour, and to conform their opinions to the maxims publicly received, and to what they themselves teach. That it is not agreeable to truth to explain the antient authors to young people, representing them as great men, and at the same time to condemn their religion. Homer, saith he, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Lyfias have acknowledged the gods to be authors of their doctrine; some of them believed themselves consecrated to Mercury, others to the muses. Since they live by the writings of these authors, they declare themselves to be very fond of their interest, in betraying their conscience for a little money. Hitherto there hath been several reasons for not frequenting the Temples; and the terror which hath been spread universally, was an excuse for not discovering the truest sentiments concerning the gods; but since they themselves have given us liberty, methinks it is absurd for any one to teach what he doth not believe. If these men esteem the doctrine of the authors, whom they interpret to be wise, let them begin with their piety towards the gods.

If

If they believe that they are mistaken in the most important points, let them go and expound Matthew and Luke in the Churches of the Galileans. He adds, that this law only regards the teachers, and that the young people are at liberty to learn whatever they please. It would be but just, said he, to cure them like distracted persons, whether they would or no; but I am favourable to them, and think that the ignorant ought to be instructed, not punished. By this we see the meaning of a law of Julian's, importing, that the chief excellency of the professors ought to be their morals; and which ordains, that in any city he who desires to teach, shall be examined by the council, and that if he is approved, the decree shall be sent to the Emperor for his confirmation. This law is dated the fifteenth of the calends of July, in the consulship of Mamertinus and Nevitta, that is on the seventeenth of June 362.

L. 5. cod.
Theod. de
Med. & Prof.

THE true motive of this prohibition was the great advantage which the Christians drew from the profane writings, in opposing the doctrines of the Pagans: either by the absurdity of the fables, considered in themselves, or by the arguments which Plato and the other Philosophers had made use of, to shew the pernicious consequences of them: or by the method of speaking and reasoning which is learnt from these authors. And what did not a little contribute to it, was the jealousy which Julian had conceived against several learned men amongst the Christians, as St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, Apollinarius the younger, and several others, both Catholics and Arians. This prohibition incited the two Apollinarii to compose several works of great use to religion. The father, who was a grammarian, in imitation of Homer, wrote in heroic verse the sacred history, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty four books, each bearing the name of one of the twenty four letters of the Greek Alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies, and Pindar in odes, taking the subjects out of the Scripture, and writing in the spirit and stile of each of these poets, that the Christians might be instructed in polite learning, without reading the profane writers. The son who was a Sophist, that is a Rhetorician and Philosopher, composed dialogues after the manner of Plato, to explain the gospel, and the doctrine of the apostles. He also wrote against the Emperor and the Pagan Philosophers, a treatise entitled, *Of Truth*; wherein he displayed their mistakes concerning the Diety, without making use of any passage of scripture. For the Emperor in derision of the sacred writings, had written to the most noted Bishops these three Greek words: *ἄς γινωσκῶ, ἀνέγνωσκῶ, κατέγνωσκῶ* that is, I have read, I have understood, I have condemned, playing upon the jingling of the words. He was answered in the same manner, but it cannot be expressed in another language: You have read, but you have not understood; for if you had understood, you would not have condemned. Some have ascribed this answer to St. Basil. The persecution of Julian lasted so short a time, that the works of Apollinarius were of no use, and the Christians returned to the reading of the profane authors, which they had freely made use of from the beginning, extracting out of them whatever was most useful: So that we have none of these works of Apollinarius remaining except the paraphrase on the Psalms. Ecebolius a famous Sophist at Constantinople, fell in with the times, and yielded to the carasses of Julian, whom

Theod. iii.
c. 8.

Sozom. v.
c. 18.

Socr. iii.
c. 16.

Sozom. v.
c. 18.

Socr. iii.
c. 13.

A. D. 362. he had instructed in Rhetorick. He had professed Christianity very zealously in the time of Constantius; under Julian he was a zealous Pagan; after whose death he desired to become a Christian again, and prostrating himself at the door of the Church, he cried out; Tread me under foot like salt that hath lost its favour: Such was the inconstancy of Ecebolius. But the greatest part of the Christian professors chose rather to leave their chairs than their religion. Proëresius and Victorinus are distinguished among the rest; the former was a famous Sophist at Athens, who voluntarily quitted his school, although Julian, who had studied under him, excepted him out of the general law, and allowed him to teach.

Oros. vii.
c. 30.
Eunap. in
Proëres. p.
153.
Hier. Chr.
An. 363.

Aug. viii.
conf. c. 2.
&c.

Hier. Chr.
An. 355.

VICTORINUS was an African, and had long taught Rhetorick at Rome; the most eminent among the senators had been his scholars, and in consideration of his great merit, his statue had been erected in Trajan's forum; but he had continued an idolater until his old age. At length he became a convert; he read the holy scripture, carefully examined all the books of the Christians, and secretly said to one of his friends, who was a Christian, called Simplician, Know that I am already a Christian. Simplician replied, I will not believe it till I see you in the Church. Victorinus answered laughing; Are they the walls which make Christians? This they frequently repeated to each other; for Victorinus was afraid of giving offence to powerful friends which he had among the idolaters. At length being confirmed by reading, he was afraid lest **JESUS CHRIST** should deny him before the holy angels, if he feared to confess him before men; whereupon he came to Simplician when he least expected it, and said to him, Let us go to Church, I am resolved to become a Christian. Simplician transported with joy, conducted him thither: Victorinus went through all the ceremonies usually performed by the catechumens, and gave in his name soon after to be baptized, to the great astonishment of the people of Rome, and no less regret of the Pagans. When the time appointed for making his confession of faith was come, which at Rome they pronounced from an eminence in the sight of all the faithful; the priests offered Victorinus to receive it in private, as had been allowed to some, who might have been confounded with shame; but he chose rather to perform it in publick. When he got up to repeat the creed, being universally known, there arose a general murmur; every one, to express his satisfaction, whispering to his neighbour, Victorinus, Victorinus; but immediately after, their great desire to hear him speak, made them silent. He pronounced the creed with a resolute tone, and all that were present embraced him in their hearts with affection and joy. Such was the manner of Victorinus's conversion, and soon after Julian's edict occasioned his leaving his school, where he taught Rhetorick. He had translated several books of the Platonists into latin, and after his conversion he wrote four books on the trinity against the Arians, which are extant, and also comments on St. Paul; but with no great success, having applied himself too late to the study of sacred literature.

Aug. ibid.
c. 5.

Hier. de
script. &
proëm. in
epist. ad
Gala.
Aug. 18.
civ. c. 2.

Julian not only forbade the Christians to teach humane learning, but likewise to learn it; being unwilling that their children should study the poets, orators, and philosophers, or frequent the schools where they were taught, pretending that those only who followed the religion of the antient Greeks,

should be permitted to apply themselves to their learning, or even to speak their language elegantly; and that the Galileans ought to remain in the ignorance and barbarity with which the Greeks reproached them, and to be satisfied with believing without arguing.

A.D. 362.

Socr. iij. c. 1.

Theod. iij.

c. 8.

Soz. v. c. 18.

Greg. Naz. Or. 3. p. 51, 79. &c.

BUT whatsoever contempt he expressed for the Christians, he found the advantage which they gained by the purity of their manners and the lustre of their virtues: He was therefore desirous of following their example, in order to reform paganism, which made but little progress, notwithstanding his powerful protection. He thus explains himself on this point, writing to Arcadius High Priest of Galatia: Hellenism doth not yet proceed as it ought, and it is our fault. On the part of the gods every thing is great and magnificent, beyond whatever we can hope or wish for. Let us be permitted to say it without offending them; Who some time ago could have hoped for such a revolution? Do we think then that this is sufficient? without considering what hath chiefly promoted Atheism, viz. hospitality, the care of burying the dead, and a feigned gravity in behaviour; we ought to practise all this sincerely. It is not enough that you only are such; all the Priests in Galatia ought to be so likewise: Do you either induce them by reason or fear to become good, or else deprive them of the priesthood, if they do not serve the gods, with their wives, their children, and servants; and if they permit any Galileans to be in their family: Afterwards admonish them, that a Priest ought not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in a publick house, nor to follow any mean or scandalous employment: honour those who obey, and turn out the rest. Set up several hospitals in every city for the exercising of hospitality towards strangers, not only those of our own people, but to all in general, provided they be poor. I have already appointed the necessary funds for such liberalities, ordering that there be annually distributed throughout Galatia thirty thousand bushels of corn, and sixty thousand *sextarii* of wine; the fifth part of which I would have applied to the use of the poor who attend upon the sacrificers, and the remainder distributed among the strangers and beggars. For it is a shame that any Jew should beg; and that the impious Galileans should maintain not only their own, but our poor; and that we should leave them without relief. Teach the Hellenists to contribute towards these works, and the country people to offer their first fruits to the gods; shew them that these liberalities are agreeable to our ancient maxims. He afterwards cites three verses out of the *Odyssey*, where Homer making Eumeus speak, represents the obligation that men are under of assisting the poor and strangers, as being sent from Jupiter.

VII.

Julian at-

tempts to imi-

tate the Chri-

stians.

Soz. v. c. 16.

Jul. epist. 49.

A. D. 362. which cannot be opposed without presumption. I am ready to assist the inhabitants of Pessinontum, if they render the mother of the gods propitious to them; if they neglect her they shall not only be guilty, but, I speak it with regret, they shall feel my resentment.

Frag. Jul.
P. 545.

P. 549.

P. 550.

P. 552.

P. 553.

P. 554.

P. 555.

IN another writing, addressed to a pagan Priest, he says, that he had given him that office, being persuaded of his merit, that he might instruct others with the greater authority, not only in the cities but in the villages. I will act in concert with you, saith he, I, who, by the favour of the gods, bear the title of *Pontifex Maximus*; not that I am worthy of it, but I desire to be so, and continually pray to them for this purpose. He afterwards begins to give him precepts of morality, and saith, that Priests ought always to live in the same manner as if they were in the presence of the gods; in great purity; so as not only to abstain from any infamous action, but from uttering or giving ear to filthy expressions; that they ought to be free from jesting and impure conversation; not to read Archilochus, Hiponax, nor other authors of antient comedy; that is, those who wrote in the same manner as Aristophanes, who is indeed very infamous: He would have them confine themselves to the study of philosophy, especially of that sort which acknowledges the gods to be the authors of all things, and speaks worthily of them; that is, such as was taught by Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicks; but he forbids them to meddle with the Epicureans, and the followers of Pyrrho, looking upon it as an effect of the Divine providence, that the greater part of their books were already lost: He advises them to read true histories, and not historical fables, especially those whose subject was love, like our romances, they being of no use but to inflame the passions. All kind of reading, saith he, is not proper for persons dedicated to the service of the gods: Let them more especially apply themselves to purifying their thoughts: Learn the hymns composed in honour of the gods, particularly those that are sung in the temples: Let them pray frequently in publick and in private, three times a day if possible, at least morning and evening: Let them strictly observe the rites appointed by the antient laws: Let them use the stated purifications, especially the night before they enter upon their office; let them afterwards come to the temple and remain there the prescribed time by the law; at Rome, for instance, thirty days: They ought to spend all this time in meditating on wisdom, and in providing and disposing every thing that relates to the service of the gods, not leaving the temple in order to go to their own houses, to the forum, or to visit the magistrates. When his time of waiting is over, the Priest must leave his place to another; and returning to his usual course of life, he may go to his friends and even be present at entertainments where he shall be invited, but not without distinction: He may, though not too frequently, appear in the Forum, and apply to the governor, but in behalf of those only whom he ought in justice to assist. In the temple, and whilst he is officiating, his habit ought to be very magnificent; but at other times he ought to wear plain apparel, such as is usually worn, and not through vanity make a wrong use of what is granted in honour of the gods.

LET none of the Priests, continues he, in any wise come near impure spectacles, nor admit them into their houses. I would entirely banish them from

from the theatre, if it were possible, and restore them to Bacchus in their an- A. D. 362.
 tinent purity : But thinking it neither possible nor expedient at this time, I p. 556.
 wave this affectation ; all that I desire is, that the Priests would not partake
 with the people in the impurity of the shews : Let none of them therefore
 go to the theatre, nor enter into familiarity with a player, a chariot driver,
 or a dancer. I only give them leave to go, if they will, to the sacred com-
 bats, in which women are not only forbidden to engage, but even to be spe-
 ctators. As to the hunting in the theatres of the cities, not only the Priests
 ought to abstain from them, but likewise their children. After these words
 of Julian, we ought not to wonder that the Christians were forbidden to be
 present at publick shews.

HE afterwards proceeds to the choice of the Priests, and would have it p. 557.
 proceed from no other consideration but only their love to the gods and
 mankind, without any regard to their birth or fortune. To encourage
 them to liberality he saith, The impious Galileans having observed that our
 Priests neglected the poor, have taken care to relieve them ; and as they
 who steal away children in order to sell them, entice them by giving them
 cakes ; so they have drawn the faithful into atheism, beginning with charity,
 hospitality, and serving tables ; for they have several names for these works,
 in which they are very zealous.

JULIAN was resolved to carry his imitation of the Christians still fur- Greg. Naz.
 ther, and ordered publick schools to be set up in every city like the churches, Or. 3. p. 101.
 where they should read lectures, and expound either on moral subjects, or &c.
 upon the mysteries ; and that they should pray there on certain days, and at Sozom. v.
 stated hours, with two choirs : That there should be punishments appointed c. 16.
 for faults, and a preparation for being initiated into the sacred ceremonies :
 Besides the hospitals, he intended to build monasteries, that is, places for
 retirement, meditation, and for purifying the men as well as the virgins.
 Among other things he admired the custom of sending Ecclesiastical letters,
 which being given by the Bishops to travellers, they were received by all
 Christians with the greatest charity : But Julian had not time to put all
 those fine projects in execution.

HOWEVER, he endeavoured to allure all the Christians that he could, VIII.
 by gifts, honours, promises, and caresses, condescending sometimes to such The confession
 flatteries as were beneath his dignity ; amongst the rest he attacked Cæsarius of Cæsarius.
 brother to St. Gregory Nazianzen, whom he found at the court of Con- Greg. Naz.
 stantinople, practising physick with great reputation : He had studied at Or. 10.
 Alexandria, not only Physick, but Geometry, Astronomy, Philosophy, and p. 163, 164.
 Oratory. When he came to Constantinople, his merit and graceful ap- &c.
 pearance gained him a general esteem, publick honours were offered him, and
 an alliance with a noble family, and the dignity of senator, to induce him
 to take up his residence among them. The city sent a deputation to
 the Emperor Constantius, to let them keep Cæsarius there as a Physician ;
 which the Emperor granted. He lived magnificently at court, practising
gratis, being beloved by the nobility, and even by the Emperor himself :
 however, he did not suffer himself to be dazzled by honours, nor softened
 by delights, and always esteemed it his greatest glory that he was a
 Christian.

A. D. 362. Christian; nay, he frequently maintained the truth of the Christian religion, in discourses that abounded with zeal, piety, and ingenuity.

Id. epist. 17. WHEN Julian came to the empire, Cæsarius continued some time in his court, which gave great offence. St. Gregory his brother, wrote to him thereupon in these terms: You cover us with confusion; I wish you could hear what is said of you by the family, by strangers, and by all the Christians of our acquaintance, to see the son of a Bishop serving at court, desiring worldly power and glory, yielding to his interest, and not counting it his greatest gain and his highest honour boldly to resist upon this occasion, and to shun as much as possible all the abominations. How can the Bishops exhort others not to comply with the times, nor suffer themselves to be led away to idolatry, how can they reprove other sinners, if they dare not correct their own children? My father is so afflicted, that his life is an insupportable burthen to him; nor could I give him any comfort but by promising to be security myself for your faith, and by assuring him that you would put an end to our afflictions. As for my mother we dare not tell her the news; and we have recourse to various artifices to conceal it from her; such is the natural weakness of her sex and the fervour of her piety, that she would sink under it: Make use of this; you will never have a more favourable opportunity to withdraw.

Or. 10. P. 167. C. THIS letter was not unsuccessful; for Cæsarius did not disappoint his brother's expectation. Julian, who esteemed him on account of his wit and learning, used his utmost endeavour to gain him, and attacked him by artificial discourses before a great number of witnesses: But Cæsarius defeated all his stratagems like so many childish follies, and protested loudly that he was a Christian, and would always continue so. Julian cried out, O happy father! O unhappy children! knowing that Gregory, with whom he had been acquainted at Athens, was no less resolute against him; and deferred his revenge till after the Persian war. In the mean time Cæsarius quitted the court, and by an honourable and voluntary exile retired to his father in Cappadocia.

IX. JULIAN seduced a great number of the soldiers and officers of his army; some through ambition and interest; others by not being well grounded in the faith, their only law being the will of the prince. It was an antient custom to adore not only the Emperors but likewise their images; and this adoration was a secular honour, in which religion was not at all concerned. The images of the Emperors were generally attended by victories, captives, or other figures of the like nature: But Julian placed the idols with his image, to the intent that the accustomed honours might not be paid to them without idolatry: They were, Jupiter coming down from heaven, and offering him the crown and purple; Mars and Mercury looking upon him, as it were, to give testimony to his valour and eloquence. Most people did not consider this, but adored them; some few who were better informed, and more religious, would not be taken by this artifice, and were punished for it, as having failed in their respect to the Emperor. He likewise surprised many of the soldiery by the following stratagem: It was a custom for the Emperor, being seated on a lofty tribunal on certain occasions, to distribute donatives to his soldiers with his own hand, giving to every one certain pieces

The confession
of Christian
soldiers.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 3. p. 83.

34.

Theod. iii.

c. 16.

Soz. v. c. 17.

pieces of gold in proportion to their rank and merit: Julian added to this A. D. 362. a very unusual ceremony; for he caused an altar to be placed near him with burning coals, and incense upon a table, requiring every one to throw some incense into the fire before he received his gold. They who had notice of it feigned sickness, and by this means escaped the snare: Some through fear or self-interest, neglected their salvation; but the greater part were not aware of the design: Some of these last going afterwards to their meals, before they drank, called upon the name of JESUS CHRIST, as it was their custom, lifting up their eyes to heaven, and making the sign of the cross on the cup. One of their companions said to them in a surprize; What is the meaning of this? you call upon JESUS CHRIST, after having renounced him. How! answered the others, struck half dead with astonishment, what is it you say? Why, replied he, you have thrown incense into the fire. Whereupon they tore off their hair, and crying out, rose up from the table, and ran into the forum transported with zeal, saying aloud, We are Christians in our hearts; we declare it to all the world, but especially in the sight of GOD, to whom we live, and for whom we are ready to die. We have not betrayed you O JESUS our saviour; we have not renounced the blessed confession. If our hands have offended, our heart was not consenting. The Emperor has deceived us, we renounce the impiety, and our blood shall atone for it.

THEY even ran to the palace, and throwing the gold which they had received at the feet of the Emperor, cried out: You have not made us a present, you have passed sentence of death upon us; be merciful, sacrifice us to JESUS CHRIST, throw us into the fire, cut off our guilty hands, Theod. iii. 17. and give your gold to others, who will not grudge to receive it. The Emperor was so incensed at this boldness, in the first motions of his passion, that he ordered their heads to be cut off. They were accordingly carried without the city, and followed by the people who admired their courage. Being come to the place of execution, he who was the oldest amongst them, desired the executioner to begin with the younger, lest the death of the rest should discourage him. This young man, who was called Romanus, had already fallen on his knees, and the executioner had drawn his sword, when the messenger arrived with a pardon, who cried out aloud before he came near, to stop execution; for indeed Julian upon reflection, would not give them the honour of martyrdom. The young soldier was struck to the heart with grief at the news, saying, It is because Romanus was not worthy to bear the name of a martyr. The Emperor granted them nothing but their lives, and banished them to the utmost parts of the empire, forbidding them to reside in the cities.

AMONG the Christian officers, who preferred their religion to their interest, there are noted the Emperors Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, the immediate successors of Julian. The confession of Valentinian was remarkable: For, having the command of the company of the Emperor's guards Socr. iii. c. 13. called the Jovians, it was his office to follow him, and to be always nearest Aug. xvi. civ. c. 52. his person. Julian one day entered dancing into the Temple of Fortune, Soz. vi. c. 6. and on each side of the gate stood the door-keepers of the Temple, with Theod. iii. c. 16. branches dipped in *Lustral* water, to sprinkle those who came in. A drop of

A. D. 362. of this water falling on Valentinian's mantle, he gave the officer a blow with his fist, telling him, that he had defiled him with that impure water; and thereupon tore that part of his mantle whereon it had dropped. The Emperor was incensed at this, and banished him, on pretence that he did not keep his company in good order, not being willing to procure him the honour of being a confessor of **JESUS CHRIST**. He sent him away to a garrison in a desert country; Sozomen faith to Melitine in Armenia; but Philostorgius to Thebes in upper Egypt; and perhaps he was removed from the one place to the other: However he was not broke, nor turned out of his place, no more than his brothers Valens, and Jovian, Julian judging their service advantageous for the state.

Soz. vi. c. 6.
Philost. vii.
c. 7.

Socr. iv. c. 1.

X.
Martyrs un-
der Julian.
Theod. iii.
and 6.

NOTWITHSTANDING his pretended clemency, and his great care to deprive the Christians of the glory of martyrdom, they were openly persecuted in divers places, and many of them suffered martyrdom. The orders which the Emperor issued out for the re-establishing of Idolatry, filled the cities with seditions. The Pagans set open their Temples, and made fire on the Altars; the earth was sprinkled with the blood of the victims, and the air filled with the smell of the fat. They ran through the streets as if they had been possessed with the dæmons whom they adored, deriding and insulting the Christians with the utmost insolence. The weaker Christians not being able to endure their blasphemies, replied with injurious language, reproaching them with the absurdity of their religion, and the Pagans, grown haughty by the protection of the Emperor, soon proceeded to blows, committing their outrages with impunity; for the Emperor took no notice of them, but on the contrary gave all employments, both civil and military, to the bitterest enemies of the Christians, who injured them as much as possible; only they did not force them to offer sacrifice. Thus did Julian, under pretence of allowing a liberty of conscience, put the whole empire into confusion.

Theod. iii.
c. 7.
Chron.
pasch. an.
363. p. 297.
Heir. Chr.
an. 363.
Socr. iii.
c. 15.
Acta, Sinc.
p. 649.
Soz. v. c. 11.

BUT to begin the history of these martyrs with those who suffered in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. At Dorostora in Thrace, that is in Mœsia, comprehended under the general government of Thrace, Æmilian was thrown into the fire by the soldiers under the command of Capitolinus the *vicarius*, for having overthrown certain Altars. At Mera or Myra, an episcopal city of Phrygia, Amachius governor of the province, commanded the Temple to be set open, the filth to be carried out, and the idols to be cleansed. The Christians were greatly concerned at this, three of them; viz. Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatian, being transported with zeal, got into the Temple in the night, and broke the idols in pieces. The governor highly exasperated, was about to put several innocent persons of the city to death, but the authors of the fact offered themselves of their own accord, being unwilling that others should suffer death on their account. The governor profered them a pardon if they would sacrifice; but they chose death, and he caused them to undergo all kinds of torture. At length they stretched them over the fire on grates of iron, where after having remained some time, they cried out; Amachius, if you would have roasted flesh, order us to be turned on the other side, or we shall not be above half done, and thus they expired.

AT Pessinus in Galatia, on the confines of Phrygia, two young men suffered martyrdom in the presence of Julian himself: For having stayed about eight months at Constantinople, about the beginning of summer he set out towards Antioch, to make preparations for the Persian war. He went first to Chalcedon, afterwards to Nicomedia, which he found still lying in a ruinous condition, which it was brought into by the earthquake, and there bestowed considerable benefactions. From thence he passed through Nice to the confines of Galatia, and afterward inclining to the right, turned out of his way to go to Pessinus, to visit the ancient Temple of the mother of the gods, whose idol had been transported from thence to Rome by Scipio Nafica. Julian there honoured the goddesses by vows and sacrifices; and bestowed the priest's office on a woman called Callixena, who before was priestess of Ceres, and was tried and approved, as he said, by a fidelity of many years, in the service of the gods. It was in this city that he put to death those two young Christians: One of them had overturned the altar of the goddesses, and being brought before the Emperor, he derided his purple, and his vain harangues; the other perceiving his body torn with stripes, and being reduced to the last gasp, shewed the executioner one of his legs that was left unhurt, complaining that they had spared it. At length both of them were tortured by fire, and exposed to the beasts, and suffered martyrdom, together with their mother and the Bishop of the city.

FROM Pessinus Julian returned to Ancyra the Capital of Galatia, where there was a priest named Basil as well as the Bishop, but very different from him; for in the reign of Constantius this presbyter always resolutely opposed the Arians, till such time as Eudoxius, and those of his party in the council of Constantinople forbade him to hold ecclesiastical assemblies. Ever since the reign of Julian, this Basil had gone throughout the city publicly, exhorting the Christians to continue steadfast, and not pollute themselves with the sacrifices, and libations of the heathen. His zeal rendered him odious to the Gentiles, and at length seeing them one day publicly offering sacrifice, he stopped, and fetching a deep sigh, besought God that no Christian might be guilty of such enormity. Whereupon they apprehended him, and carried him before the governor of the province called Saturninus, accusing him of sedition, of having overturned altars, and spoken irreverently of the Emperor. The governor having examined him, and finding his faith unshaken, caused him to be tied up, and tormented till the executioners were tired, and then sent him to prison.

IN the mean time he informed the Emperor of what had passed, who was not yet come to Ancyra. He sent the count Elpidius, who had renounced Christianity to make his court to him, and Pegasus another apostate, who not being able to move the constancy of Basil, caused him to be examined and tortured a second time by the governor. Some time after Julian came to Ancyra; the sacrificers went out to meet him, carrying with them the idol of Hecate; and being come into the palace, he called them together and distributed money among them. The next day at the public shews, Elpidius made his report to him concerning Basil: And at his coming out of the theatre, Julian ordered that he should be brought to the palace. Basil reproached him with his apostacy, and foretold him, that

A. D. 362.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 4.
P. 133.
A. Gothof.
Chron. C.
Theod.
Amm. xxii.
c. 9.
Liban.
paneg. 1.
p. 247. B.
Jul. epist. 21.

Greg. Naz.
ibid.

XI.
St. Basil. presbyter of Ancyra, &c.
Amm. ibid.
Sozom. v.
c. 11.
Act. Sinc.
p. 650.

Theod. iii.
c. 12.

A.D. 362. **JESUS CHRIST** would soon deprive him of the empire. Whereupon Julian replied, I intended to dismiss you, but your impudent manner of rejecting my advice, and uttering reproaches against me, force me to use you ill. He left it in charge to a count called Frumentinus to see him tormented, and set out for Antioch. The count having again made trial of the martyr's constancy, but to no purpose, tormented him to death on the twenty eight of June, in the year 362. Three others are reckoned to have suffered martyrdom under Julian at Ancyra; viz. Melasippus, Anthony, and Carina.

Martyr.
7 Nov.

Pall. Laus.
113.

Sozom. v.
c. 11.

PHILOROMUS, who was also of Galatia, confessed the name of **JESUS CHRIST** in the sight of Julian, and spoke to him with so much boldness, that he ordered him to be shaved, and exposed him to be buffeted by the children. Philoromus returned him thanks, and from that time renounced the world, and embraced an ascetick life, and became so famous, that he was honoured and respected by persons of the greatest quality; although he was but a slave, and his mother one of the like condition, he was ordained priest, and lived to above fourscore years of age. Busiris a heretick of the sect of the *Eucratitæ* or Abstemious, was also apprehended at Ancyra in Galatia, probably after the departure of Julian. He was accused of having insulted the Pagans, and the governor caused him to be brought forth in publick, and fixed on the wheel. Busiris held his hands over his head, that his sides might be uncovered, and said to the governor, You need not give your officers the trouble of tying and untying me, I will keep in this posture as long as you please. The governor was astonished at the promise, but much more so at the performance; for Busiris held his arms lifted up, while they tore his flesh with iron talons, and continued firm in this posture as long as the governor required. He was then sent to prison, from whence he was soon after delivered upon Julian's death: He lived to the reign of Theodosius, abjured his heresy, and returned to the Catholic Church.

XII.
The Martyrs
in Capado-
cia.
Sozom. v.
c. 4. D.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 3. p. 91.
D. Or. 19.
p. 303.
Soz. ib.

Euf. Chr. lat.
an 7 Tiber.

FROM Galatia Julian proceeded in his journey through Cappadocia, where certain Christians likewise suffered martyrdom, particularly at Cæsarea the capital city, to which place Julian had an aversion, the inhabitants being almost all Christians. They had long before destroyed the Temples of Jupiter and Apollo, esteemed the tutelary gods of that city. The Temple of Fortune only remained, and the Christians had lately destroyed it, even since his accession to the empire. For this he punished the whole city, he struck it out of the catalogue of cities, although it was the metropolis of the province, and ordered that it should resume its antient name of Mazaca, forbidding it any more to be called Cæsarea, the name given it by the Emperor Tiberius. He complained that the Pagans had exposed themselves to assist their goddesses, not considering the smallness of their number. He deprived the Churches in the city, and its territory, of all that they possessed in moveables or other goods, making use of torments to force them to discover their wealth. He condemned them in a fine of three hundred pounds in gold, which they were to pay in specie into his treasury. He caused all the clerks to be enlisted among the inferior officers of the magistracy, under the governor of the province; which was the most contemptible, and frequently

ly the most burthensome service. As for the laity he caused them to be A. D. 362.
 taxed, with their wives and children, and to pay tribute as in the villages; V. Vales.
 threatening them, with an oath, that if they did not speedily rebuild the hic. in Soz.
 temples, he would continue his severity towards their city, and the heads v. c. 4.
 of the Galileans should not be safe. All who had any hand in pulling down Soz. v. c. 11.
 the temple of Fortune were punished, some with death, others with banish-
 ment; and amongst those who suffered death upon this account, they reckon Martyr.
 Eupfychius, a person of noble extraction, who was married not long Roman. &
 before, and whom the Church honoureth as a martyr on the ninth of ibid. Baron.
 April.

DIANEUS Bishop of the same city died about this time. When he fell XIII.
 sick he sent for his Clergy, St. Basil being one of them, and said to them; Eusebius Bi-
 God is my witness, that when I gave my consent to the confession drawn shop of Cæ-
 up by the council of Constantinople, I did it in simplicity of heart, not de- sarea in Cap-
 signing to injure the Nicene Creed. I believe nothing but what I have re- padocia.
 ceived from the same tradition, and desire never to be separated from the Basil ep. 86.
 three hundred and eighteen blessed Bishops who published that holy confes- p. 919. D.
 sion of Faith. All who were present were fully satisfied, and embraced his Sup. xiv.
 communion, and had no scruple remaining in relation to him. n. 24.

AFTER his death the city was divided into factions on the choice of a Greg. Naz.
 Bishop; the dignity of the metropolitan See and zeal for religion, raised Or. 19.
 heats among them, and some were swayed by their affection to particular P. 308. C.
 persons. At length all the people agreed to chuse one of the principal men
 of the city named Eusebius, a person remarkable for his virtue, but who
 had not yet been baptized: They took him by force against his will by the
 assistance of the soldiers who were there, placed him in the Chancel, pre-
 sented him to the Bishops who were assembled for the election, and desired
 them to baptize and ordain him Bishop, urging them by violence as well as
 arguments. The Bishops yielded to the multitude, baptized Eusebius, or-
 dained him Bishop, and installed him; but when they were retired, and
 found themselves at liberty, they resolved to declare all that they had done
 void, and the ordination illegal, as having been only an outward ceremony
 without the least concurrence of their will; and they were even for calling
 Eusebius to an account as the author of this violent proceeding.

THE aged and holy Gregory Bishop of Nazianzum, who was one of them
 was of a contrary opinion; for, said he, since force hath been used to Euse-
 bius as well as to you, he hath a right to accuse you on his side, and you
 are no less guilty than he; you ought therefore to have resisted to the last,
 and not after it is over to fall upon Eusebius; especially at this time when it
 would be more adviseable to stifle old animosities, than to foment new quar-
 rels. And indeed, the Emperor was extremely incensed at this election;
 he termed it a sedition, threatening Eusebius in particular; and this hap-
 pened at the same time that the city was in greater danger on account of the
 temple of Fortune. The governor of the province was glad to take this
 opportunity of making his court at the expence of Eusebius, with whom he
 had a difference upon some other occasion. He wrote therefore to the Bi-
 shops who had ordained him, to oblige them to accuse him, threatening them
 in his letters, and adding, that it was the Emperor's pleasure. The aged

Gregory

A. D. 362. Gregory having received this letter, which was directed to him, replied immediately: Most mighty governor, we acknowledge no other master or censor of our actions but him, against whom war is now waged, namely **JESUS CHRIST**; he will examine this ordination which hath been performed according to rule, and is acceptable to him. As for you, you can, without difficulty, offer violence to us in any other respect; but none can hinder us from defending what we have done according to right, unless you make some law upon this occasion, you who are not permitted to take cognizance of our affairs. This letter did at first exasperate the governor; but he afterwards admired it, and it even put a stop to the Emperor's passion; and the event justified that providence which had contrived the election of Eusebius.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 19.
P. 307. D.

THE aged Gregory signalized himself likewise by defending his own Church at Nazianzum. A company of soldiers had been sent thither, as into the rest of the cities, armed with bows and arrows, to get possession of or pull down the Church; but Gregory resisted with so much zeal, that the leader was forced to quit the enterprize, and secure himself by a hasty retreat. The good old man caused publick prayers to be said for the deliverance of the Church, and for putting an end to the persecution; but he prayed in the night time in private, lying along on the ground notwithstanding his great age, and watering the floor with his tears, which he continued almost a year, and that so secretly, that it would not have been known by his own family, if his son Gregory had not discovered it.

XIV.
St. Grego. y
Nazianzen
and St. Basil
Presbyters.

Carm. i. p. 6.
C.

GREGORY the son had been ordained Priest about the beginning of this year, very much against his inclination; for, besides the general reasons of the dignity of the priesthood, the sanctity and capacity required therein, he saw particular difficulties at that time, when the Church had been so cruelly rent within itself by the Hereticks, and attacked from without by the Pagans. His father was not ignorant of his thoughts; however, the people joining with him, he promoted him to the second degree of the priesthood, charging him with the instruction of the Catechumens, and the ministry of the Word, which, by reason of his great age, he was no longer able to perform. The Son overwhelmed with this unexpected blow, retired a few days after into the desert of Pontus to St. Basil; but having somewhat dissipated his grief, and being solicited by the affection of his father, and by all the faithful among the people, as well as excited by the example of Jonas, and fearing lest he should resist the ordinance of **GOD**, he returned at Easter, which in that year 362, happened on the thirty first of March. He made a discourse in the Church on Easter day, taking that opportunity of mutually forgiving the violence which they had offered him in his ordination, and the uneasiness which he had given them by his retreat. Many who had been most solicitous for Gregory were not present at this first sermon: he was concerned at this, and in a second discourse reproached them with a sincere and fervent charity: But as he knew that many had censured his having retired, accusing him of contemning holy orders, or aspiring to a higher rank than that of the Priest's office, he composed, some time after, a long apology, wherein he thoroughly treats of the dignity, duty, and dangers of the sacerdotal office; and gives solid reasons for his apprehensions, and withdrawing himself, and for his submission and return afterwards.

Orat. 1.

ST. Basil was ordained Priest about the same time: He had returned to A. D. 362. Cæsarea, and was present at the death of the Bishop Dianæus. Eusebius who was a Neophyte was desirous of strengthening himself by the assistance of a man of so much virtue, knowledge, and eloquence, as St. Basil, and already exercised in the ministry of the Church; for he was admitted into the order of Readers. St. Basil wrote concerning his ordination to his friend St. Gregory, who answered: You have likewise been taken. We have been forcibly preferred to the rank of Priests, of which we were not ambitious; for we are witnesses for each other how fond we were of applying our selves to philosophy after an humble and private manner. Perhaps it had been better that this had never happened; but I know not what to say until I understand the guidance of the spirit. Since the thing is done we ought to submit to it, especially on account of the times, which draws the censure of the Hereticks upon us, and not to bring shame upon those who have intrusted us with the ministry, or that way of life which we have embraced. St. Basil's first sermon is thought to have been an explanation of the beginning of the Proverbs.

EUSEBIUS his Bishop, through humane frailty, had afterwards a difference with him, the occasion of which we are not acquainted with. It is only conjectured that he was jealous of the authority which he gained, by his eloquence and virtue. The monks who looked upon St. Basil as their head, sided with him, and drew multitudes of people to his party, even those of the greatest distinction. Besides, Eusebius was not very acceptable, being ordained by force, rather than according to the canons: And at that time there were some of the western Bishops at Cæsarea, who took part with St. Basil, and gained over all the Catholics. It is thought that these were St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, and Lucifer of Cagliari: The Church of Cæsarea was therefore upon the point of being rent asunder by a schism, had not this been prevented by the prudence of St. Basil, who retired with St. Gregory Nazianzen into Pontus, and governed the monasteries that were settled there.

THE Emperor Julian continuing his journey, went from Cappadocia into Cilicia; came to Tarsus, and at length to Antioch, where he arrived at the feast of Adonis, that is to say, in the end of July. As it was solemnized with mournful hymns, to bewail the death of Adonis, slain by a boar, and lamented by Venus, the pagans thought it an unlucky omen for the Emperor at his entrance into the capital of the East. He visited all the temples on the hills, and on the most inaccessible mountains. In the same manner, soon after his arrival at Antioch, he went to Mount Cassian to visit a noted temple of Jupiter, where he stayed not long, returning back, in order to assist at the feast of Apollo, which was annually celebrated in the town of Daphnè, not far from Antioch, at the distance of two leagues from the opposite side of the river Orontes; it happened in the tenth month called Lous by the Macedonians, which answered to August. Julian expected upon this occasion to see the riches and magnificence of Antioch; he imagined that there would be great pomp and ceremony, victims, libations, perfumes, dances, young men cloathed in white robes, and sumptuously adorned. When he came into the temple he was much surprized to find

Greg. Naz.
Or. 20.
p. 336. B.
Greg. Naz.
ep. 11.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 20.
p. 336. C.
p. 337.

Eliaf. Cret.
n. 53.
inf. n. 28.

XV.
Julian at Antioch.
Amm. xxii.
c. 9.
Hier. in viij.
Ezech.
Gothofr.
Chronol.
C. Th.

Misopog
p. 96, 97,
&c.

A. D. 362. neither victims nor incense, nor so much as a cake there ; he supposed that all the preparation was without, and that they only waited for the signal from him as *Pontifex Maximus*. At length he asked what sacrifice the city was to offer at the festival ? The sacrificer replied : I have brought a goose from home ; but nothing has been prepared by the city : Whereupon, Julian addressing himself to the senate, spake thus : It is strange, that so great a city should shew more contempt for the gods, than the most inconsiderable town in the remotest parts of Pontus ; and that possessing large tracts of land, they should not offer so much as a bird now on the first return of the festival of their deity, after the gods have dispersed the cloud of impiety, when every tribe should have brought an ox, at least a bull should have been sacrificed for the whole city in general. None but the sacrificer hath contributed any thing, who ought rather to have carried home his share of your offerings. You all of you suffer every thing to be carried out of your houses and given to the Galileans by your wives, who supporting the poor with your wealth gain credit to the impiety. Every one spreads his table twice on his birth day, making a magnificent entertainment for his friends ; but at this solemn festival no body hath brought either oil for the lamp, or any libation, victim, or incense. No reasonable man would be contented to be so used, much less can it be acceptable to the gods. Such was Julian's speech as he stood by the altar at the foot of the idol ; but his discourse made no impression either on the senate or people of Antioch.

Ibid. p. 100.

XVI.
The son of an
heathen priest
converted.
Theod. iii.
c. 24.

THE feast of Daphnè lasted seven days, during which Julian gave a publick entertainment according to custom. The Priest that sacrificed had two sons who officiated in the temple, and sprinkled the meat that was served up to the Emperor with lustral water. One of them performed this office the first day, and immediately ran away to Antioch, and went to a virtuous Deaconess, who was a friend to his mother, and had often exhorted him to become a Christian. After his mother's death he continued his visits to her, and profiting by her instructions, at length he enquired by what means he might embrace that religion which she taught him. You must, said she, avoid your father, preferring to him the Creator of you both, and retire to some city where you may be out of the power of the Emperor ; and I promise you to take care about it. I will come, replied the young man, and put my life into your hands. It was therefore to perform this promise, that he fled from Daphnè, and came to the house of the Deaconess, intreating her to be as good as her word. She immediately arose and carried him to St. Meletius, for he was come back to Antioch on the liberty which the Emperor had granted to all the exiles to return from their banishment : He caused this young man to remain some time in an upper chamber ; but in the mean while his father sought for him ; and after having gone round Daphnè came to Antioch, and went through every street ; at last, going by the house of St. Meletius, he discovered his son looking through the lettice : Upon which he ran into the house, forced him thence, and carried him home ; and first scourged him severely ; afterwards, having heated large needles in the fire, he ran them into his hands, feet, and back ; and then shut him up in his chamber, which he fastened on the outside, and returned to Daphnè. The young man filled with an extraordinary zeal, broke in pieces all his father's

father's idols ; and afterwards dreading his anger, prayed to **JESUS CHRIST** **A.D. 362.** to deliver him ; for it is for your sake, said he, that I have suffered and done all this. Whilst he was speaking these words, the bars fell down, the doors flew open, and he ran to the Deaconess, by whom he had been instructed. She disguised him in woman's apparel, took him with her in her litter, and carried him back to St. Meletius, who put him into the hands of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, with whom he set out in the night, and went into Palestine. Theodoret, by whom this story is related, learned it from the mouth of the person to whom it happened, who told it him when he was old, adding, that after the death of Julian he had even converted his father the heathen Priest.

V. Vales.
hic.

JULIAN finding that all the people of Antioch were Christians, conceived a hatred against it ; but was very well satisfied with the neighbouring cities ; for as soon as he had issued out his orders for the restoration of idolatry, they rebuilt the temples, overthrew the tombs of the martyrs, and openly persecuted the Christians. The Bishop Mark in the time of Constantius had destroyed, at Arethusa in Syria, a very magnificent temple, which was held in great veneration by the pagans ; he had also built a church and converted great numbers of infidels : But under Julian, finding that the pagans were ready to shew their resentment against him, which they had long concealed ; he at first resolved to fly according to the precept of the Gospel ; but understanding that they had apprehended some of his flock instead of him, he returned and delivered himself up to the persecutors : They seized him, and all the people crowded about him, dragged him through the streets by the hair, or any part which they could catch hold of, having no compassion upon his age, nor any regard for his virtue or learning ; they first stripped and scourged him all over his body, and afterwards threw him into noisome common sewers ; whence having taken him, they left him to the children, ordering them to prick him without mercy with their writing stiles : They tied his legs with cords until they met the very bone ; they wrung off his ears with small strong threads. After this they rubbed him over with honey, and putting him in a basket hung him up in the air, where the sun was most violent at noon day in the midst of summer, in order to draw the wasps and the bees upon him. They tormented him in this manner, to force him to rebuild the temple which he had destroyed, or at least to pay the expence of it ; but he endured all this, and would not make any promise. Then they imagining that by reason of his poverty he was not able to raise so large a sum, remitted the half ; but far from granting them any thing, he mocked them as he hung in the air, though so sorely wounded, telling them that they were low and earthly, but that he was heavenly and exalted : They submitted so far as to ask him to allow a small part of the charge of this building ; but he replied, that to give the least farthing was as impious as to defray the whole expence : At length being overcome by his patience, they let him go, and were afterwards, from his mouth, instructed in the true religion. The constancy of this Bishop did so amaze the *Præfectus Prætorii*, who was a pagan, that he said to Julian : Is it not a shame, Sir, that the Christians should be so much superiour to us, and that an old man should get the better of us, whom if we had overcome we should have gained no credit by it ?

XVII.
Martyrs in Syria.
Misopog.
p. 95.
Theod. iii.
hist. c. 7.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 3. p. 88.
Soz. v. c. 10.

THE

A. D. 362. THE destroying of the Temples was a general pretence for persecuting the Christians; for Julian had ordered them to be rebuilt every where at their expence: But one would have thought that Mark of Arethusa ought to have had a particular exemption, since he was one of the Bishops who had saved Julian in the beginning of the reign of Constantius, by concealing him when all his family was in danger. However Mark of Arethusa had all along sided with the Arians, or at least with the Semi arians, having signalized himself by his zeal for that party: But the praises bestowed upon him by St. Gregory Nazianzen, who without doubt knew him perfectly well, give us reason to believe, that he was then in communion with the Catholick Church.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 3. p. 90.
C.
Sup. lib. xii.
n. 1.

AT Heliopolis in Phoenicia, near mount Libanus, there was a Deacon called Cyril; who in the reign of Constantine had broken to peices several idols; the Pagans retained so great a resentment on this account, that they were not satisfied with killing him, but cut open his belly, and eat his liver. The divine vengeance was openly declared against all those who had any hand in this barbarity, their teeth fell out all at once, their tongue rotted, and they lost their sight. In the same city of Heliopolis certain consecrated virgins who admitted none to see them, were brought forth in publick, stript and exposed to the sight and mockery of all the people. They shaved their heads, ript open their bellies, and cast barley therein, which they forced the Hogs to eat, that they might devour the intrails, together with the grain wherewith they were covered. It is supposed that what animated them with such fury against those virgins was the prohibition of Constantine, when having destroyed the Temple of Venus, and built the first Church in that city, he forbade them to prostitute their daughters, as it had been their custom.

Theod. iii.
c. 7.

Soz. v. c. 10.

Lib. xi.
n. 33.

XVIII.
Martyrs at
Gaza.
Theod. iii.
c. 7.
Sozom. v.
c. 9.

AT Gaza and Ascalon in Palestine, they exercised the same cruelty on priests and virgins; opening their bellies, and making the hogs eat barley out of them. At Gaza itself three brothers Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno, were cruelly martyred. They seized them in their houses where they had concealed themselves, carried them to prison and scourged them. Afterwards the people who were assembled in the amphitheater, cryed out, That they were guilty of sacrilege, and that they had taken the advantage of the license of the late times to destroy religion. By crying out after this manner they put themselves into such a ferment, that the assembly becoming in a tumult, they ran to the prison in a fury; whence forcing the three brothers, they began to drag them sometimes on their bellies, sometimes on their backs, bruising them against the pavement, and striking them with clubs, stones, or any thing that came in their way. The very women quitting their work, ran the points of their spindles into them; the cooks that were in the publick street, took the kettles from off the fire, and poured the boiling water upon them, and struck their spits into them. After having torn them in pieces, and broken their skulls in such a manner, that the ground was smeared with their brains, they dragged them out of the city, to the place where they threw the beasts that died of themselves. Here they lighted a fire, burnt the bodies, and mingled the bones that remained

mained with those of camels and asses; so that it was not easy to distinguish them. A. D. 362.

WITH these three brethren there was taken a young man named Nestor, who suffered imprisonment and scourging, as they had done; but as they dragged him through the city, the people took compassion on him by reason of his beauty; they drew him out of the gate whilst he still breathed, but in all appearance ready to expire. Certain persons conveyed him to Zeno, a cousin of the martyr's, where he died as they were dressing his wounds. Zeno likewise was very near being taken, and killed with his relations; but while the people were employed in their massacre, he found an opportunity to escape to Authedon, an episcopal city between Gaza and Ascalon, on the ocean, at the distance of twenty stadia, that is about a league from Gaza. This city was no less addicted to idolatry, and he being there known to be a Christian, they beat him cruelly with rods, and turned him out of the city. Upon which he retired to Majuma, and there continued concealed. This place was the arsenal of Gaza, and Constantine had made a separate city of it, on account of their great zeal for Christianity, and had given it the privilege of a city, and the name of Constantia, not being willing it should be subject to Gaza, which was intirely given up to idolatry. Julian for the same reason deprived Majuma of all its privileges, and caused it to resume its former name, and made it, as formerly, dependent upon Gaza, in respect to its temporal government; but as to spiritual affairs, Majuma had still its own Bishops, its particular Clergy, the feasts of its martyrs, the commemoration of its Bishops, and a distinct jurisdiction. Sozom. v. c. 3. Sup. lib. xi. n. 37.

A certain woman who was a Christian, and lived at Gaza, understood by revelation that she was to convey away the relicks of the three brothers, Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno, and place them in the hands of the other Zeno, whose face and dwelling God shewed her by the same means. She went therefore, a little after their martyrdom, gathered up their relicks in the night, and having enclosed them in an urn, left them with Zeno, who for the present kept them in his own house: But afterwards becoming Bishop of Majuma in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, he interred them near the confessor Nestor, under the altar of a Church which he built. Several other Christians were driven from the cities and towns by this persecution; and amongst these were the ancestors of the historian Sozomen, of this same country of Gaza. The inhabitants of Gaza were apprehensive of being punished for this sedition, and it was already reported that the Emperor being exceedingly incensed, intended to decimate them; but it was a groundless report; for Julian did not so much as reprimand them by letters, as his custom was with others on the like occasions. On the contrary he turned the governor out of his office, and sent him into banishment, pretending, that he had shewed him mercy in granting him his life; and this because he had imprisoned the authors of the massacre, in order to bring them to justice; though at the same time he imprisoned a great number of Christians. For, said Julian, is it such a mighty matter, that a company of Grecians have slain certain Galileans. Soz. v. c. 9. Soz. v. hist. c. 15. Greg. Naz. Or. 3. p. 91. D.

THE Pagans of Gaza, bearing an enmity to St. Hilario for the affront which he had offered to their god Marnas, and on account of the conversions wrought XIX. St. Hilario persecuted.

A. D. 362. wrought by his miracles, presented a petition to the Emperor Julian, and obtained sentence of death against him and his beloved disciple Hefychius, no doubt under the pretence that they were magicians; and accordingly dispatched orders to every place to have them sought after. St. Hilario had stayed in Egypt; for after having visited the last monastery of St. Anthony, he returned to Aphrodite, and dwelt with two brethren only in the neighbouring desert, exercising himself in abstinence and silence, with so much zeal that he said, that he then only began to serve JESUS CHRIST. It had not rained in the country for three years, that is, not since the death of St. Anthony; which caused the people to say, that the elements themselves mourned for him. The renown of St. Hilario drew together crowds of both sexes, who came to him with countenances grown meager with famine, asking him for rain as the successor of St. Anthony. He was sensibly afflicted with their misery, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, immediately obtained what he asked. But this thirsty ground being watered with rain, produced such a great number of serpents, and venomous animals, that multitudes were stung with them, and had instantly died, had they not had recourse to St. Hilario; who blessed some oil, with which these labourers and herdsmen anointing their wounds, were perfectly cured.

c. 28.

THE saint seeing the extraordinary honours that were paid to him in that place, departed towards Alexandria, in order to proceed to the desert of Oasis. And as he had never made any stay in the cities, since he had taken to a monastick life, he stopped at the abode of certain monks of his acquaintance, at a place called Bruchion: These received him with an extreme joy; but in the evening were much surprized to find that his disciples were getting ready his ass, and that he was preparing to depart. They threw themselves at his feet, and lying before the door, they protested, that they would sooner die than be deprived of such a guest. I hasten my departure, said he, lest I should draw you into some inconvenience; the event will shew you that I have reason for so doing. Accordingly the next day the inhabitants of Gaza came to the monastery with the Præfect's lictors, having been told the evening before, that St. Hilario was come thither; but not finding him, they said to each other: Did not they tell us true? he is a magician, and foreknoweth what will come to pass. St. Hilario having left Bruchion, passed into the Oasis, through an inaccessible desert, and stayed there about a year. But finding that his reputation had followed him, he resolved to transport himself to some uninhabited island, since he could be no longer concealed in the east.

XX.

The continuation of the general persecution.

Theo. ii.

c. 7.

Ruf. ii. hist.

c. 28.

AT Sebasta in Palestine, the Pagans broke open the sepulcher of St. John Baptist, burnt his bones, and scattered the ashes in the air. However some of the relicts were preserved; for certain monks of Jerusalem coming to pray at Sabasta, mingled themselves among those impious people, who were gathering up these bones in order to burn them, and having secretly conveyed away some of them, they carried them to their abbot, whose name was Philip; who thinking himself unworthy of having such a treasure in his keeping, sent them to St. Athanasius by Julian his deacon, who was afterwards a Bishop in Palestine. St. Athanasius inclosed these relicts, in presence of

of a few witnesses only, within the hollow of a wall, belonging to the chancel of a Church; saying through a spirit of prophecy, That the following generation should receive the benefit of them; which accordingly happened in the time of Bishop Theophilus, and in the reign of Theodosius: But the sepulcher of St. John Baptist at Sabasta, still continued to be honoured as containing his ashes. A. D. 362.
Hier. ep. 17.
c. 8. ep. 27.
c. 6.

AT Perieas, or Cæsarea Philippi, there was the statue of JESUS CHRIST, which the woman who was healed of the issue of blood, had caused to be erected in honour of him; on one side was seen the figure of a woman kneeling, with her hands stretched out in a supplicating posture; over against her stood a man clothed with a large mantle, gracefully cast round him, extending his hand towards the woman. Both the statues were of brass, being placed before the door of the woman's house, within the city, near a fountain, together with other statues, which made an agreeable sight. Out of the pedestal of this statue of JESUS CHRIST grew a certain herb, unknown to the physicians, which reached up to the fringe of his mantle, and healed all sorts of distempers. The reason of this was not known, nor upon what account the statue had been erected, nor the person it represented, because by length of time a great deal of earth had gathered round it; but at last they discovered the pedestal, and found thereon an inscription, which gave an account of the whole matter. Julian caused this statue to be pulled down, and his own to be set up in the place: But it was struck by lightning with so much violence, that the body was cut off in the middle, and the head forced from the trunk, and beat into the earth, with the face downwards; it remained thus blasted with the lightening, and was there seen in the time of Sozomen, sixty years after. As for the statue of JESUS CHRIST, the Pagans dragged it into the city by the feet, and broke it in pieces; but the Christians gathered up the pieces, and deposited them in the Church; where they were still likewise kept in the time of Sozomen. It is true, that they were only laid up in the deaconry or sacristy, and were not adored; because, saith Philostorgius, it is not lawful to adore brass or other matter: But they preserved it with decency, in order to shew it to such as came to see it out of devotion. Certain private persons kept the head with great care, it having been severed from the body of the statue, as it was dragged along. Eu. c. 8.
Philost. vii.
c. 3.
Soz. v. c. 21.

AT Emisa in Syria, the Pagans prophaned the new Church, dedicating it to Bacchus, whom they called *Gynidus* or *Androgynus*, because they attributed both sexes to him, and placed his idol therein. Titus was Bishop of Bosra, which is situated at the entrance of Arabia Petræa, not far from Palæstine; the Emperor threatening to call him and his clergy to account, if there was any commotion among the people, Titus sent him a petition, representing, that he did, on the contrary, endeavour to keep the people within the bounds of their duty, using these words among others: Although the Christians are as numerous as the Pagans, and are restrained by our exhortations, that no disorder may happen. Julian made use of these words to make Titus odious to the people of Bosra, as if he had accused them, Theod. iij.
c. 7.
Soz. v. c. 17.

A. D. 362. them, as being of themselves inclined to sedition, and ordered them to banish him from their city, by an edict beginning in this manner:

XXI.
Letter of Julian to the Bostrians.
Epist. 52.

JULIAN to the Bostrians: I thought that the chief of the Galileans would acknowledge, that they were more obliged to me than to my predecessor; since under him most of them have been driven away, imprisoned, persecuted, and even great numbers of those called hereticks have been murdered at Samosata, Cyzicus in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and in many other countries, where whole towns have been destroyed and plundered. On the contrary under my reign, they who were banished have been recalled, and what was confiscated hath been restored: But notwithstanding this, their fury hath been great, because they have it not in their power to tyrannize, that they use all their utmost endeavours to raise disturbances among the people; being impious towards the gods, and rebellious to our commands, though full of lenity. And afterwards:

It is therefore manifest that the people incited by those called clerks, instead of thinking it a happiness that they are not punished for their past crimes, are uneasy that they have lost their former power; and because they have not now the liberty to try causes, make wills, and bring into their own possession the inheritances of others, and get all into their hands, they raise seditions in every place. For which reason I declare to all people by this edict, that they ought not to suffer themselves to be persuaded by the clerks to take up stones, and oppose the magistrates; let them assemble as often as they please, and pray by themselves as they think fit; but if through self-interest, they would stir up the people to sedition, let them follow them no longer unless they desire to be punished.

He afterwards addresses himself to the city of Bosra in particular, and after having repeated the words written to him by the bishop, he adds: You find that he saith your submission doth not proceed from your selves but from him, who keeps you in your duty by his exhortations; drive him therefore out of your city, as your accuser, and live in peace one with another; let not those who err meddle with those who serve the gods in a legal manner, according to the tradition of all ages. And you the servants of the gods, do not plunder, nor pull down the houses of such as wander out of the right way; rather through ignorance than choice. Men are to be instructed, and brought over by reason, not by reproaches and corporeal punishments. I say it again, and frequently repeat it, let not the Galileans be ill used; they who are mistaken in matters of the greatest importance, deserve rather our pity than our hatred. They punish themselves who forsake the gods, to adore dead men and their relicks. This letter is dated the first of August 362.

XXII.
Martyrs at Antioch.
Amm. xxii.
c. 11.
Theod. iij.
c. 12.
Jul. epist. 10.
Theod. iij.
c. 15.

JULIAN sent for Artemius duke of Egypt to Antioch, he being accused by the Alexandrians of heinous crimes, that is, of having broken to pieces several idols in the time of Constantine, and for having assisted George the Arian Bishop with armed force, in order to strip the Temples of their wealth and ornaments. The Emperor was not satisfied with depriving him of his estate; he also beheaded him, and he is honoured as a martyr by the Church on the twentieth of October. He likewise punished some of his guards, called Scutarii, from the shields which they bore; among others Ju-
ventinus

ventinus and Maximin, who had complained too freely of the snares which he layed for the Christians, to draw them into idolatry; for he had polluted the fountains of the city of Antioch and town of Daphnè, by casting some liquor therein which had been offered to idols; and caused all that was sold in the market to be sprinkled with this water, viz. the bread, meat, fruit, herbs, and all sorts of provision. The Christians could not help being grieved at this, but still made use of this food, observing the precept of the Apostle, who saith: Eat of all that is sold in the market, asking no questions. 1 Cor. x. 25.

ONE day at an entertainment, Juventinus and Maximin lamented with some heat these prophanations, and repeated those words of Daniel's companions: You have delivered us into the hands of an apostate king, the most unjust in all the world. Daniel iii. 32. Sec. 70. These words being reported to the Emperor by one of those who eat with them, he sent for Juventinus and Maximin to come before him, and asked them what they had said. They took occasion from hence to answer boldly: My lord, having been educated in the piety and laudable maxims of Constantine and his children, we are concerned to see all places now filled with abominations, and all the provision polluted with prophane offerings. We have complained of this in private, and now complain of it in your presence; it is the only thing that gives us any uneasiness under your reign. The Emperor having heard these words, caused them to be beaten and tortured to death, declaring, that they were not punished for their religion, but for their insolent expressions. The Martyr. The Church of Antioch commemorated them on the fifth of September, which Rom. was probably the day on which they were martyred, and we honour them still on the twenty fifth of January. Thus did the Christian soldiers obey Julian, notwithstanding his being an infidel and apostate, as St. Augustine Aug. in pf. 124. n. 7. testifieth, who lived at that time. When, said he, he required them to adore idols, they preferred the law of God before his commands; when he ordered them to march against the enemy, they readily obeyed.

THE news of the death of Artemius coming to Alexandria, the idolaters whom he had threatned to treat severely if he returned with the same power, being delivered from these apprehensions, turned their fury against the usurping Bishop George. He had made himself odious to every body; to the Catholics, by having persecuted them under Constantius; to the Arians, by forcing them to subscribe to the condemnation of Aëtius; and to the Pagans, by plundering their temples; and by the disquiet which he gave to all sorts of persons in general. XXIII. The massacre of George of Alexandria. Amm. xxii. c. 11. Soz. v. c. 7. Philost. vii. c. 2. Sup. lib. 13. n. 34. The last time that he returned from court, passing by a fine temple of the god Genius, attended as usual by a great train, he said, turning his eyes towards this temple; How long shall this sepulchre last? The Pagans were thunder struck at these words, and were afraid lest he should also destroy this building: But what raised their fury to the height was the following circumstance.

THERE was a certain place at Alexandria which had long lain neglected, and was a sort of lay-stall or dung-hill, where the Pagans had formerly sacrificed men in the ceremonies of Mithra. Constantius had given it as a place of no use to the Church of Alexandria; and George caused it to be cleansed, designing to build a church thereon. As they were employed in this

A. D. 362. this work they found a deep subterraneous cavern, wherein the mysteries of the Pagans were concealed; that is, certain idols and instruments used in their ceremonies, which appeared very odd and ridiculous to those who beheld them: They also found in the same place many skulls of men and children, which were reported to have been killed, in order to make use of their intrails in their divinations, and to force the souls to return by magical rites. The Christians having made this discovery, took care to expose in publick the ridiculous ceremonies of the Pagans, and the marks of their cruelty: But the Pagans unable to bear this affront, and being transported with rage, armed themselves with whatever they could lay their hands on, fell upon the Christians, wounded and slew many of them after divers ways; some with swords, others with stones or clubs; others they strangled, and some they crucified in contempt of the cross; their nearest relations were not spared, brother was armed against brother, and the father against his children.

Amm. xxii.
c. 11.

Theodoret.
in Levit.
xxviii.

Epiph. Har.
76. n. 1.

Sozom. v.

c. 7.
Philost. vii.
c. 1.

XXIV.
Julian's letter.
Amm. xxii.
c. 11.

Soz. v. c. 7.
Epist. 10.

THE Christians desisted from purifying the temple of Mithra; but the Pagans fell upon George, and with great cries dragged him out of the Church. It seemed as if they would have killed him upon the spot; but, however, they were contented with imprisoning him. Not long after, they ran one morning to the prison, whence having taken him, they dragged him through the city, his legs being stretched to a great distance from each other, trampling upon him, and offering him divers other outrages: They seized, together with him, Dracontius master of the mint, and Diodorus who had the rank and quality of a Count, and dragged them also by the heels with cords; the first for having overturned in the mint an altar lately erected there; the other, because he had taken the liberty to cut off children's hair, which was suffered to grow to a great length, through a pagan superstition, that it might afterwards be cut off and consecrated to the false gods. After George, Dracontius, and Diodorus had been tormented in this manner all the day long, they laid their mangled carcases upon camels and carried them to the sea shore, where having hastily burnt them, they threw their ashes into the water, lest the Christians should honour them as the relicks of martyrs. But there was nothing like this to be feared, at least as to George, it being very notorious that religion was not the cause of his death, and that his crimes had made him odious to all the world: However, the Arians took occasion from his death to calumniate St. Athanasius and the Catholics.

JULIAN being informed of this sedition, flew into a violent passion, and declared, that he would punish them with the utmost severity; but he was appeased by his relations, especially by his uncle Count Julian, who had been Præfect of Egypt; he therefore only gave them a severe reprimand by a letter, which he wrote in these terms: Although you did not respect Alexander your founder, or rather the great god Serapis; how comes it to pass, that you have no regard to common humanity, and to what you owe to me; to me, I say, on whom all the gods, especially the great Serapis, have bestowed the empire of the universe? Instead of referring the cognizance of your wrongs to me, you have suffered yourselves to be surprized by

by rage ; you have not been ashamed to commit the same extravagancies, A. D. 362. which make your enemies so justly odious to you. He then enumerates the grievances which they suffered from George, and adds : Being therefore provoked against this enemy of the gods, instead of prosecuting him in a court of justice, you have prophaned your sacred city. And afterwards : Your citizens have the boldness to tear a man in pieces like dogs, and are not afraid to stretch out their hands defiled with blood towards the gods. It is true, George deserved this treatment ; I might add, perhaps, that he merited a severer chastisement ; but you ought not to have been the executioners : You have laws which you ought to respect, at least in publick. It is happy for you that you committed this offence under my reign ; for I have a brotherly affection towards you, through respect to the gods, and regard to my uncle. Under a rigorous government, severe remedies would have been applied to this evil, but I make use of the mildest, which are words ; being persuaded that you will be influenced by them, if you are truly Greeks by original, and if you preserve the character of that antient nobility.

As the goods of George had been plundered after his death, Julian wrote to Ecdicius Præfect of Egypt, to preserve the books. I have had a curiosity this way from my youth, saith he, and I know that George had many books of Philosophy, of Rhetorick, and which treat of the impious doctrine of the Galileans ; I could wish it were possible intirely to destroy these last ; but lest others, more useful, should be lost with them, let them be all sought out with the utmost diligence, and let George's secretary be employed in this business ; which if he discharges faithfully, give him his liberty as a reward ; but if the contrary, let him be put to the torture. I know George's books ; because when I was in Cappadocia he lent me several of them to copy, which I afterwards restored. Julian wrote likewise to Porphyrius, treasurer-general of Egypt, charging him to get this library together by any means, and to send it to him to Antioch.

AFTER the death of George, St. Athanasius finding no obstacle to his return, came back to Alexandria ; he had lain concealed near seven years, from the ninth of February 356, till about August this year 362. He entered in triumph, but his triumph was suitable to a disciple of JESUS CHRIST, being mounted on an ass amidst an innumerable multitude, who came out to meet him from Alexandria as far as Cheræa, above a day's journey. All Egypt seemed to have come together to this town ; they got upon all the high places to get a sight of him, and to hear the sound of his voice ; and they thought themselves sanctified by his shadow. The people of Alexandria were divided into several companies, distinguished by their sex, age, and professions, as was the custom on publick and solemn entries. The different nations that were in this great city, made up a consort of praises and shouts in different languages ; they scattered perfumes, and lighted torches in every city ; they made banquets in publick and in private, and spent the whole night in rejoycings.

THEN the Catholicks again took possession of all the Churches, turning out the Arians, who were obliged to assemble in private houses : Their head was a Presbyter called Lucius, and it was said, that they then ordained him Bishop in the place of George. St. Athanasius treated those who had persecuted

Epist. 9.
V. Liban.
Paneg. 12.
34. B.

Epist. 36.

XXV.
The return of
St. Atha-
nasia.
Sup. lib. 13.
n. 28.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 21.
p. 391. C.
Ibid. p. 390.
A.

p. 391. B.

Socr. iii. c. 4.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 21.
p. 392. C.

A.D. 362. secuted him, with so much mildness, that they had no reason to complain of his return. He relieved the oppressed, not making any distinction between those of his own and of the opposite party; he restored the custom of preaching upon the holy doctrine of the Trinity; he purged the sanctuary, by removing those who made a traffick of the holy things; he gained the hearts of all the people, governing them only by their affection to him.

XXVI.
The council
of Alexandria
S. n. 4.

Ruf. i. c. 27.

Soc. iij.

c. 5, 6.

Soz. v. c. 12.

Theod. 121.

c. 4. 5.

Ruf. i. c. 28.

Socr. iij.

c. 5.

Athan. epist.

ad. Antioch.

574. & 580.

As St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, and Lucifer of Cagliari, returned from Thebais, whither they had been banished; St. Eusebius proposed to Lucifer their going together to St. Athanasius, to consult with him upon matters of religion, especially the re-union of the Church of Antioch. Lucifer chose rather to go himself to Antioch, and only sent to Alexandria two of his Deacons, with orders to give their consent to all that should be transacted in the council that was going to be held there. St. Eusebius came to Alexandria, where St. Athanasius in concert with him, really assembled a council, which, although it was not numerous, was entirely composed of Confessors. The chief were St. Athanasius and St. Eusebius of Vercellæ; the next St. Asterius of Petra in Arabia, and several Bishops of Egypt; namely, Caius, Ammonius, Dracontius, Adelphius, and Paphnutius, who had all been driven away or banished; with several others, twenty in number, not reckoning those whose names are not mentioned. Besides these Bishops, there were deputies sent by some that were absent; viz. the two Deacons of Lucifer, Herennius, and Agapetus, with two other Deacons, viz. Maximus and Calimerus, sent by the Presbyter Paulinus head of the Eustathians at Antioch; and certain Monks sent by the Bishop Apollinarius. It is thought that this was the Hæresiarch, who was not then known to be such.

Ruf. i. c. 28.

Sup. xiv.

n. 24.

Hier. in Lucifer.

c. 7.

Sup. xiv.

n. 14.

THE council in the first place applied themselves to restore the Church to the tranquillity which it enjoyed before the storm which the Arians had not long since raised under Constantius; by obliging every one to subscribe to the Form of Rimini. Every body contrary to their intentions had become Arian; that is, the Catholick Bishops had been imposed upon by the wrong interpretation which the Arians had given to the words approved by them in another sense, and which had served as a bait to draw them into their communion. They had pronounced anathema's against any who should maintain, that the Son of God is a creature like other creatures, meaning thereby that he is not a creature in any respect; whereas the Arians meant that he is a creature, but different from other creatures: They appeared therefore to be Hereticks contrary to the testimony of their consciences, finding nothing in their hearts but the Catholick Faith, which they had always retained: They protested by the Body of our LORD, and all that is most sacred in the Church, that they had not suspected any evil in this confession of Faith. We believed, said they, the sense agreed with the words; and in the Church of God, where reign simplicity and sincerity, we did not suspect that any thing would be concealed in the heart different from what was declared by the lips; the good opinion which we had of the wicked, hath deceived us; we did not think that the Priests of JESUS CHRIST would fight against him. They spoke thus with tears, protesting at the same time, that they were ready to condemn their subscription, and all the blasphem-

blasphemies of the Arians. They moreover alledged in excuse, that they had yielded to force for a time, lest their places should be supplied by Hereticks, who might corrupt the Church; and that they had chosen rather to take this burthen upon them, than suffer the people to perish. A. D. 362.

SOME who had not subscribed, made a scruple of admitting them, and refused to acknowledge any of those as Bishops who had defiled themselves by communicating with the Hereticks in any manner whatsoever; and by so rigid a disposition would have them deposed, and new Bishops ordained; which had been attempted in some places: But they whose consciences did not reproach them, were not very willing to be deposed; and were so beloved by their flocks, that they who endeavoured it were in danger of being stoned. The most severe would at least have had them contented with the communion of their own Churches, as some had been since their fall; but to suffer them always to remain in this condition was to divide the Church, and to expose those Bishops who were thus severely used, to become Arians in reality. They opposed therefore to this too fervent zeal, that maxim of the apostle, Not to seek our own profit, but the profit of the greater number, that they may be saved: For thus was the Church accustomed to succour the multitude who were ready to perish by schism and heresy. It is better, said they, to debase your selves a little, in order to raise up those that are fallen, and enter many of us together into the kingdom of heaven, than to envy others that happiness, as if we only ought to pretend to it.

Ruf. i. c. 28.
1 Cor. x. 33.
Aug. epist.
50. ad
Bonif. c. 102
n. 47.

THE council of Alexandria followed this more moderate advice, and ordered first that the chief of the heretick party should be pardoned if they renounced their error; but without being allowed a place among the Clergy, because they could not plead surprize in their excuse: That they who had been constrained by force should likewise obtain their pardon, and moreover preserve their rank among the Clergy, if they renounced their error and the communion of the Hereticks. Not that they believed, said St. Jerome, that they who had been Hereticks could be Bishops; but because it was certain that those who were admitted, never had been Hereticks. These words of St. Jerome do not import that heresy maketh a man lose the power and character of the order, but only that it hindereth him from lawfully performing the functions thereof, without the allowance of the Church.

Athan. ad.
Ruf. to. 2.
P. 41.
Hier. in
Lucif. c. 7.

As to matters of doctrine, the council of Alexandria treated of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and condemned such as termed him a creature, although they professed that they acknowledged the Nicene Creed and renounced Arianism. It was declared, therefore, that the Holy Ghost was not to be separated from the substance of JESUS CHRIST, nor the Trinity divided, by adding thereto any thing created, inferior, or posterior. They also treated of the word *Hypostasis*, because some complained of such as admitted three *Hypostases*, saying, that these words were not to be found in Scripture. The council desired them to demand nothing more than the Nicene Creed; however, they examined the opinions of those who spoke of three *Hypostases*. They were asked, whether they made use of these words in the same sense with the Arians, as signifying divided, foreign, of different substance, and each subsisting by itself, like the children of men and the productions of other creatures? whether they meant three different substances,

XXVII.
The doctrine
of the Trinity
and Incarna-
tion.
Soz. iij. c. 7.
Athan. ad
Antioch.
p. 375. D.
Ruf. i. c. 29.
Ath. ad
Antioch.
p. 376. D.

A. D. 362. ces, such as gold, silver, and copper ; or according to other Hereticks, three first principles, or three Gods. They affirmed, that their words implied nothing of all this, and that they never had such a thought. The council replied : What then do you mean ; and why, after all, do you make use of these words ? Because, answered they, we believe that the Trinity is not only nominally so, but that it truly is and subsisteth : we know that the Father is and subsisteth truly ; that the Son is and subsisteth truly in the substance of the Father ; and that the Holy Ghost subsisteth and existeth. We have not said three Gods or three principles, and do not allow this to be said or thought. We acknowledge the holy Trinity, though but one Divinity only ; one first principle, the Son consubstantial with the Father, as our fore-fathers have said ; and the Holy Ghost neither creature nor foreign, but proper and inseparable from the substance of the Son and of the Father.

THE council having approved this explanation of the three *Hypostases*, examined those who were accused of receiving but one, to see whether they did not embrace the opinions of Sabellius, annihilating the Son and the Holy Ghost ; and pretending, that either the Son was without Substance, or the Holy Ghost without Substance. They assured them they did not assert it, nor had ever thought so. But, added they, we take the word *Hypostasis* in the same sense as *Substance* ; and believe that there is but one, because the Son is of the substance of the Father, and because of the identity of nature : For we believe that there is but one Divinity and one Divine nature ; and not one nature of the Father, to which that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is foreign. They who admitted three *Hypostasis* agreed with these latter ; and they who received but one, consented to the explanation of the former, and both parties anathematized Arius, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Valentinus, Basilides, and Manes. All agreed that the Nicene confession of Faith was the best and most exact ; that for the future they ought to be satisfied with that, and make use of the expressions contained therein. The word *Hypostasis* was indeed unknown to the antient Philosophers, and other good authors who wrote in Greek, at least in this sense ; it had been introduced by the new Philosophers, and was frequently employed by them instead of the word *οὐσία* signifying Essence or Substance. Hosius had discussed this question in the council held by him at Alexandria in the time of Constantine the Great ; but it is not mentioned by the council of Nice, which immediately succeeded.

Ad Antioch. p. 578 B. THE mystery also of the incarnation was treated of in the council of Alexandria : They questioned those who disputed upon this subject, and they brought both parties to agree, that JESUS CHRIST was not to be placed only in the rank of the Prophets, and that he was not to be looked upon only as a holy man, sent in the latter times ; for no more is said of the Prophets, than that the word of GOD was directed to them ; but it is said of JESUS CHRIST that the Word or *Λόγος* was made flesh ; and that being in the form of GOD he took upon him the form of a servant ; that he was made man and born of Mary, according to the flesh, for our sakes ; and that by this means mankind, entirely and perfectly delivered by him from sin and freed from death, is admitted into the kingdom of heaven. They confessed likewise, that our SAVIOUR had not a body without a soul, without sense or thought ; and that this is impossible, since he hath not only

procured

procured salvation for our bodies, but our souls also. Being truly the son A.D. 362. of God, he is also become the son of man; and being the only son of God, himself is become the first-born among many brethren. Wherefore the son Joh. viii. 58. of God who was before Abraham, is not different from him who came since Abraham; and he who raised Lazarus from the dead, was not different from Joh. xi. 24. him who asked where they had laid him; it was the same who asked as a Joh. ix. 6. man, where he was laid, and who as God raised him to life; it was the same who in the body spilt as a man, and who by the spirit as the son of God healed him that was born blind; who suffered in the flesh, as saith St. Peter, and who as God opened the graves and raised the dead. They who 1 Pet. iv. 1. disputed about the incarnation, agreed thus to explain all that is said thereof in the gospel.

THIS was no new doctrine, but conformable to the tradition of the Socr. iix. Church, and to the writings of the antients. St. Irenæus, St. Clemens A- c. 7. lexandrinus, Apollinarius of Hierapolis who lived in the time of Marcus Sup. iv. n. 4. Aurelius, and Serapion of Antioch, had written the same; viz. That the Euf. vi. Word incarnate had a soul. It had been taught by Origen; and the coun- hist. 33. cil assembled in his time, on account of Beryllus Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, Sup. lib. vi. n. 12. had written likewise to the same purpose. St. Athanasius read in the coun- Socr. iiii. cil of Alexandria an apology which he had composed long before, to justify c. 8. his flight, against the calumnies which were raised against him by Leontius Sup. lib. xiii. n. 47. of Antioch, and other Arians. Lastly, the council wrote to Lucifer, to Ap. Athan. Cymacius of Paltos in Syria, and to Anatolius of Eubœa, who were at An- to. i. p. 3. tioch, to give them an account of what had past; and this letter, which is to. 2. con. known by the name of St. Athanasius's epistle to the Church of Antioch, p. 310. was sent by St. Asterius of Petra, and St. Eusebius of Vercellæ.

THE fathers of the council of Alexandria speak in this manner: Receive all XXVIII. those who desire to be at peace with you, especially those who assemble in the The letter to the Church of Antioch. Palea; which were those who sided with St. Meletius. Bring over to you Sup. lib. xiii. likewise such as forsake the Arians, and receive them with a fatherly affection, n. 33. uniting them to our beloved brethren, the followers of Paulinus; and require nothing more of them, than to anathematize the Arian heresy, and confess the Nicene creed. Let them condemn also such as affirm, that the Holy Ghost is a creature; and the errors of Sabellius, of Paul of Samosata, of Valentinus, Basilides, and Manes. And afterwards: Put a stop intirely to the reading, or looking into those writings which some cry up, as being an exposition of the creed of the council of Sardica; for this council never composed any such thing of this nature. It is true, that certain persons desired, Sup. lib. xiii. that something might be written concerning the faith, and rashly under- n. 35. took to execute it; but the holy council was offended at it, and ordered, that they should rest satisfied with the determination of the council of Nice. The Alexandrine fathers afterwards give an account of what had been done by them, in relation to the questions of the hypostasis and the incarnation, and how by causing those who disagreed in words to explain themselves, they found them to be of the same opinion. They exhort those to whom they write, to act in the same manner; and to admit all those to peace who explained those words after this manner, and to reject the rest as suspected persons; and in general to admonish all the catholicks to avoid rash judge- ments,

A.D. 362. ments, and disputes of words, and by all possible means to preserve unity. At the conclusion they add: Read this publickly in the place where you usually meet together; for it is fit that they should be there reunited who are desirous of peace; after that the assemblies shall be held in such place as all the people shall agree upon, in your presence. This letter was subscribed by St. Athanasius, by the other Bishops that were present, by the two Deacons of Lucifer, and likewise by those two sent by Paulinus. St. Eusebius of Vercellæ subscribed to it in latin, comprehending in his subscription the substance of the letter. The letter was addressed not only to those three who were absent, Lucifer, Cymatius, and Anatolius, but also to Eusebius and Asterius, although they were present, because it served them as their instruction and commission.

ST. Athanasius likewise wrote private letters in his own name to Bishops, giving an account of what had been transacted in this council, especially as to what concerned the reconciliation of such as had subscribed to the council of Rimini: The letter which he wrote in this respect to Rufinian is extant, wherein he shews that the rest of the Bishops in all the provinces had passed the same decree; namely in Greece, that is Achaia; in Spain, in Gaul, and at Rome; and that the Roman Church had approved this proceeding. St. Athanasius in this letter required them that return, to anathematize by name Euzoius and Eudoxius, who affirmed the Son of God to be a creature. He wrote also to St. Basil to receive those who renounced Arianism, upon their acknowledging the Nicene creed, without exacting any thing further of them; observing to him that this was the practice of the Bishops of Macedonia and Achaia. We see what reception this discipline found at Rome, by a letter from Liberius to the Bishops of Italy, which mentions the regulations made in Egypt and Achaia, orders those to be received which had fallen at Rimini, provided that they confessed the Nicene creed; and orders the heads of the party to be condemned.

XXIX. ST. Eusebius of Vercellæ left Alexandria immediately after the breaking up of the Council, and went to Antioch; but as for St. Asterius of Petra, we find no further mention of him after this council, except that he is honoured for a confessor. St. Eusebius being arrived at Antioch, there found a new occasion of division. Lucifer had endeavoured to reunite the two catholick parties under one Bishop, and might have succeeded, had he pitched upon a person agreeable to them both: But finding that the most violent opposers of this union were the Eustathians, he was willing to satisfy them, by making the Presbyter Paulinus Bishop, whom they already acknowledged as their head; and he hoped that the Meletians, who were the most peaceable people, would at length comply: He therefore ordained Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, with the assistance of two confessors, Gorgonius Bishop of Germanicia, and Cymacius of Paltos. Paulinus was indeed worthy of the Bishoprick, he had been ordained Priest by St. Eustathius, and had never communicated with the Hereticks; but the Meletians would not acknowledge him. So that this ordination did only strengthen the schism in the Church of Antioch, where there were now three Bishops, Meletius and Paulinus of the catholick, and Euzoius of the Arian party. This schism lasted fourscore and five years, from the deposing of St. Eustathius

To. 2. p. 4.
To. 7.
concil. p. 76.
C.

Basil. ep. 75.
P. 382.

Lib. op. ii.
ap.
Hilar. fragm.
12.

The ordina-
tion of Pauli-
nus.
The schism of
Lucifer.
Martyrol.
Rom. 10.
Juin. Rufin.
i. c. 30.
Socr. iii.
c. 9.
Sozom. v.
c. 13.
Theod. iij.
c. 5.
Hier. Chr.
an. 363. &
ibi Scalig.

Theod. iii.
c. 5.
Sup. lib. xi.
n. 34.

thius in 330, till the reunion of the Eustathians, in 415, under the Bishop A. D. 362. Alexander. As the Arians were in possession of all the Churches, St. Meletius, who lately returned from exile, was obliged to content himself with the Palea, without the city walls, of which those of his communion still kept possession. Euzoius left Paulinus a little Church in the city, which he was not willing to deprive him of, out of regard to his great age, his meekness and exemplary piety. Besides, he had a much greater aversion to Meletius, on account of what had happened at his ordination. St. Eusebius of Vercellæ finding the Church of Antioch in this condition, would not communicate with either of the two Catholick parties; that he might not by declaring himself increase the division, which he came to appease. He likewise refrained from openly blaming Lucifer, in regard to the great services which he had done the Church; but he contented himself with grieving in secret at his rashness, and promised that what had passed should be set right in a council. But notwithstanding his great care to unite the Church, he did not meet with success; for the presence of St. Meletius added strength to his party: St. Eusebius therefore withdrew without compassing his design.

LUCIFER was offended that Eusebius had not approved the ordination of Paulinus, and broke communion with him, and consequently with the catholick Church. He would even have rejected the decrees of the council of Alexandria; but finding himself obliged, by the authority which he had given to his Deacons, to approve it, he was for disowning his Deacons, and deposing them. After long consideration, he resolved to let his Deacons remain as they were, and to reject the council of Alexandria, thus contradicting himself. But he could not resolve to receive them who had subscribed to the council of Rimini; and his aversion to it, drew him on to separate even from those who admitted them after reasonable satisfaction. This gave rise to a new schism; for he had some followers, though but few, who were called Luciferians, and were chiefly dispersed in Spain and Sardinia. Lucifer is only charged with an inflexible severity, and is not accused of any error in the faith: He left Antioch where he had made a long stay, and returned to his own Church at Cagliari in Sardinia, where he died eight years after, in the year 370.

HILARY a Sardinian, Deacon of the Church of Rome, who had accompanied Lucifer in his deputation to the Emperor Constantius, and who had undergone banishment, scourging, and the torture; after the council of Milan, carried the schism so far as to rebaptize such as had been baptized by the Arians, which was not done by Lucifer. But as Hilary was only a Deacon, and had neither Priests nor Bishops, he could not consecrate the eucharist, nor consequently perform the solemn baptism, which according to the custom of those times was not administered without the eucharist; much less could he ordain clerks; so that his sect soon ended with its author.

ST. Eusebius of Vercellæ, carried into the west with him the presbyter Evagrius, son of Pompeian of Antioch, who afterwards succeeded Paulinus in one of the sees of that city. St. Eusebius went over the east, assisting such as were weak in the faith, instructing and bringing them back to an unity

Sup. xiv.
n. 32.

Aug. ab
hæres.

Hier. Chr.
An. 371.
Ruf. i. hist.
c. 30.

Sup. lib. 13.
n. 14. n. 16.
Hier. in
Lucif. c. 2.

XXX.
The Labours
of St. Eusebi-
us of Ver-
cellæ, and of
St. Hilary.

A. D. 362. unity with the catholick Church. From thence he went into Illyricum, and at length came back into Italy, where he was received with extraordinary joy. Here he found St. Hilary of Poitiers, who on his side laboured in restoring the catholick faith with no less zeal, and with greater success. He was of the same opinion as St. Athanasius, in relation to those who subscribed the form of Rimini, and dissenting from several others, who would not communicate with them, he invited them also to repentance. For this purpose he assembled several councils in Gaul, amongst which may be reckoned that of Paris, before mentioned. The transactions at Rimini were condemned by these councils, and the faith of the Church restored to its primitive lustre. Saturninus of Arles, an impious man, and of a perverse spirit, opposed these proceedings. But being convicted of divers great crimes, besides heresy, of which he was suspected, he was turned out of the Church; and Paternus Bishop of Perigueux, one as remarkable for his indiscretion, and who made no secret of his erroneous opinions, was deposed from his bishoprick. All the rest were pardoned, and it was universally acknowledged, that the purging Gaul from the stain of heresy was wholly owing to St. Hilary.

He afterwards proceeded to Italy, where St. Eusebius of Vercellæ was exceeding glad to meet him. They laboured jointly in restoring unity; but St. Hilary succeeded best by means of the sweetness of his temper, the reputation of his learning, and his skill in persuading. The Italian Bishops wrote at that time to those of Illyricum, to congratulate them upon having once more embraced the true doctrine: We all agree, say they, to observe the decrees of the council of Nice, in opposition to Arius and Sabellius, to whom Photinus hath in some measure succeeded: we have by the unanimous consent of all the provinces annulled the decrees passed at Rimini, which were corrupted by the prevarications of some particular persons. We send you the copies of our subscriptions, to the end that whoever desireth to be reconciled to us, may speedily certify us thereof, testifying that he approveth the Nicene creed, and condemneth the council of Rimini. By this letter we see the effects of the labours of St. Eusebius in Illyricum, where heresy had prevailed under Photinus, Germinius, Ursatius and Valens.

XXXI.
Martyrs in
Italy and
Gaul.

Bar. an 362.
ex Martyr.
& Act.
Mart. Rom.
2. Decemb.
10. May 26.
June
Amm. xxvi.
c. 3.

WE find several martyrs at Rome in the reign of Julian, in the antient martyrologies: viz. John and Paul, brethren, who are said to have held considerable employments at court ever since the time of Constantine; Pignenius, Priscus, John and Januarius, presbyters, Bibiana a virgin, her mother Dafrosa, and her father Flavian, who is said to have been vicar to the Præfect; as also Gordian, and some others. The most eminent of all these martyrs are St. John and St. Paul. It is certain that Julian made Apronian, a Pagan and an enemy to the Christians, Præfect of Rome in the year 363. This man in his way to Rome lost an eye, which he thought was the effect of sorcery: which caused him to make a strict search after the poisoners or magicians: For this was one of the pretences on which the Christians were persecuted.

Paulin.
epist. 28;

IN Gaul, a soldier called Victricius, presented himself on a certain day when the forces were assembled, before the Tribune, and laying down his arms,

arms, declared that he renounced the service. The Tribune caused him to be beaten, and his flesh torn with potsherds, and then sent him to the Count, who condemned him to lose his head. The executioner leading him to the place where he was to be put to death, marked with his hand the part where he intended to strike the blow, when on a sudden he lost his sight. Victricius was imprisoned and fettered, the irons being so close that they met the bone; he desired the officers of the prison to loose them a little; which being denied, he addressed himself by prayer to JESUS CHRIST, and they beheld the chains fall off of their own accord. They were afraid to fasten them on again, but ran with great surprize, and related this wonder to the Count, who was converted himself, and let Victricius go free. He was afterwards Bishop of Rouan, and laboured effectually in propagating the Faith on all the coasts of the ocean, which were inhabited by the Morini and the Nervii. They reckon also among the martyrs of Gaul, Eliphiius of Toul, who is honoured at Cologne. Salust, Julian's friend, was then Præfect of Gaul; and it is to him that he addresses his oration in praise of the sun, wherein he displays the ornaments of Rhetorick, and the mysteries of his Pagan Theology. He made him consul with himself in the year 363. St. Hilary wrote a small treatise against this Præfect Salust, and against a Physician called Dioscorus, very probably in defence of the Christian religion.

A. D. 362.
ad Victric. 2.
Martyr. vol.
7. Aug.

Martyr.
16 Oct.
Amm. xxi.
c. 8.
Hier. Script.
Id. ad Magn.
Ep. 48.
p. 310.

IN Africa the Donatists took hold of this opportunity, and presented a petition to Julian, to desire him to recal their Bishops that were banished under Constans, when he sent Paul and Macarius into Africk. Julian readily granted their request, and ordered that their churches should be restored to them. They came with armed force to take possession of them, and in divers places committed murthers, and such outrageous villanies, that the judges thought themselves obliged to make a report hereof to the Emperor. Felix Bishop of Zaba, and Januarius of Flumenpisca, came to Lemella; where finding the church shut, they caused certain persons to get upon the roof and untile it; and as the Catholick Deacons defended the altar, there were several wounded, and two slain. Primosius the Catholick Bishop of Lemella, complained of this outrage at a council held by the Donatists at Thebeste; but they did not regard his complaint. At Tipasa, a city in Mauritania Cæsariensis, two Donatists Bishops of Numidia, viz. Urbanus of Formiæ, and Felix of Idicra, came accompanied with certain officers and the governour Athenius with military ensigns: They drove away the Catholicks, wounded the men, dragged the women along; some of whom they caused to miscarry, and murdered several children: They even ordered the Eucharist to be thrown to the dogs; but the dogs running mad, fell upon their masters and tore them to pieces: They threw the Vial that contained the sacred Chrism, out of a window, which fell upon the stones without breaking. Several Nuns were corrupted upon this occasion; one in particular by the Bishop Felix, who himself had placed the Mitre upon her, as her spiritual father. This was a white woollen cap, adorned with purple, which in Africa was given to the consecrated virgins as a mark of their profession, in the same manner as the veil is given in other places.

XXXII.
Violent proceedings of the
Donatists in
Africa.
Optat. lib. 2.
Sup. 12. n. 48.
Aug. ad
Donat.
Ep. 105. al.
166.

A.D. 362. THE Donatists took away, from such as they drew over to their party, the Mitres which they had received from the Catholick Bishops, and gave them others: They exorcised the faithful, in order to baptize them again: They washed the walls of the churches, broke the altars in pieces and burnt them: For in Africa they were for the most part of wood: they also broke and melted down the sacred chalices, in order to convert them to other uses. In a word, they esteemed every thing that had been consecrated by the Catholick Bishops, as prophane; and for this reason they cast the Eucharist, which was consecrated by them to the dogs; they reduced the Deacons, Priests, and Bishops to the rank of laymen; they inflicted penance on the virgins and most innocent children: But as this penance was only for form-sake, the time appointed for the performance by the canons was not regarded; some observed it a year, others a month, and others not quite a whole day.

XXXIII. THE pagan governors throughout the provinces, took advantage from the Emperor's displeasure to treat the Christians with severity, in order to extort from them large sums of money, and put them to the torture; well knowing, that although they exceeded their orders they should not be blamed. And indeed, when the Christians complained, the Emperor replied: Suffering is your lot; it is what your GOD enjoins you. St. Apollonius had lived forty years together in the desarts of Egypt, with a great number of disciples. Understanding that one of them had been taken, in order to make him bear arms whether he would or no; for Julian caused the Monks and Clerks to be enrolled; he went to the prison to comfort him. In the mean time came the Centurion, who being enraged that Apollonius should have the boldness to come in, shut him up in the prison, together with those who accompanied him, intending to enrol them all; and ordered the guards to be doubled. But at midnight an angel appearing with a great light round him came and opened the prison doors. Upon which, the guards fell at the feet of the saints, beseeching them to go away, saying, that they chose rather to die on their account, than oppose the Divine power, by which they were protected. In the morning the Centurion himself, with the most considerable persons of the place, came to the prison, entreating them all to go out, because in the night his house had been overthrown by an earthquake, and his favourite servants killed. The saints went their way singing and praising GOD, and returned to their desert. St. Apollonius lived a long time after, and wrought fundry other miracles, dwelling in the Thebais near Hermopolis, where he had the government of almost five hundred Monks.

XXXIV. THE Pagans at Alexandria did not suffer St. Athanasius to be long at rest. They looked upon this city as sacred, and dedicated to the great Serapis; it was the place where all sorts of sacrificers and magicians met, where they exercised all their impieties under the protection of the Emperor; to that degree as to butcher innocent children of both sexes, in order to inspect their entrails and feed upon their flesh; and the same was also practised in the reign of this Emperor at Athens, another seat of idolatry. The Alexandrians therefore conspired against St. Athanasius, and represented to the Emperor, that he rendered all their art ineffectual; that he corrupted

rupted the city and all Egypt ; and that if he continued there, not one Pa- A. D. 362.
 gan would be left. Julian having received this advice, wrote to them in the Ruf. i. c. 33.
 following terms : He who hath been driven out by the orders of several Em- Socr. iij. c. 13.
 perors, ought at least to have waited for a new one before he came back ; Theod. iij. c. 9.
 for leave is indeed granted to the Galileans that were banished by Constantius Jul. epist. 26.
 of blessed memory, to return into their countries, but not to their churches ;
 nevertheless, I understand that Athanasius hath with his accustomed bold-
 ness had the assurance to take possession of what they call the Episcopal See,
 to the great discontent of the pious people of Alexandria. Wherefore, I or-
 der him immediately to leave the city on the receipt of my letter, under the
 penalty of a greater and more severe punishment if he stays there.

THE Christians of Alexandria wrote to Julian in the name of the whole
 city, begging that St. Athanasius might not be taken from them ; how much
 Julian was provoked at this proceeding, appears by his answer : Had your Epist. 91.
 Founder been one of those, said he, who have broken their own law, and
 suffered the punishment they deserved, for having broached a new doctrine ;
 yet you should not have desired Athanasius : But since your founder is A-
 lexander, and your tutelary god king Serapis, with his consort Isis queen of
 all Egypt ; it is surprizing that you should not follow the best part of the
 city, and that the part which is corrupted should presume to call itself the
 community. I am ashamed that the gods should suffer any of you Alex-
 andrians to confess himself a Galilean. The ancestors of the true Hebrews
 were formerly slaves to the Egyptians ; and you who have subdued the
 Egyptians, become slaves to those who have rejected the laws of their fore-
 fathers. This was a reproach which the Pagans often cast upon the Christi-
 ans, viz. that they were only Jews that had forsaken and rebelled against
 their law. You do not remember your antient felicity, continued Julian,
 when Egypt conversed with the gods, and you abounded in prosperity. But
 tell me what have you gotten by the authors of this new doctrine ? Your
 founder was Alexander of Macedonia, a servant of the gods, whom Jupiter
 raised far above any of these, or the Hebrews who were far better. The
 Ptolemies, who afterwards cherished your city as their beloved daughter, did
 not advance it to this plenty and greatness by preaching JESUS CHRIST,
 nor the doctrine of the accursed Galileans. Augustus, having removed the
 Ptolemies who did not govern well, forgave your faults out of respect to the
 great god Serapis, and in consideration of the Philosopher Arius, who was
 his friend ; see in how particular a manner your city hath been favoured by
 the gods. Are you ignorant of the blessings which they shed on all man-
 kind ? Are you only insensible of the brightness of the sun ? Know you
 not that he maketh summer and winter ; that he produceth all animals and
 vegetables ? Do not you see that the Moon also deriveth from him the
 power of producing all things ? and yet you will not adore any of the gods ;
 but you acknowledge JESUS to be the Word and GOD, whom neither you
 nor your fathers have seen, in contempt of him whom all mankind adore
 and look upon as the author of their happiness ; the great Sun, I say, the
 living, animated, reasonable, and beneficent image of the intelligible fa-
 ther. Be persuaded by me and return to the truth ; twenty years have I
 walked in your way, and this is the twelfth year since by the assistance of
 the

A.D. 362. the gods I have trod in the path wherein I now walk. These words shew the letter to have been written after the sixth of November of the year 362, for Julian was born the sixth of November 331; he was therefore at that time but in the thirty second year of his age; and we learn by this passage that he renounced Christianity when he was twenty. He continues his letter to the Alexandrians in this manner:

Sup. lib. 12.
A. 1.

If you resolve to follow the doctrine of these impostors, agree among yourselves, and desire not Athanasius. There are many of his disciples who are capable of pleasing your itching ears by their impious discourses: But if your affection towards him is grounded upon his skill in other matters; for I understand that he is a great deceiver; know that it is for this very reason that I drive him from your city: such an insignificant meddling fellow as he, who takes a pride in hazarding his life, is fit for nothing but to raise disturbances.

Epist. 6.

JULIAN afterwards wrote to Ecdicius Præfect of Egypt to hasten the execution of this order. Had you, said he, nothing else to send me, you ought at least to write to me about Athanasius the enemy of the gods. I swear by the great Serapis, that if before the calends of December, he doth not leave Alexandria, or rather Egypt, I will fine your officers a hundred pounds of gold. He adds in his own hand: I am sensibly afflicted at this contempt of the gods; and you can never send me more pleasing news, than that you have driven this villain out of Egypt, who hath presumed under my government to baptize women that were noble and of Grecian extraction.

Ruf. i. c. 34.

THEY were obliged therefore once more to send armed forces against St. Athanasius, to assault the Church, and proceed to open violence. The great church of Alexandria called Cæsarea, was burnt by the Pagans and Jews: Julian had even given orders to kill St. Athanasius. All the faithful in a fright gathered round him, weeping; but he said to them: It is a cloud which will soon fly over. He took leave of them, recommending his church to the ablest of his friends; and understanding that they who were sent against him were arrived, he got into a boat which he found on the Nile, and went up the river towards Thebais. He who had orders to kill him, hearing he was fled, made haste to pursue him, but was prevented; St. Athanasius being informed by a friend that they followed him with all speed. His companions advised him to fly into the desert; but on the contrary he caused the boat to turn about and fall down again speedily towards Alexandria; to shew, said he, that our Protector is more powerful than our persecutor. Meeting the murderer, they were asked by him, whether Athanasius was far off, and where they had left him? His company replied: He is hard by, and you will quickly come up with him if you make haste. The murderer passed on; but his haste was to no purpose, and St. Athanasius got into Alexandria, where he remained concealed till the death of Julian.

Theod. iii.
c. 9.

Socr. iii. c. 14.
Sozom. v.
c. 15.

XXXV.
The rise of the
Macedonians
Soz. v. c. 14.

ELEUSIUS Bishop of Cyzicus was one of the chief of the Macedonians, who began to receive this denomination under the reign of Julian, and to make a separate body. Eustathius of Sebasta in Armenia, and Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, together with Eleusius, presided over this party. Finding themselves free on the death of Constantius, they gathered together

together such as had embraced their opinion in Seleucia, and assembled A. D. 362. councils; in which they condemned the party of Acatius, with the form of Rimini, and confirmed that of Antioch, which they had done before at Seleucia: Being asked what it was that divided them from the Acatians, with whom they had formerly joined in communion; they replied in the following manner, by the mouth of Sophronius: The Western Bishops holding the Consubstantiality, do improperly confound the two *Hypostases* of the Father and the Son; in the East Aëtius who holds the dissimilitude in Substance, separateth the Son too far from the nature of the Father: For our part we say, that the Son is like the Father in Substance, observing a just mean between these two extremes. The grosser Arians still retained their Bishops, Eudoxius at Constantinople, and Euzoius at Antioch. Aëtius and Eunomius, the heads of the party, were likewise at Constantinople, and it was at this time that they ordained Aëtius Bishop: Euzoius on his side convened a council at Antioch, to annul what had been done at Constantinople under the Emperor Constantius, against Aëtius and the rest of them: However the disputes and factions among the Bishops, did not proceed to any great height under Julian; the general persecution keeping them in fear, and making them silent.

THE city of Cyzicus sent deputies to the Emperor Julian on some affairs relating to themselves, and likewise for the restoration of the idol temples: He commended their zeal, granted their requests, and took this occasion to drive the Bishop Eleusius out of the city, as having prophaned the temples, settled places of retreat for widows and communities of virgins, and persuaded the Pagans to contemn the customs of their fore-fathers. He likewise forbade the Christian strangers who were with Eleusius, to enter into Cyzicus, on pretence that they joyned themselves with the Christians of the city, in raising seditions on account of religion: For whatever desire Julian had to restore the Pagan religion, he saw very well that it would be madness to attempt to force the whole body of the people, and punish all such as refused to offer sacrifice: The number of which was so great, that it was difficult for the magistrates of each city to count them. Neither durst he forbid them to assemble; but he made it his business to banish the Bishops and the Clergy from the cities, thinking, that he should soon see religion fall, when the people had no longer any person to instruct them and administer the sacraments. His pretence for so doing was, that the Clergy stirred up the people to sedition. It was under this pretence that he caused Eleusius and his company to leave Cyzicus, although there was not the least appearance of any commotion. Thus also he drove Titus from Bosra, as hath been before related.

JULIAN still continued at Antioch, where he spent the winter; that is, the remaining part of the year 362, and the beginning of 363. He was preparing for the war against the Persians, which he had long had in his thoughts, hoping to repair the damage which the Romans had sustained on that side near sixty years before; that is, since the time of Dioclesian. His unquiet temper would not suffer him to be at rest; and the victories which he had gained in his early years in Gaul, puffed him up, and raised in him an ambition of adding to his other titles the Conqueror of the Persians. Such as were men of

Sup. lib. 14.

n. 15.

Philost. vij.

c. 5. 6.

Soz. vij. c. 4.

Ibid. v. c. 15.

Sup. n. 20.

XXXVI.

The superstitions of Julian.

Amm. xxii.

c. 12.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 4. p. 113.

C.

A. D. 362. understanding, especially the Christians, seeing the preparations, said Julian made too much haste, and that it was not a proper time to assault the Persians, before all things were quiet within the empire; and that by making a wrong use of his prosperity, he hazarded all. They spoke thus in the presence of such as might repeat their words to the Emperor; but this did not curb his haste, and he took a pride in contemning this advice, as proceeding from cowards and malignants. Among other preparatives for this enterprize, he offered great numbers of sacrifices; the altars were continually sprinkled with blood: Sometimes he offered a whole hecatomb at once, and infinite numbers of small cattle; he caused the scarcest birds to be sought for, both by land and sea, which he ripped open with his own hands. The feasting at these sacrifices gave occasion to the soldiers to use such excess in eating and drinking, that frequently they were forced to be carried away on mens shoulders from the temple to their lodgings, through the streets, especially the Gauls, who were in great esteem. The money expended in these ceremonies amounted to a prodigious sum, even in the opinion of the Pagans themselves.

Liban.
paneg. 1.
p. 246. A.

Liban. de
vita sua, p.
11. p. 41.
Mamertin.
Grat. n. 23.

Sozom. v.
c. 19.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 4.
p. 127. C.

Soz. v. c. 19.
Strab. lib.
16. p. 750.
D. Chrysoft.
in S. Babyl.
2. to. 5. p.
36. ed. Gr.

THE diviners had full liberty to exercise their art, which under Constantius had been forbidden, on forfeiture of their lives: Julian caused all the oracles to be consulted, the intrails of beasts were inspected, the chirping and flight of birds was observed, and all means were put in practice with an affected diligence, that might bring them to the knowledge of future events. There was a fountain at Daphne, near Antioch, called Castalia, of the same virtue and name with that at Delphi. It is reported, that the Emperor Adrian had here been told, that he should be raised to the empire; and that least another should receive the same information, he had caused it to be stopped up with large stones, Julian resolved to open it, and failed not to consult the famous oracle of this place.

THE temple of Daphne was surrounded with a sacred grove of fourscore stadia in compass, which make above three leagues and a half; this wood consisted of cypresse, lawrel, and other trees, the leaves whereof were so thick, that the sun could not pierce through them. The soil underneath was plentifully watered with several clear streams, and adorned with every flower proper to the season; and the air was exceeding sweet and cooling. The Greeks said that this was the place where the Arcadian nymph Daphne, flying from Apollo, had been changed into a laurel; that he favoured that place, and honoured it with his presence; and indeed he was here peculiarly adored. The temple was dedicated to him and his sister Diana; it had the privilege of an asylum; and the people of Antioch, and the neighbouring cities assembled here every year, to celebrate a solemn festival. The town indeed was little, and not much frequented by virtuous people; for the situation of the place inclined them to softness and effeminacy; and the amorous fable on which all this superstition was grounded, was a specious pretence for raising the passions of young persons; the example of the god did not allow them to be discreet, or that they should suffer others to be so; whoever lived at Daphne without a love intrigue, was looked upon as stupid and senseless; he was shunned as profane, and it was esteemed an unlucky omen to meet him.

IN order to sanctify this profane place, Cæsar Gallus brother to Julian, A. D. 362. had eleven years before, caused the relicks of St. Babylas to be brought thither from Antioch, and since that time the oracle had been silent. The Pagans attributed it to the omission of the sacrifices and worship of Apollo; but although Julian spared neither victims nor libations, it returned no answer; only at last it told the reason of its silence; and said that it could not any more give oracles, because the place was full of dead bodies. Julian understood the meaning of this very well, and although there were many others interred at Daphne, he did not apprehend that his god complained of any but the martyr Babylas; and commanded the Galileans to remove his coffin. The Christians of all ages and all sexes crowded thither, and having placed the precious coffer on a chariot, they conveyed it to Antioch, being forty stadia, that is near two leagues distant from Daphne. They looked upon this translation as a triumph of the martyr over the devils, expressing their joy by singing of psalms, to lessen the fatigue, as they said, of so long a journey. The best singers began, and were answered by all the people, repeating at the end of each verse these words: Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and that boast themselves of their idols; and their voice reached unto the heavens. The Emperor being extremely provoked at this singing and procession, resolved to punish the Christians for it. Salust the *Præfectus Prætorii* of the east, not the same with him in Gaul, though a Pagan, was of a contrary opinion, and remonstrated to the Emperor, that he would by this means give them the glory of martyrdom: but Julian persisted, and in obedience to him, Salust the next day caused several of the Christians to be apprehended and imprisoned. He ordered one of them to be brought before him, who happened to be a young man called Theodore, and commanded him to be tortured by several executioners by turns, from morning till night, with such cruelty as there had been no instance of in the memory of man. In the mean time Theodore being fixed to the rack, with an executioner on each side, only repeated with a chearful and unconcerned look the same psalm which the Church had sung the day before. Salust sent him back to prison, and went to give an account to the Emperor of what he had done, advising him to give over an enterprize from whence he could receive nothing but disappointment and disgrace. Rufinus, who relates this story, saith, that he had himself seen this Theodore at Antioch; and having asked him, whether he had felt the pain? He replied, that he had felt it a little at first; but that afterwards he beheld a young man near him, who with a piece of very white linnen wiped the sweat off his face, and frequently gave him some fresh water; and that this water so comforted and refreshed him, that he was more chearful than when he was taken down from the rack.

JULIAN received an affront of the like nature from Publia, a widow in great reputation for her virtue; she had by her husband, who lived not long, a son called John, who was a long time one of the Presbyters of the Church of Antioch, and they had often designed to elect him to the Bishoprick, but he always declined that dignity. His mother Publia governed a community of virgins, with whom she sung and praised God. When the Emperor passed by, they lifted up their voices all together, and sung chiefly

A. D. 362. chiefly those Psalms which exposed the weakness of idols, as this for instance; The idols of the Gentiles are gold and silver, the work of mens hands. May they that make and trust in them, be like unto them. Julian very much incensed, ordered these virgins to hold their peace till he was gone by: But Publia despising his prohibition, encouraged them, and caused them to sing, as he went by, another time: Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Julian in a rage caused Publia to be brought before him, and without any regard to her great age and vertue, commanded one of his guards to buffet her on each side of the face, till both her cheeks were red. She esteemed this a great honour, and returning to her chamber, continued her spiritual hymns.

XXXVIII. THE relicks of St. Babylas were repositied at Antioch, in the holy place, from whence Cæsar Gallus had translated them. But some time after the temple of Daphne was set on fire, and the whole roof burnt, together with the ornaments, and the idol of Apollo; which being only of wood gilt, though exceeding beautiful, was reduced to ashes from head to foot. The walls and pillars remained so intire, that it seemed rather to have been pulled down on purpose, than the effect of fire. This accident happened on the eleventh of the calends of November, that is on the twenty second of October, 362. Count Julian hastied thither immediately, although it was night: He was the Emperor's unkle, and an apostate like himself. He had made him count of the east, and in this quality he resided at Antioch. He could not put a stop to the fire; and the Emperor understanding it, flew into such a rage, that he caused the ministers of the temple to be put to the torture, and the sacrificer himself, in order to discover the incendiary; for he would gladly have laid it upon the Christians. But no manner of torture could force these idolaters to confess any thing further than that the fire began at the top and not at the bottom of the temple: And certain people in the neighbouring country affirmed, that they had seen lightning fall on it from heaven. Some of the Pagans said, that a cynick philosopher called Asclepiades, being come from a remote country to Daphne, to see Julian, had placed at the feet of Apollo a small silver idol of the goddess Cælestis, which he always carried with him, and that having lighted some wax tapers according to custom, he withdrew. That at midnight some of the sparks had flown towards the roof, which being composed of very dry matter, and no body happening to be at hand to hinder the fire from getting to a head, it could not afterwards be extinguished: So that it was certain the fire began at the top, and that the Christians had no hand in it; who on their parts made no question but that it was sent from God at the prayer of the martyr St. Babylas.

JULIAN however was resolved to lay the blame of it upon the Christians, and pretended that they had done it in revenge, for the removing of the relicks. He commanded the great Church at Antioch to be shut up a second time, after having taken thence the sacred vessels, to place them in his own treasury. These orders were executed by count Julian his unkle, together with Felix count of Largeßes, or chief treasurer, and Elpidius count of the private affairs, that is intendant of the demesus, all three apostates. Felix admired the costliness of the vessels; for Constantine the Great,

Psal. cxxxv.
15.

Psal. lxxviii.

XXXVIII.

The temple of
Daphne
burnt.

Chrysoft.

p. 473.

Soz. v. c. 20.

Theod. iii.

c. 11.

Amm. xxii.

c. 13.

Amm. ibid.

Chryf. ibid.

Misopog

p. 96.

Hier. Chr.

an 364.

Soz. v. c. 8.

Theod. iij.

c. 12.

Great, and Constantius had thought that it became their dignity to make them sumptuous and magnificent: Felix therefore looking upon them, said, See what rich plate the son of Mary is served in. Count Julian, to shew that the Christians were not under the care of the divine providence, cast the vessels on the ground, sat down upon them, made water on the holy table, and struck the Bishop Euzoius on the ear, who attempted to hinder them; for the Arians were then in possession of the great Church. Julian having thus plundered and profaned the great Church, caused it to be shut up; as also the other Churches. All the Ecclesiasticks fled; and only one catholick Priest named Theodore or Theodoret, remained in the city. Count Julian pretending that this Priest had the treasures of the Church in his keeping, and might discover them, caused him to be apprehended and cruelly tormented; and as he boldly persisted in confessing the faith, he ordered his head to be cut off.

THE Emperor had caused the cross and name of JESUS CHRIST to be struck out of the *Labarum*, which had been placed therein by Constantine, and had reduced it to the antient form which it had under the Pagan Emperors, as appeared by his medals. Count Julian observed, that Bonofus and Maximilian, two officers in the troops, called the old Herculians, had not altered the *Labarum*; for from the reign of Dioclesian there were certain companies, called from him Jovians, and Herculians from Maximilian. Count Julian therefore commanded them to change their ensign, and to adore the same gods as he and the Emperor did; but they refused, saying, that they would observe the law which they had received from their parents. The count commanded Bonofus to be tied up, and above three hundred blows to be given him with leather thongs, having lead fastened to the ends; but Bonofus only smiled, making no answer to his questions. The count afterwards caused Maximilian to approach, who said: Let your gods first hear and speak to you, and then we will adore them. You your self know that we are forbidden to worship deaf and dumb idols. This he said because count Julian had been a Christian. He caused them both to be tied up and beaten three times with balls of lead, but they did not feel the pain; then he commanded them to be dipped in boiling pitch, which likewise did them no harm, so that the Jews and Pagans said, that they were magicians. Count Julian ordered them back to prison, and sent them bread sealed with his own signet, marked very likely with the figure of some idol; for they would not eat of it. They were visited in the prison by count Hormisdas, who was a Christian, and who finding them in a good state of health, and very chearful, recommended himself to their prayers. He was brother to Sapor king of Persia, and having come over to the Romans, spent the greatest part of his life in the court of Constantine and Constantius. Count Julian accompanied with the Præfect Salust, examined them a second time, which latter refused to have them tormented, and Julian still pressing them to change the *Labarum*, they replied: We are Christians, we remember what we promised to our father Constantine, when he received the holy covenant at Achyron, near Nicomedia, in the end of his days, and made us take an oath, that we would never do any thing prejudicial to the dignity of his children, or against the Church. Julian condemned them to die.

A. D. 362.

Soz. v. c. 11.

XXXIX.

Other Mar-

tyrs of

Antioch.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 3.

P. 75. D.

Acta Sinc.

P. 664.

Zozim. lib.

2. p. 684.

Amm. lib.

xvi.

A. D. 362. die by the sword, with the rest that were in prison. St. Milecius and other Bishops attended them to the place of their martyrdom, which they received with joy.

Martyr. 20
Decemb.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 3.
p. 91. B.

Chr. pasch.
an. 363.
p. 296.
Philost. vii.
c. 13.
Sozom. v.
c. 20.

XL.
The death of
Count Julian.
Theod. iii.
c. 13.
Soz. v. c. 8.
Chryf. in
Babyl. 2. to.
3. p. 462.

Ambr. xxiii.
c. 1.

AMONG the martyrs of Antioch, who suffered under Julian, there are reckoned two Presbyters of this Church, viz. Eugenius and Macarius; whom he banished to the Oasis, with secret orders to put them to death. It is certain that he caused several persons to be slain in the night time, and that such multitudes of bodies were thrown into the Orontes, that the channel was choaked up therewith. Afterwards in the most secret and retired parts of the palace, in wells and pits, were found bodies of little children of both sexes, that had been dissected for magical operations; and also of persons persecuted on account of religion. The Emperor carried his revenge for the fire of Daphne still further; for understanding that some Churches had been built in honour of the martyrs, near the temple of Apollo Didymeus, before the city of Miletus, he wrote to the governor of Caria, that if they were covered, and their tables consecrated, he should burn them; but if they were only half built, he should rase them to the foundations. And this, it is supposed, he did on account of what happened at Antioch. There were some who apostatized in this persecution, viz. Theotecnus a Priest of the Church of Antioch, and a Bishop called Hero, a native of Thebes in Egypt, both willingly embraced idolatry, and both felt the avenging hand of GOD, Theotecnus was devoured by worms, lost his sight, and died biting his tongue; and Hero was seized with a distemper, which rotted his flesh, and he expired in the open street, forsaken by all the world.

COUNT Julian did not long continue unpunished for his impiety; he was surprized with a distemper by which his anus and the adjoining parts were corrupted, and bred such quantities of worms, that he could not be cleared from them: he tried all sorts of remedies; birds were sought out at great expence, which were killed, and the grease applied to the parts affected, in order to draw out the worms, but they crawled to the bottom, and penetrated into the live flesh. In the mean time his excrements not having their ordinary passage, came out at his mouth. His wife, who was a Christian, and very remarkable for her piety, said to him: You ought to give thanks to our SAVIOUR CHRIST, for having by this chastisement made you sensible of his power; you would not have known that you had assaulted him, had he made use of his ordinary forbearance. Count Julian moved by what his wife said, and by his own sufferings, besought the Emperor to restore the Church to the Christians, but his prayers were ineffectual, and he died in this condition. The treasurer Felix was likewise stricken from GOD, and died suddenly, a little before count Julian, vomiting blood day and night. The death of these two persons was looked upon by the idolaters as unlucky, and observing in the publick inscriptions, in honour of the Emperor, these three latin words, *Felix Julianus Augustus*, they concluded that the Emperor signified by the last, would soon follow the two former, and he himself was surprized at it. This happened in the beginning of the year 363, when he declared himself consul the fourth time, his colleague being Salust Præfect of Gaul.

JULIAN

JULIAN, through his great desire of popularity, became odious to the A. D. 363. people of Antioch. Immediately after his entrance, the common people cried out in the theatre, complaining of the scarcity of provisions; the officers of the city represented to him, that there could not be any abatement at present, and that his court and the troops which attended him would rather raise the price: But he was obstinate, and did not actually recede from what he had once undertaken. He therefore fixed the price of corn at a golden penny for fifteen bushels; and began with ordering the corn, that was brought from Egypt for his own use, to be carried into the market. The principal men of the city laid hold of this opportunity, and bought up this corn; and instead of bringing their own grain to Antioch, sold it at a higher price in the country; the merchants withdrew, and in a short time the scarcity and dearth was greater than before. The Emperor, in a rage, sent for all the officers of the city to his palace, vehemently reproached them, and sent them to prison; but immediately after dismissed them each to his own home. By this means he set the whole city against him; the rich by his severe usage, and the poor, by reason of the dearth under which they laboured.

XLI.
The Emperor becomes odious at Antioch. Amm. xxii. c. 14. Julian. Misopog. p. 108, 109. Liban. Orat. Funer. p. 306. Socr. iii. c. 17. Soz. v. c. 19.

As they were inclined to raillery, they revenged themselves by laughing at the formality of his outward appearance, and his affected superstition. They said, that they could twist his beard and make ropes of it; that he endeavoured in spite of his mean stature to widen his shoulders and strut, that he might look like the heroes of Homer: that he was a sacrificer, and one that offered victims, rather than a Prince. In short, they complained that he made war on *Cbi*, that is CHRIST; and they lamented the loss of *Kappa*, that is, Constantius, expressing these names by the initial letters. They vented these their railleries in their houses, and in publick places, and sung them about in Anapest verses. And, indeed, Julian gave them but too great occasion for this; he sacrificed once in the temple of Jupiter, afterwards in those of Fortune and Ceres, and several times at Daphnè. At the feast of the Syrians, he returned to the temple of Jupiter Philianus, that is, the protector of friendship. The festival which they called the *Common Feast* being come, he returned to the temple of Fortune; and having waited till an unlucky day was passed, he went again to make solemn vows to Jupiter Philianus. He was as fond of the title of *Pontifex*, as of that of Emperor, and he performed every day what others did but once a month. He saluted the rising and setting sun with the blood of victims; in the night he likewise offered sacrifices to the nocturnal demons, not being able to go to the temple every day, by reason of his other employments. He converted his palace and garden into a temple; he not only assisted at the sacrifices, but offered them himself, going backwards and forwards, cleaving the wood, blowing the fire with his mouth, carrying the victims, he taking the knife to slaughter them, and handling and turning about the entrails, that he might the better observe them; so that he besmeared his fingers with blood. Magicians, Diviners, and Impostors of every sort crouded to his court from all parts: the palace was filled with artisans of the meanest and basest employments, with fugitive slaves and wretches, who having been convicted of preparing poisonous drugs, and practising sorcery, had long languished

Jul. Misopog. p. 88. 95. 101.

Jul. Misopog. p. 70. Liban. Paneg. p. 245.

Greg. Naz. Or. 4. p. 121. C.

Chrysost. 2. in S. Babyl. to. 5. p. 459.

A. D. 363. languished in jayls, or been kept to hard labour in the Mines. These were on a sudden transformed into *Hierophantæ* and venerable Pontiffs. The Emperor dismissed the governours of provinces and magistrates, without giving them audience, and appeared abroad amidst a croud of effeminate debauchees and prostitutes; his horse and his guards marched far behind; this infamous tribe surrounded the Emperor, bursting into loud fits of laughter, their conversation agreeing with their characters. St. Chrysostome, who related this twenty years after, well foresaw that he should hardly be believed; but he appeals to his whole audience for the truth of what he says. It was indeed the worship which they payed to Venus, Cibeles, and other divinities of the like nature, that brought so many infamous people about Julian; he did not allow debauchery and licentiousness in others, but only on account of religion; for as to himself, the Christians do not charge him with it, and the Pagans deny that he was ever guilty of it. It is true, that he hints pretty plainly, that he kept a certain concubine, when he says that he lies most nights alone, for his wife was dead; but this was not thought a scandal among the Pagans. He eat and slept very little, spending the greatest part of the night in study. He professed a rigid and austere kind of Philosophy, which condemned all bodily delights; he found fault with publick shews, and came to them only for form sake, and that no oftner than he was obliged by his religion and dignity; and as Antioch was a city much addicted to sports and luxury, he imputed their disaffection to him, to his aversion to pleasure.

XLII. HE was extremely provoked at their scoffs; for his Philosophy had not yet freed him from his passions, especially from that of anger. When he sat upon the bench, he filled the court with noise and clamour, as if he had been the party and not the judge. Certain country people coming up to him one day in publick, to petition him for something, and he being offended at their awkward manner of address, gave them so many blows both with his hands and feet, that they were glad to get off with their lives. At first he threatned the city of Antioch to use them with all imaginable severity: He said he would return thither no more; and that when the campaign was over, he would take up his quarters at Tarsus in Cilicia: However, he contented himself with a more philosophical revenge, and published a satyr against the city of Antioch, entitled, *Misopogon*, which in Greek signifieth a Beard-hater. It is one continued irony from one end to the other; where, seeming to laugh at himself and own his faults, he does in effect deride the people of Antioch, reproaching them with all their vices, but much exceeding the truth, according to the report of Ammianus Marcellinus himself. He composed this treatise in 363, seven months after his arrival at Antioch.

IT is not to be denied but that there is abundance of wit in it; but few of his railleries are accommodated to our taste; and when he says, that he is no good jester, he perhaps speaks more truth than he imagined. He begins first with his beard, and the vermin in it; then proceeds to his head, which was not well combed; then to his long nails, his dirty hands, and hairy breast. He then proceeds to his austere course of life, his absenting himself from publick shews, his watchings, his sobriety; on the other side, he

he sets down the pleasures and delights of Antioch, where he saith, there is A.D. 363.
 more stage players than citizens. He upbraids them with their exorbitant p. 88.
 love of liberty, which is so great, saith he, that they will not obey the laws, Misop. p. 67.
 the magistrates, nor the gods themselves; so that their city, he says, is full
 of such as are ignorant of them; and that they who through respect attend
 him to the temple, neither keep silence nor are modest in their behaviour
 when they are there. On the contrary, he testifieth for the Athenians, that p. 71.
 they are the most religious of all men towards the gods, and the most civil p. 74.
 to strangers. He likewise reproaches the city of Antioch with their affection p. 89, 90.
 to JESUS CHRIST, and their chusing him for their tutelary GOD instead
 of Jupiter, Apollo, or Calliope. He complains, that their aged women
 prostrate themselves before sepulchres, and make vows to be delivered from
 him; by which he intimates the adoration of the martyrs. Your people
 hate me, says he, because they are turned Atheists, and see me adhere to
 the religion of our fore-fathers; the rich, because I hinder them from taking
 too great a price for their goods, and all in general, on account of the dan-
 cers and stage-players; not that I deprive others of these diversions, but
 because * I care no more for them than I do for a frog in a marsh. And af- p. 95:
 terwards: You have calumniated the neighbouring cities which are sacred,
 and serve the gods with me; accusing them of being the authors of what
 has been done against me: But I know that they love me more than their
 own children; for I had no sooner given the signal but they rebuilt the
 temples of the gods, and cast down the sepulchres of the impious; and in-
 fluenced by a greatness of soul have even done more against the enemies of
 the gods, than I desired: He complains of the burning the temple of
 Daphne, with which he charges the Christians; but before the fire, adds he,
 I thought that the god had deserted this temple, which I knew by his statue
 the first time I came thither; and to convince the incredulous, I call the Sup. n. 15:
 great sun to be witness to my words.

JULIAN, out of hatred to the Christians, favoured the Jews. He re- XLIII.
 mitted the tributes that were wont to be exacted of them, burning the re- The miracle
 cords, and casting the odium of these imposts on those Christians who were at the temple
 the domesticks of Constantius; he even exhorted their patriarch Julius, of Jerusalem.
 whom he stiles Most Venerable Brother, to hinder their apostles from ex- Jul. epist. 25.
 torting certain duties from the people; and all this in order to enable them Sup. lib. 11.
 the better to offer up their prayers with more freedom and ease of mind to n. 35.
 god the author of the universe for the prosperity of his reign, to the end,
 that at his return from the Persian war, he might live with them in the holy
 city of Jerusalem, which he had long desired to rebuild, and there give glo-
 ry, together with them, to the supreme Being; and this is the substance of
 a letter which he addresses to the whole body of the Jews.

HE had actually promised them to rebuild Jerusalem; for as he loved sa- Chrysost.
 crifices, having assembled the chief men among them, he asked them, Why in. Jud.
 they offered no sacrifices, since they were prescribed by their law? They re- Or. 2. to. 6.
 plied, that they could not offer any but at Jerusalem; whereupon he prof- p. 334.
 fered to rebuild their temple, which they accepted with great joy, thinking
 that they had found the favourable opportunity for their restoration. But

X x 2

Julian

* A Greek proverb.

A. D. 363. Julian had a further view ; he was resolved to falsify the prophecies, both that of Daniel, where it is said, The desolation shall continue till the consummation ; as well as that of JESUS CHRIST, That not one stone should be left upon another. He therefore sent for the most able workmen from all quarters, and committed the care of this great work to Alypius, one of his best friends, charging him to make them labour therein without ceasing, and to spare no expence. The Jews flocked from all parts to Jerusalem, insulting the Christians, and threatening them with the greatest insolence ; as if the time was come wherein their kingdom was to be restored : Their women stripped themselves of their most costly ornaments, to contribute towards the expence of the building, labouring with their own hands, and carrying the earth in the skirts of their gowns. It is even said, that they appointed pick-axes, spades, and baskets, to be made of silver, for this pious work. St. Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem who had returned from exile, beheld all these preparations without any concern, relying on the infallible truth of the prophecies, which he affirmed they should now see accomplished.

Philost. vii.
c. 14.

As they were working upon the foundation, one of the largest stones fell out of its place, and discovered the mouth of a cavern hollowed in the rock ; into which they let down a labourer fastened to a cord ; who being in the cavern, found that he stood up to the middle in water ; he felt about on all sides, and on a column that rose a little above the water he found a book wrapped in a very fine piece of linnen, which he took, and made a signal to be drawn up again. All those who saw the book were surprized that it was not rotted and defaced : But they were much more astonished, especially the Pagans and Jews, when having first opened the book, they read therein in large characters, these words : In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was in GOD, &c. for it contained the gospel of St. John all entire.

Amm. xxiii.
c. 1.

As Alypius earnestly pressed on the work, with the assistance of the governor of the province, such terrible balls of fire were frequently shot out of the earth near the foundation, that it was impossible to come near the place, they having several times scorched the workmen ; so that being continually repulsed by this element, they gave over the enterprize. These are the words of Ammianus Marcellinus a pagan historian who lived in those times, who

Ambr. ep. 40.
n. 12.
Ruf. i. c. 38.
Socr. iij. c. 20.
Sozom. v.
c. ult.

as much hated the Christians as he admired Julian. This is likewise recorded by the Christian authors, who add the following particulars : This prodigy happened on the night preceeding the day on which they intended to begin the work, having before prepared and cleared the place. They were surprized with a great earthquake, which scattered all the stones of the foundation, throwing them to a great distance, and overturned almost all the buildings of the place ; among others, some publick galleries, wherein were lodged great numbers of Jews designed for the work, who were all either crushed to death, or at least maimed. Prodigious heaps of lime, sand, and other materials, were suddenly carried away by whirl-winds. The fire even consumed the hammers, chizels, saws, and other tools laid up in a room which they had hewed out at the foot of the temple. When it was day, the Jews crouding together, to see what havock had been made in the night, a

Theod. iij.
20.

torrent

torrent of fire issued from this cavern, which run through the midst of the place, and divided into several currents, having burnt and killed the Jews who happened to be there. This fire often began afresh as long as the day lasted; the night following they beheld crosses of light all over their clothes, which they could not by any means extinguish; there also appeared a flaming cross in the heavens. The Jews notwithstanding this returned to the work, urged as well by their own inclinations as by the Emperor's orders; but were still repulsed by this miraculous fire. No miracle that we know of is better attested than this; and accordingly it made an impression on several Jews and Pagans, who acknowledging the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, desired to be baptized.

JULIAN had been preparing all the winter for the Persian war. He had consulted all the oracles, and among the rest those of Delphi, Delos, and Dodona; and they all promised him victory. There was one of them particularly, where all the gods together assured him, that they would set out with Mars at their head, to prepare him trophies, near the river which beareth the name of a wild beast; that is, Tigris: However, the Sibylline books which he had ordered to be consulted at Rome, forbid him to leave his dominions; and he met with abundance of ill omens all the way that he went; which he despised, contrary to the rules of his religion. But the Philosophers by whom he was governed, over-ruled the Diviners. Several nations sent to offer him succour; he received their ambassadors with civility, but refused their offers, saying, that It did not become the dignity of the Roman empire to be supported by other nations, but to assist them. He returned a more harsh answer to the Saracens; for when they complained that their allowance was not payed, he said, that a warlike Emperor possessed iron and not gold; which forced them to side with the Persians. He wrote however to Arfaces king of Armenia, an ally of the Romans, to be in readiness to march upon the first notice. In his letter he exceedingly extolled himself, as a great general and a friend of the gods; on the contrary blaming his predecessor Constantius as an impious person, wanting courage. As he knew Arfaces was a Christian, he purposely uttered blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST, whose assistance, said he, will not avail you, if you neglect my orders. Vows were every where made for the prosperity of his arms, and he promised nothing so much to his gods, as to extirpate the Christians when he returned. He made haste to finish the foreign war, that he might have only this affair on his hands, proposing among other things to place the idol of Venus in the churches, and to erect an amphitheater at Jerusalem, wherein he might expose the Bishops and Monks to the wild beasts. In the mean time, to supply the expences of the war, he raised a tax on all such as refused to offer sacrifices to the idols, which was exacted with great severity.

He intended to surprize the enemy, who used to take the field late in the year, and even out-ran the fame of his march. He set out therefore from Antioch on the fifth of March, in the year 363, leaving a certain turbulent and cruel man called Alexander governour of the city, saying at the same time, that Alexander did not deserve the government, but that Antioch deserved such a governor. A great number of people conducted him on his way,

XLIV.

Julian marches

against the

Persians.

Theod. iij.

c. 21.

Sozom. vi.

c. 1.

Oros. lib. 7.

c. 30.

Socr. iij. c. 13.

Socr. iij.

c. 21.

Jul. ep. 27.

A. D. 363. way, and the greatest part of the senate went as far as Litarbis, which was fifteen leagues distant, to wish him a prosperous journey and a glorious return. But he spoke to them in a rough manner, saying, That they should see him no more, and that he designed to pass the winter at Tarsus; where accordingly he sent orders for every thing to be prepared for his reception; but he never came till he was brought thither dead. Passing near Cyrus, he saw a company of people gathered together at the entrance of a cavern, and enquiring what was the matter, he was answered, That it was the retreat of a holy monk called Domitius, whom the people crouded about to receive his benediction, and to be healed of divers distempers. Julian sent this message to him by one of his referendaries, If you come into this cave to please your God, seek not to please men, but live alone. Domitius answered: Having consecrated my body and soul to God, I shut myself up in this cave long since; but I am not able to drive away the people that come with faith. Whereupon Julian ordered the mouth of the cave to be stopped up, in which the holy man being inclosed, ended his life, and is honoured by the Church as a martyr.

Amm. xxiii.
c. 1.

Chr. pasch.
an. 363.
p. 297.

Niceph. x.
c. 9.
Martyrol. 5.
Jul. & 7.
Aug. ubi. &
Menolog.
Theod. iij.
c. 26.
Amm. xxiii.
c. 3.

Gennad.
catolog. n. 1.
Sup. xij.
n. 2.

XLV.
Julian writes
against the
Christians.
Socr. iii.
c. 23.
Hier. ep. 84.
ad Magn.
Cyrill. Præf.
Julian. p. 2.
E.
Sup. lib. vii.
n. 16.
Sup. lib. x.
n. 4.
Ap. Cyrill.
10. 6.

JULIAN having passed the Euphrates, had Edessa on the left, into which place he would not enter, because the inhabitants were Christians; but he stopped at Carrhæ, and sacrificed to the moon, which was there particularly adored. Here he caused Procopius his kinsman to come before the altar, and none being present but themselves, put on him his purple robe, charging him boldly to assume the empire, if he should hear that he died at Persia. At his coming out of the temple, he caused the doors to be sealed, and a guard to be placed about them, that no body might enter therein till he came back. This temple being opened after his death, a woman was found hung up by her hair, with her arms extended, her belly having been ripped open, to try if any signs of victory could be discovered by her liver. Being arrived at Nisibis, he ordered them to remove the relicks of St. James, Bishop of that city, which were brought thither by Constantius, pursuant to the order of his father Constantine, and which were looked upon by the inhabitants as the safeguard of their city: Accordingly they attributed to this loss that of their city, which was given up to the Persians soon after the death of Julian.

JULIAN in this journey taking opportunity of the nights, which were still very long, wrote his great work against the Christian religion, which Libanius preferred to Porphyry's writings on the same subject. It was divided into seven books, or according to others, into three; a great part whereof is come down to us, being inserted, by St. Cyrill of Alexandria, in the reply which he afterwards made to this work. It is very probable that Maximus and the other philosophers who attended Julian, had a hand in it: and that they had drawn together their strongest arguments against the Christian religion, in order to add the greater weight to them, by making them pass under the Emperor's name. Accordingly we here meet with most of those that had been urged by Celsus, and which were so well answered by Origen: and those likewise which had been confuted by Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica*. Julian begins thus: I think it necessary to make all the world acquainted with the reasons that have convinced

vinced me that the doctrine of the Galileans is an human invention, and A. D. 363. that there is nothing Divine in it; that it was maliciously designed to im- Lib. xi. pose upon the credulous, and childish part of our souls, by inculcating ab- p. 39. furd and monstrous fables. I first of all admonish such of my readers as Ibid. p. 41. intend to reply, to say nothing that is not to the purpose, but to proceed as in courts of justice, and not to attempt to recriminate, till they have cleared themselves as to the points with which I have charged them. His reason for taking these precautions was, that he knew with what strength of argument the Christians were wont to display the absurdities of Paganism.

AFTER this preface he enters upon the subject, and saith: That he in- Ibid. p. 42. tends first to compare the sentiments of the Greeks and Hebrews concerning the Divine nature; and afterwards to ask the Galileans why they have preferred the doctrine of the Hebrews to that of the Greeks; and why departing from that of the Hebrews, they have followed a particular way Lib. vi. of their own, chusing out the worst in both these, and borrowing from p. 202. p. 238. the Hebrews a contempt of the gods, and from the Greeks a contempt of ceremonies, that is the distinction of meats and purifications. And this indeed is the objection which he chiefly urges throughout the work; and he frequently reproaches the Christians for having rejected circumcision, Lib. vii. 238. and the other ceremonies of the mosaical institution, for which he ex- Lib. ix. p. presses great esteem, because they had some resemblance with those of the 305. 314. Egyptians and Pythagoreans, whom he admired. For the same reason he Lib. x. likewise reproaches them for not offering the sacrifices of animals, although p. 351. enjoined by the law of GOD, and heretofore practised by the patriarchs. p. 354, 356, 358.

IN this work of Julian's we may observe some evidences favourable to the Catholick faith, which carry the greater strength with them, as they are the less liable to suspicion. After having extolled the mighty acts which he pretends to have been performed by his gods and heroes many Lib. vi. ages before, he adds: JESUS has been famous these three hundred years p. 191. past, for having persuaded people that he wrought miracles, without doing any thing worthy of notice during his life, unless the curing the blind and the lame, and exorcising those that were possessed with the devil in the little towns of Bethsaida and Bethany, be reckoned great actions. He plainly acknowledges the truth of these facts, after which it is of little importance whether he thinks them wonderful or contemptible. He likewise testifies that the Christians adored the Son of GOD, since he upbraids them with it, as if they acted contrary to the prohibition of adoring any other god besides the Fa- Lib. v. ther, though he owns that they did not agree in adoring two or three gods. p. 159. In the same place he mentions, * That the Christians did always still call Lib. ix. Mary *θεοτοκον*, or the mother of GOD, and this he likewise repeats in other. p. 290. places; which is of some importance to the following part of this histo- Lib. viii. ry. He pretends that St. John the Evangelist is the first who has spoken p. 262. B. clearly of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and explains himself thus: Ibid. D. p. 276. You are such wretches, that you have not kept to what the Apostles Lib. vi. p. 213.

* See Bishop Wake's sermon upon this subject; though Mr. Fleury's instance will hardly be of weight with any who consider the simplicity of this expression in the Greek, and the great stress laid upon it by the Romanists.

A. D. 363. taught you, but they who came afterwards have carried it to a higher degree of impiety. For neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, durst say that JESUS was God; but the good man John seeing that great numbers were already infected with this disease, in several cities of Greece and Italy; being informed likewise, as I believe, that they even revered, though secretly, the sepulchers of Peter and Paul, presumed first to advance it, and having talked a little of John the Baptist first, returns to the Word, whom he preaches, and saith; The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. Julian therefore acknowledges in this place, that St. John clearly taught the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and he afterwards expressly saith the same thing.

P. 333.

Lib. vi.
p. 201.

Lib. x.
p. 335.

P. 339.

Lib. vi.
p. 194.

HE moreover acknowledges, that in the time of St. John the sepulchers of the other Apostles were honoured; and in many places complains of the worship paid by the Christians to dead men, that is to the martyrs. But yet, saith he, had you left us to follow the Hebrews, it had been more tolerable, you would adore one god instead of many, and not one man, or rather many miserable men. And elsewhere, speaking of the adoring of JESUS CHRIST: This evil owes its original to John; but who can sufficiently detest what you have since invented, not only adoring this dead man, but several others whom your selves have joined with him? You have filled all places with sepulchers and monuments, though it is no where said in your law, that sepulchers ought to be frequently visited, and that you should prostrate your selves before them. However, he afterwards acknowledges that this was an Apostolical tradition, pretending their worshipping the dead was only designed for some magical operation, it being really practised with this intention among the Pagans. In short, it is evident, that the Christians paid such honours to those of the deceased whom they esteemed saints, as were thought by the Pagans to amount to a sort of adoration. Julian likewise reproaches the Christians with the worship of the cross; for speaking of the buckler called by the Romans *Ancile*, which they pretended to have been sent down from heaven to Numa, he cries out, after this: Wretches that you are, having this Celestial armour among you, which the great Jupiter, or Mars your father, hath sent you, to be a real pledge of his particular protection of your city, instead of honouring and adoring it, you adore the wood of the cross, representing the figure of it upon your foreheads, and upon the front of your houses. Ought we to have an aversion to the wisest, or take compassion on the most ignorant among you, whom you have plunged into this abyss of error, of forsaking the immortal gods to adore this dead Jew?

Lib. v. Cod.
Theod. de
sepulchr.
viol. v. ibi.
Gotrofr.

THE chief reason why the Pagans were so greatly offended at the respect paid to the martyrs and their relicks, was, that they looked upon dead bodies and funeral monuments as unclean things, and esteemed the sight of them unlucky; although part of their religious worship consisted in honouring the manes, and the infernal gods: For which reason it was a maxim with them never to solemnize their funerals but in the night time. Julian made a particular law to this purpose, in this same year 363, on the twelfth of February, before he set out from Antioch. He in the first place forbids their meddling with sepulchers, because several of them

took

took away the ornaments to adorn their halls and galleries : pretending the A. D. 363. reverence due to the manes was hereby violated. He adds, as another dangerous abuse ; that dead bodies were carried along in open day, where the concourse was greatest ; by which ominous sight, says he, the eyes are polluted : For how can we begin a day happily by funerals ? and how shall we approach the gods or their temples ? Grief chuseth secrecy, nor is it of any importance to the dead, whether their funerals are solemnized in the day or in the night time : We ought then to convey them out of the sight of the people, and there should be a greater appearance of sorrow upon this occasion than of pomp and ostentation. It is very visible how much the city of Antioch, which consisted intirely of Christians, gave occasion to these reproaches.

BESIDES the fragments of the work against the Christian religion, we have many other letters and dissertations of Julian's, which discover his genius, and what sort of philosophy he professed. One of the longest letters is addressed to a certain person called Serapion, which he sent him with a hundred weight of dried Damascus figs. Half of the letter is a panegyrick upon figs, made up of a great deal of common place rhetoric, with quotations out of Aristophanes, Herodotus, Homer, Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus ; the other half is in praise of the number of a hundred, with its arithmetical properties, and instances out of the poets. Most part of his letters begin with some quotation or some fable. Those directed to the sophists are full of extravagant commendations, and an earnestness, which denoteth more levity than affection ; all his works abound with vanity, pedantry, and superstition. I have already spoken of *Misopogon* ; there are besides two discourses in praise of Constantius, wherein there is as much flattery as in any panegyrick whatsoever. Julian's behaviour evidences how sincere he was in these his commendations : And in the long letter to the Athenians, which is an apology for his rebellion, he sufficiently contradicts what he had said upon this head. There is a panegyrick upon the sun, and another on the mother of the gods, stuffed with vain mysteries of his pagan theology. This last discourse was composed in one night, and he wrote another, which took him up two days, against a loose Cynick, who was desirous of living at his ease, and presumed to find fault with Diogenes. There is likewise a treatise against another Cynick called Hermogenes, who had spoken disrespectfully in his presence of the fables and of the gods. In short, his masterpiece, that is, the discourse on the Cæsars, is a satire on the preceeding Emperors, especially Constantine.

As to philosophy, Julian was extreamly fond of every thing that had the name of it, as appears by his discourses on the Cynicks ; but he particularly professed himself to be of the platonick sect. An Eunuch, whose name was Mardonius, a Scythian, was his tutor, to whose care he was committed at the age of seven years, and by whom he was inspired with a great deal of esteem for Plato and Aristotle ; and accustomed even at that time to despise pleasure ; to frugality, and a philosophical gravity. Maximus and Priscus, the disciples of Edeus, were afterwards his masters, who had succeeded Jamblichus, the most famous of those who had collected the tradi-

XLVI.

Other writings of Julian, and his philosophy.

Epist. 24.

Liban. orat.

10. p. 288.

B.

Liban. orat.

10. p. 300.

A.

Orat. 6.

P. 36.

Orat. 7.

Misopog.

p. 80, 82.

P. 93.

P. 78.

Sup. lib. xiiij.

n. 16.

Eunap. in

Jambl.

A. D. 363. tion of Plotinus and Porphyry. Plotinus, as hath been observed in treat-
 Sup. lib. vij. ing of the time wherein he lived, did chiefly make profession of the doc-
 n. 59. trine of Plato; but he joined with it that of Pythagoras, and the myste-
 ries of the ancient Egyptians: So that this philosophy was mixed with a
 fabulous and superstitious theology, which came in to the assistance of ido-
 latri that was now staggering and ready to fall. And we may see it set
 Aug. x. civit. down at large in the treatise of Jamblichus, which serves as an answer to the
 c. 11. powerful objections proposed by Porphyry himself against the pagan reli-
 gion, which he professed in his letter to Anebo an Egyptian.

JAMBLICHUS in this treatise supposeth, without proving it, that there
 Jambl. de are four sorts of spirits; gods, dæmons, heroes, and souls. He divides
 magister. the demons into two sorts, good and bad; and acknowledges angels, arch-
 sect. 1. angels, princes of the world, and powers that preside over matter; all
 which seem to be comprehended under the species of spirits called dæmons.
 Sect. 2. He supposes that all these different spirits appear unto men, and sets down
 marks whereby each may be discovered. He further supposes, that there
 is a supernatural divination, by the help of oracles, auguries, and other
 Sect. 3. means, allowed of by the pagan religion; for which he gives very ingeni-
 C. 31. ous and plausible reasons: But he pretends a great difference between the
 religious operations called *θεουργία Theourgia* by the Greeks, and the magical
 Aug. x. civit. operations called *γοητεία Goetia*, which they attributed to human art, and
 C. 9. the impostures of the evil dæmons. Jamblichus giveth the same account of
 Sect. 5. sacrifices, and proveth, contrary to the opinion of Porphyry, that the dæ-
 mons did not feed upon them. He supposeth that every man hath his
 Sect. 9. particular dæmon, but doth not agree that he is attracted by the influ-
 ence of his nativity, as was pretended by those that observed the horos-
 cope: However, he looks upon astrology as a very certain science. In
 short, this work of Jamblichus is taken up in assigning specious reasons for
 things that have no real existence.

THIS was the doctrine embraced so eagerly, and so seriously by Julian;
 his levity of temper, and curiosity made him admire the pompous ha-
 rangues of these philosophers, and their dreams and impostures; for they
 pretended to converse with the gods, and to perform mighty wonders; as
 we see by Eunapius a disciple of Chrysanthus, a pagan author of those
 Aug. v. civit. times, who hath left us an account of their lives. Ambition had raised in
 c. 11. Julian a desire of knowing future events. His promotion beyond his hopes
 he looked upon as a solid proof of the predictions and protection of the
 gods; and this it was made him condemn Christianity so much: Nay, so
 Fragm. far was he prepossessed, as to attribute what evidently appeared above the
 P. 529. power of human nature, to the delusions of evil dæmons; as for instance,
 the constancy of the martyrs, and the austerities of monks.

XLVII. THERE were two ways from Carrhæ leading into the Persian dominions;
 The death of one on the left, after passing the Tigris, through Adiabene; the other on
 Julian. the right through Assyria, by repassing the Euphrates. Julian had caused
 Amm. xxij. provisions to be got ready on both roads, and having for some time marched
 c. 3. towards the Tigris to amuse the enemy, he turned to the right and came to
 the Euphrates, where he was met by his fleet, consisting of a thousand ves-
 sels laden with all sorts of provisions and warlike stores. His march to this
 place

place was crossed by divers accidents, which by the Diviners were accounted A. D. 363. ominous, according to the rules of their art; who maintained, that the Emperor ought not to proceed: But the philosophers who could govern Julian as they pleased, assigned natural reasons for these accidents; or if they did agree, that they were prodigies: they gave them an advantageous turn in their explanations. Julian having entered into Assyria, took certain strong places, and came off with advantage in an engagement with a party of the Persians. To return thanks for this success, he resolved to sacrifice ten bulls to Mars; but nine of them fell down of their own accord before they were brought to the altar; the tenth got loose, and being with much difficulty brought back and sacrificed, his entrails afforded none but unlucky omens: At which Julian was so enraged, that calling Jupiter to witness, he protested that he would never more sacrifice to Mars. Having advanced as far as the great city of Ctesiphon, he found it so strong, that he had not resolution enough to lay siege to it, but only ravaged the country. Here he committed two considerable faults; the first was in refusing the peace offered by the king of Persia, upon advantageous terms; the second was, the burning his fleet. He confided in the predictions of the philosopher Maximus, and imagined that his fame would equal, or even surpass that of Alexander the Great, whose soul he believed was transmigrated into his body: For the *Metempsychosis* was one of the chief tenets of his philosophy.

Ibid. c. 5.

Id. xxiv. c. 1.

2, &c. c. 6.

Ibid. c. 7.

Soc. iii. c. 21.

Liban.

Or. Fun.

p. 322, 301.

At the persuasions of some of the enemies deserters, he left the banks of the river, which was full of narrow passes, where he was harassed by small parties of the Persians, in order to go the shortest way through the middle of the country; so that his fleet became useless to him, and might be of service to the enemy; besides twenty thousand men must necessarily have been employed in the care of it: He therefore ordered it to be burnt contrary to the general opinion, and continued his march through countries that were very fruitful by nature; but having been burnt by the Persians, in order to consume the grain and forrage, the Romans were soon reduced to great scarcity of provisions. There was no sign of Procopius and Sebastian's coming, with whom Julian had left part of his forces near the Tigris, with orders to rejoin him; but they had quarrelled by the way: neither was Arsaces king of Armenia, who should have accompanied them into Assyria, arrived; he not daring to leave his own country unguarded. All this dispirited Julian's army, and they were continually harassed by the enemy.

Aug. v. Civit.

c. 21.

Amm. xxiii.

3.

xxiv. 7.

THE night before the twenty sixth of June, as he was writing in his tent, in imitation of Julius Cæsar, he saw the same Genius of the empire which had appeared to him, when he was proclaimed Emperor at Paris; but now he seemed more pale, coming with a melancholy gate from behind the hangings, his head and cornucopia being hid in his mantle. He was daunted at this apparition, as he owned to his friends; and rising from his bed, which lay on the ground, he offered certain libations to appease the gods; and beheld in the air some of those fires which seem now and then to fall from heaven. Being seized with horror, and apprehending that he was threatened by Mars, he sent instantly before day break for the Tuscan Haruspices, who forbade him to undertake any thing that day; shewing him, in the books of Tarquitiuſ, under the head of Divine things, that when a fire-

Amm. xxv.

c. 2.

A. D. 363. brand had been seen in the air, they ought not to engage the enemy. Julian would neither believe them, nor make any delay, but marched as soon as day appeared.

c. 3.
Liban. Or.
Fur. p. 303,
304.

Philost. vij.
c. 15.

Pagi, Anno
337. n. 7.
363. n. 5.

Soz. vi. c. 12.
Lib. Or. Fun.
P. 323, 324.
Orat. 4.
p. 116, 117.

Amm. xxv.
c. 6. p. 431.

iii Hist. c. 25.

vi. c. 2.
p. 519. B.

XLVIII.
Revelations
concerning the
death of Ju-
lian.
Soz. vi. c. 2.

IN this march the Persians first attacked the reere of the Roman army. Julian having advanced without his arms to discover the country, and receiving notice of this attack, ran to the place, taking only a shield in haste without his cuirass, either through forgetfulness, or by reason of the excessive heat. But he was immediately recalled, by a fresh advice, to the van. Here the Persians were repulsed; and they turning their backs, Julian lifting up his arm, cried out, to encourage his men to pursue them, although his guards warned him to retire; at which time a dart from a Persian horseman grazing upon his arm, entred in at his ribs, and stuck deep in his liver. He endeavoured to pull out the dart, till it cut his fingers, and then sunk down upon his horse. He was immediately carried away, and the physicians, especially his faithful Oribasus, exerted all their skill. After the first dressing, finding himself a little easier, he called for his horse and his arms to return to the fight; but losing a great deal of blood, and his strength failing him, he desisted; and asking the name of the place where he fell, they told him it was called Phrygia; upon which, remembering a certain prediction, he looked upon himself as a dead man. He spoke in a lofty strain to those about him, saying, that he was content to die; adding, that it was an indignity to bewail a Prince who was going to be re-united to heaven and the stars. He discoursed some time of the excellence and greatness of the soul, with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, and died in this manner on the sixth of the calends of July at midnight, i. e. on the twenty sixth of June, in this year 363, aged thirty one years eight months and twenty days, being born the sixth of November, in the year 331. He had reigned from the death of Constantius, one year eight months and twenty three days.

IHAVE set down the account of Julian's death, as it is delivered by Ammianus Marcellinus, who was then present, and by Libanius who was his contemporary, and a Pagan as well as himself; who nevertheless endeavours to make the Christians suspected of his death. St. Gregory Nazianzen faith, that it was variously reported, as well by those who were, as those who were not present. Some said, that he was killed by one of his own soldiers; with which the Persians afterwards reproached the Romans; others by a jester in the Persian army; and others by a Saracen: And St. Gregory adds, that Julian having received his wound, was carried to the river side, and that he attempted to throw himself in, that he might be conveyed from the sight of men, and pass for a god, as Romulus, and some others had done; but that one of his eunuchs stopped him and discovered his intention. Theodoret says farther: It is reported, that as soon as he was wounded, he took a handful of his blood, and throwing it into the air, cried out, Galilean, thou hast conquered. Sozomen relates the same circumstance; but as a thing mentioned by very few. Others report, that he cast his blood towards the sun, reproaching him with favouring the Persians.

THERE are likewise accounts given of several celestial visions which gave notice of the death of this man in divers places. One of Julian's officers going to him in Persia, for want of another lodging, lay in a church which he met on the road, where he beheld in the night a great company of

of Apostles and Prophets, who lamented the miseries which the Church suffered from the Emperor, and were considering by what means it might be delivered from them. After they had long discoursed together, two of them arose, exhorting the rest to take courage; and immediately left the company as if they were going to put an end to the empire of Julian. The officer dreading the event of this vision, deferred his journey, and lay again in the same place. The night following he saw the same persons assembled; and on a sudden those two who had departed, returned as it were from some distant place, and told the rest that Julian was slain. The same day, blind Didymus, a famous Doctor in the Church of Alexandria, being at home, in great affliction for the Emperor's folly, and the oppression of the Churches, spent the day in fasting and prayer, and would not receive any sustenance. The night being come, he fell asleep in his chair, and imagined that he saw some white horses galloping in the air, whose riders cried out, Tell Didymus that on this day, at seven of the clock, Julian was killed; Arise therefore, eat, and give notice thereof to the Bishop Athanasius. Didymus observed the hour, day, week, and month; and the revelation was found to be true; for the seventh hour of the night according to our reckoning is the first hour after midnight, which was the time that Julian died. Palladius saith, that he heard this story from the mouth of Didymus himself.

Lan. hist. c. 4.
Theod. iij. hist. 24.
Philoth. c. 2. p. 779. C.

ST. Julian Sabas a famous Anchorite in Osroëna, whose monastery was above twenty days journey from the Emperor's camp, had likewise his death revealed to him. He knew the threatnings he had uttered against the Church; and had continued ten days in prayer, when his disciples saw him on a sudden dry up his tears, assume a sedate and chearful countenance, and even discover some signs of joy, contrary to his usual custom; for he had always a dejected and penitential look. They asked the reason, and he said to them: The raging and unclean boar, that laid waste the vine of the LORD, lies dead. They then sang hymns by way of thanksgiving; and when the news arrived, they found that the Emperor's death happened on the same day and the same hour, wherein it had been discovered to the aged saint. Among the predictions of the death of this prince, there is reckoned an ingenious saying of a Christian grammarian of Antioch, who being very eminent for his learning, was very intimate with the sophist Libanius: the latter in contempt of his religion, said to him one day; What is the carpenter's son a doing now? Making a coffin, answered the grammarian.

Theod. iij. hist. 23.
Soz. v. c. 2.

THE same day that Julian died, that is, on the twenty seventh of June, 363, in the morning, the chief officers of the army assembled to make choice of an Emperor, being pressed thereto by the necessity which they saw themselves under of retreating from the enemy, who inclosed them in on all sides. They elected Jovian chief of the domesticks, that is, of the Emperor's guards, the son of Count Varonian, a person of great merit and reputation. Although Jovian was not a general, nor of the rank next to a general, his great courage and graceful mien had nevertheless made him very remarkable. He was so tall, that it was a long time before they could find an Imperial robe that would fit him: he was proportionably large, so that his gate was somewhat heavy, although he was not above thirty two years of

XLIX.
Jovian Emperor.
Amm. xxv. c. 6.
Theod. iv. c. 1.
Greg. Naz. Or. 4. p. 117.
Amm. xxv. c. ult.

age:

A. D. 363. age: a briskness and gaiety sparkled in his eyes; he loved jesting with his companions, and was of an obliging and generous disposition. He had given proofs of his military courage on several occasions, and especially by opposing Julian in defence of his religion; for he was a Christian and a Confessor, as hath been already observed. A Tribunal was immediately erected, which they caused him to ascend; they gave him the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and cloathed him with the Purple robe and Imperial ornaments. Sup. n. 9. Then he said to them with his accustomed frankness: Being a Christian, I cannot command those who have served under Julian, and are infected with his errors; such an army destitute of the succour of GOD, must infallibly fall a prey to its enemies. The soldiers cried out all to a man, Fear not, my lord, you shall command Christians; the oldest among us have been instructed by Constantine, and the rest by Constantius; he who hath just expired, hath reigned too short a time to establish error, even among those whom he hath seduced. Soc. iii. c. 22.

JOVIAN-rejoycing at this reply, turned his whole thoughts upon saving the army, and drawing it out of the enemy's country. After some days march, in which the Romans valiantly defended themselves, the king of Persia sent them offers of peace; which Jovian accepted for thirty years, though upon disadvantageous conditions. But the army wanted provisions, and must inevitably have perished; so that the Pagans themselves looked upon this offer of peace as a singular effect of GOD's protection. The Romans gave up five provinces upon the Tigris, with the cities of Nisibis and Singara, the inhabitants being obliged to leave them. The people of Nisibis offered to defend themselves; but Jovian was resolved faithfully to observe the terms of the treaty; with which the pagan historians reproach him as an effect of weakness, and a pretence to conceal his fear of Procopius; and it appeared by the event, that his apprehensions of him were not ill grounded. Theod. iv. c. 2. Agam. xxv. c. 8.

Eutrop. Brev. in fine. Amm. ibid.

L. JULIAN'S funeral. Amm. xxiii. c. 2. & xxv. c. 6. 9. Philost. viii. c. 1. Greg. Naz. Or. 4. p. 220. A. Lib. Orat. 10. p. 330, 331. Id. or. 9. p. 259. A. Orat. 9, & 10. p. 327. PROCOPIUS was a relation of Julian's, and commanded a part of his army; and to him Jovian committed the care of conveying his body to Tarsus in Cilicia, which he had himself chosen for the place of his burial. He was interred near the city, over-against Maximin Daia, the last of the persecutors, the high way only separating their two monuments; which, however, was not done with that design. Julian's funeral was celebrated according to the custom of the Pagans, but without much ceremony. They placed him in the number of the gods, and dedicated a temple to him near his sepulcher. Several cities set up his statue among their idols, paying him the same honours, and addressing their prayers to him. One who published the news of his death, narrowly escaped being stoned, as having uttered a blasphemy against one of the immortal gods. This is reported by Libanius, for he composed two discourses on the death of Julian; the first, a short declamation only to lament this accident, so fatal to Philosophy and Idolatry; the other, a long funeral oration which he composed at leisure, and spoke about eighteen months afterwards.

Hier. in Habac. iij. 14.

THE Pagans were no less afflicted at the death of Julian, than the Christians rejoyced: Upon which, a certain Pagan said pleasantly, How can the Christians say, that their GOD is long-suffering? nothing is more speedy and

and furious than his anger ; he hath not delayed the effects of it one mo- A.D. 363.
ment. At Antioch there was nothing to be seen but feasting and rejoycing : Theod. iij.
their joy was not confined to the churches and the chapels of the martyrs ; ult.
but the people cried out in the theatres : What is become of your oracles,
O foolish Maximus ? GOD and his CHRIST have gotten the victory. But
Julian's memory became much more black and odious, upon finding in his
palace at Antioch whole chests stuffed full of dead men's heads, and wells
filled with humane bodies.

DURING those publick rejoycings, St. Gregory Nazianzen composed LI.
two discourses to comfort the afflicted and support the weak, that were The discourses
scandalized at the prosperity of the wicked : In these he displays Julian in of St. Grego-
his proper colours ; and in order to shew how weak his design of abolishing ry Nazianzen
Christianity was, he set forth the advantages of it ; he mentions the force of against Julian.
preaching, which being but folly in appearance, hath brought the wise Orat. 3.
into subjection, and is spread throughout the world ; the courage of the P. 52, 53.
martyrs, who suffered as if they had had no bodies : Those martyrs, adds P. 76.
he, whose festivals are observed, who cast out devils, healed the sick, who p. 77. D.
appeared to men, and foretold things to come ; and whose bodies have as
much power as their pious souls, whether they be touched or honoured ;
the least drop of whose blood, the least token of whose sufferings, have as
much power as their bodies. He afterwards extols the virtues of the Monks, p. 77. D.
or solitaries, which he opposes to that of the Philosophers, and such as were
renowned for their military exploits, and the rest of the great men among
the ancient heathens ; and sheweth how far superiour the saints were in cou-
rage, constancy, contempt of riches, pleasure, and even life itself. In fine, p. 79. B.
he considers the small number of those that had distinguished themselves
among the Pagans, by their doctrine and virtue ; and on the other side,
reckons up the innumerable multitudes of Christians of both sexes and all
conditions throughout the world, who performed the like and much more
wonderful works than those. Not only men of low condition, says he,
inured to labour and frugality ; but the most wealthy persons, and those of
the greatest quality, in order to follow the example of JESUS CHRIST,
embraced sufferings unknown to them before, and practised these virtues,
without making any noise about them, but placing their morality in their
deeds, not in their words.

To demonstrate farther the extravagance of Julian's project, he adds :
This great politician did not consider that the former persecutions could not
occasion very great disturbances, because few were acquainted with the truth,
and our doctrine had not yet received all its lustre ; but now when the
Christian religion hath spread abroad and prevailed, such an attempt would
have given a shock to the power of the Romans, and endangered the whole em-
pire. What St. Gregory here says of the small number of Christians, during
the foregoing persecutions, is to be understood comparatively, and in pro-
portion to the great numbers that were added to the Church, during the
peace which they enjoyed under the reigns of Constantine and Constantius ;
for Tertullian made it plainly appear, that in his time the number of the Apolog. c. 37.
Christians, considered in itself, was very great, and very sufficient to make
head against the persecutors, had they not been with-held by the sacred pre-
cepts of the gospel. St.

A. D. 363. St. Gregory sets forth the injustice of Julian's persecution, by shewing the moderation of the Christians in their prosperity. Did we ever, said he, return your people the same treatment which we have so often received from them? In what respect have we encroached upon your liberty? Against which of you have we stirred up the people, or the magistrates? Whose life have we endangered? Whom have we excluded from those posts and honours which were due to merit. He afterwards proves the absurdity of Julian's intention to imitate the customs and manners of the Christians. Our maxims, saith he, do so exactly suit us, and are so properly our own, that it is impossible for any one else to put them in practice; because they are not established so much by the industry and diligence of men, as by the Divine Providence, and by time, which has added strength to them. Afterwards: Supposing Julian had really executed his project; let us imagine, proceeds he, a magnificent theater; that the heraulds invite the people; that they assemble; that those who preside at it are most eminent for their age, virtue, birth, and worldly wisdom: Let them be adorned with purple robes and crowns; for the Pagans greatly esteemed any marks of dignity, and whatsoever distinguished them from the vulgar: Would they, in this case, debase themselves so low, as to follow our example, and make their greatness rather consist in their morals, than in their outward appearance? for we make but small account of what strikes the eye: we chiefly labour to form the inward man, and to incline the people, whom we teach, to spiritual works. This seems to intimate, that the Bishops and Priests wore no remarkable ornaments, and that there was a great simplicity in every thing that related to their Ecclesiastical assemblies.

p. 102.
p. 103. C. St. Gregory proceeds: What will you do afterwards? you will cause the interpreters of the Divine oracles to appear; you will open books of Divinity and Morality. What books and what authors? It will be a fine thing to sing the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, the war of the Titans and the Giants, with their formidable names. Afterwards he introduces Orpheus and Homer, and runs through the most infamous and absurd fables of the Poets. He displays the impertinence of the Allegories, by which they endeavoured to explain them: For, saith he, if they have another Theology, let them lay it open to us without any disguise, that we may produce our objections against it. But to what purpose is it, to lay before the people, at so great an expence, such scandalous and impious objects, both in the temples and upon the altars? If it be said, these are inventions of the Poets to allure the people by fables and musick; why are such great honours payed to these Poets, who dishonour their gods, instead of punishing them as impious wretches? We have likewise a concealed doctrine; but there is nothing indecent in what appeareth, and what is concealed is supernatural: It is a beautiful body decently apparelled. As for your fables, their concealed meaning is incredible, and what appears is pernicious. After he hath attacked the doctrine of the Pagans, he falls upon their morals; and proveth, that their fables destroy the most universal principles, as unity among men, which is the foundation of civil society, reverence to parents, contempt of riches, chastity, and sobriety; to which he afterwards opposes the perfection of the Christian morality.

IN the second discourse against Julian, St. Gregory takes notice of the A. D. 363. ordinary reproaches that were cast upon the Christians by the Pagans in the p. 122. D. following words: This is what we say, we poor Galileans, adorers of one that has been crucified, disciples of fishermen, and of ignorant wretches: p. 123. D. We who sing sitting with old women, who are wasted with long fasting, and half starved with hunger, and spend the night in useless watchings. And afterwards: We have no other weapon, no other bulwark, no other defence but hope in God, being wholly destitute of all humane assistance; demonstrating by this, that the only weapon of the persecuted Christians is prayer. He concludes with two important pieces of advice to the faithful; p. 128. C. viz. First, to make good use of the punishment that had been inflicted on them, and during the calm, not to be unmindful of the tempest. Let us p. 129. C. express our joy, says he, not by the neatness of our bodies, by our rich clothes, sumptuous banquets, and immoderate eating or drinking, the more shameful consequences of which you are well acquainted with. Let us not adorn our chief streets, nor the entrance of our houses with flowers; let us not light lamps in them, nor dishonour them by the sound of flutes, nor our tables by strewing them with perfumes. It is thus that the Pagans solemnize their new moons; but it is not in this manner that we are to honour God; it is by the purity of our souls, by inward joy, the light of holy thoughts, the mystical Unction, the spiritual table. The other advice which he gives p. 130, 131. the faithful is, not to take advantage from the times to avenge themselves of the heathen, but to overcome them by a sweet and gentle carriage. Let him, says he, who is most incensed against them, leave them to the judgment of God: Let us not think of confiscating their wealth, nor of dragging them before tribunals, in order to be sent into banishment, or to be scourged; nor, in a word, cause them to undergo any of those afflictions which we have suffered from them; but, let us, if possible, render them more compassionate and kind by our example. If any belonging to you have suffered; your son, your father, your relation, your friend; let him enjoy the full reward of those his sufferings. Let us be satisfied with seeing the people publicly exclaim against our persecutors in the market places, and in the theatres, and themselves at length acknowledging that their gods have deceived them. This is the revenge to which St. Gregory Nazianzen would p. 132. D. persuade the Christians. Although in these two discourses St. Gregory doth not spare Julian, he cannot be suspected of charging him with more than he deserved, when we compare what he says with what is related of him by pagan authors and his admirers, as Libanius and Ammianus Marcellinus; Amm. xxv. but there was such a mixture of good and bad qualities in this Prince, that c. 4. it was easy to praise and blame him at the same time, without deviating Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. from the truth.

THE Emperor Jovian being persuaded, that the impiety of his predecessor had been the cause of the misfortunes that had befallen the empire, LII. Jovian restores peace to the Church. wrote, without delay, to the governors of the provinces, that assemblies should be held in the churches. Then the blood of victims, which had Soz. vi. c. 3. been offered by Julian in such profusion, no longer flamed; all the idol Socr. iij. c. 24. temples

A. D. 363. temples were shut up; the Pagans concealed themselves; the Philosophers left off the mantle, called in Greek *ἡμάτιον*, and in Latin *Pallium*, which was the mark of their profession, and wore again the ordinary dress. We find by Jovian's medals, that he placed the cross again in the *Labarum*; he likewise restored their privileges to the churches, to the clergy, to the widows, and to the virgins; and whatever was ordained by Constantine and his children in favour of religion, and had been abrogated by Julian. Jovian particularly re-established the distribution of a certain proportion of corn, which was granted by Constantine to the churches; but because of the scarcity and dearth at that time, he appointed but a third part of it to be paid at the present, promising to restore the whole as soon as the famine ceased. He likewise published a law directed to Secundus the *Præfectus Prætorii* in the east, inflicting capital punishment on such as should presume to violate consecrated virgins, or even sollicit them to marry; for many among them under the reign of Julian had been married by force or fraud.

Soz. vi. c. 3.

Theod. iv

c. 4.

Sozom. vi.

c. 3. l. 2.

Cod. Th. de

rap. vel.

matr. tit. 5.

lib. ix. l. 5.

Cod. de

episc.

Theod. iii.

hist. c. 12.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 21.

p. 394.

As soon as Jovian entered into the Roman dominions, he passed a law by which he recalled the Bishops that were banished by Constantius or Julian; and ordered that they who had maintained the Nicene creed in its purity, should be put in possession of the Churches. And as he knew that St. Athanasius was the chief person who stood up in defence of the faith, he besought him by letter, to give a full account in writing of the articles of the true faith. St. Athanasius stayed not for his order to quit his retreat; but as soon as he heard of the death of Julian, by Didymus's revelation, he appeared in the midst of his people, who were joyfully surprized at the sight of him; and so entered upon his usual functions.

LIII.

St. Athana-

sus's letter to

Jovian.

Theod. iv.

c. 1, 2, 3. ap.

Ath. to. 1.

p. 245.

p. 246. D.

ON the receipt of the Emperor's letter, he called together the most learned Bishops, and returned an answer in the name of all the Bishops of Egypt, Thebais, and Libya. They declare to him, that the Nicene creed only ought to be adhered to, and add: Know Emperor, beloved of God, that this is the doctrine that hath been preached in all ages, and wherein the Churches in every particular province agree. Those of Spain, Britain, and Gaul, throughout Italy and Compania; in Dalmatia, Mysia, and Macedonia, and all over Greece; all the Churches in Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria; those throughout Egypt and Libya; in Pontus, Cappadocia, and the neighbouring countries; and the Churches in the east, except some few who follow the opinions of Arius. The effects prove the faith of all these Churches, and we have letters from them. Now the few who contradict this faith, cannot be sufficient to prepossess any one against the whole world. The Nicene creed is afterwards inserted at length in the letter; which proceeds thus: This creed, my lord, ought to be maintained as Divine and apostolical; and nothing ought to be altered therein from probable arguments, as the Arians have done, by saying that the Son of God is derived of nothing; and that there was a time when he was not; and that he is a created being, and subject to change. The council of Nice doth not say barely that the Son is like the Father, or like God, but that he

Sup. lib. iv.

n. 13.

he is of God, and very God. It saith that he is *Consubstantial*, that is, a true Son, born of a true Father. The fathers have not separated the Holy Ghost, as being foreign to the Father and the Son; but have glorified him with the Father and the Son, because that the Holy Trinity hath but one and the same Divinity. This is the authentick testimony then given by St. Athanasius to the truth. The Emperor was not satisfied with this letter; but desiring to see Athanasius and discourse with him, he sent him orders to repair to him at Antioch, where he stopped at his return from Persia; and St. Athanasius, by the advice of his friends, willingly came thither.

THE hereticks on their side did not sit still. The Bishops of all the several parties hastened to meet the Emperor at his return out of Persia. Every one hoped to bring him over to his opinion; but he had always declared that he believed the consubstantiality of the Word. The Macedonians or the Semi-arians were the first that sent him a petition, begging that they might have the Churches that were possessed by the Anomæans. This petition was presented in the name of Basil of Ancyra, Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, Pafinichus of Zenopolis in Lycia, Leontius of Comana, Gallistratus of Claudiopolis, and Theophilus of Cusstabala in Cilicia. They likewise desired that what had been done at Rimini and Seleucia, might remain in full force, and what on the contrary had been brought about by caballing or open force, might be disannulled; or that things continuing as they were before these councils, the Bishops of all parties might be permitted to assemble as they should think fit, without communicating with each other. The Emperor Jovian having received this petition, returned only this answer: I hate disputes, but love and honour those who strive for unity. These words coming to the ears of the rest, put a stop to their forwardness. Acatius of Cæsarea in Palestine, and his followers, made it plainly appear, that they were always inclined to comply with those who were uppermost: For seeing that the Emperor, who was at Antioch, honoured St. Meletius, they entered into a conference with him, and approved of the *Consubstantiality* in a council which was held at that time.

TWENTY seven Bishops of different provinces assisted at this council of Antioch; the chief of whom were St. Meletius, St. Eusebius of Samosata, Titus of Bosra, Pelagius of Laodicea, Irenio of Gaza, Acatius of Cæsarea. Athanasius of Ancyra sent thither two of his Presbyters, as did likewise some other Bishops. Pelagius and Athanasius had been made Bishops at the council of Constantinople in the year 360, by means of Acatius of Cæsarea; but they afterwards became worthy defenders of the truth. The result of this council was a synodical letter to the Emperor Jovian, confirming the Nicene creed, as the council of Alexandria had done; but the word *Consubstantial* is not so clearly explained therein. The council of Antioch speaks on this subject as follows: The Son was begotten of the substance of the Father, and is like the Father in substance; not that we suppose any passion in the ineffable generation, or that the word *Substance* is used as it is usually understood in the Greek language; but to overthrow what the impious Arius

Greg. Naz.
Or. 21.
p. 394. D.
Epiph. hær.
68. n. 10.
Sozom. vi.
c.

LIV.
Petition of the
Semi-arians.
Soc. iij. c. 25.

Soz. vi. c. 4.

Soc. iij. c. 25.

LV.
The council of
Antioch.

Sup. l. xiv.
n. 23.

Ap. Soc. iij.
c. 25.

A. D. 363. Arius hath ventured to affirm, that JESUS CHRIST was derived of nothing; and what the Anomæans still maintain with greater insolence. The Nicene creed is likewise recited at length in this letter.

Hær. Chr.
an. 363.

ALTHOUGH the exposition of faith in this council is Catholick, it was never the less censured by those of the contrary party to Meletius, who were of the communion of Paulinus, as favouring the Semi-arians and the Macedonians; and there is a little treatise remaining, written with a design to overthrow it, and intituled, The hypocrisy of Meletius and Eusebius of Samosata confuted, who entertain erroneous opinions concerning the *Consubstantiality*. The pretence for finding fault with this exposition is, that the expression, *alike in Substance*, is herein used as an explication of the *Consubstantiality*; and that there is no mention made of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

Ap. Athan.
co. 1. p. 572.

It is certain, that part of those who communicated with St. Meletius and his council, looked upon the Holy Ghost as a creature, although they held no erroneous opinions concerning the Son. As for Acatius of Cæsarea, his former conduct gives great reason to doubt whether he did sincerely believe the *Consubstantiality*; and there might be some others who dissembled as well as he. Paulinus of Antioch is also accused for holding the errors of Sabellius and Apollinarius, to justify himself from which to St. Athanasius, he gave him, while at Antioch, a confession of faith, agreeable to the form which St. Athanasius had sent him, written with his own hand, and to the determination of the council of Alexandria, which was held in the preceding year 362. The words are these: I Paulinus Bishop, believe as I have been taught, a Father subsisting perfect, and a Son subsisting perfect, and the Holy Spirit subsisting perfect: Therefore I believe the explication above-written of three *Hypostases*, and one *Ousia*, or Substance. For we are to believe and confess the Trinity, and one only Divinity. As to the incarnation of the Word: I believe as above-written, viz. that the Word was made flesh, according to St. John: not that he hath suffered any change, as the wicked affirm, but that he was made man for our sakes, being begotten of the holy virgin by the Holy Spirit. For our SAVIOUR had not a body without a soul, without thought, or without understanding, since he was made man for our sakes: wherefore I anathematize those who reject the Nicene creed, and who do not confess that the Son is of the substance of the Father and *Consubstantial*. I likewise anathematize those who maintain that the Holy Spirit is a creature made by the Son: I also anathematize Sabellius, Photinus, and all heresies. Such was the confession of faith given by Paulinus to St. Athanasius, and written with his own hand. St. Athanasius would also have joined in communion with St. Meletius; but being ill advised by certain persons he deferred this re-union till another opportunity.

Basil. ep.
326. p. 100.
C.

LVI.
A division
among the
Arians.
Philost. viij.
c. 2.
Sup. n. 35.

IN the mean time the grosser Arians were divided among themselves. Euzoius had not been industrious in putting the decree of his council of Antioch in execution, which was designed for the justification of Aëtius; for which reason Aëtius and Eunomius set themselves at the head of the party, and ordained Bishops for several churches, even for Constantinople.

it

it self, where they resided, and where many separated themselves from Eudoxius, and the chief of the other sects, to join with them. Eudoxius having thus lost all hopes of being re-united to them, became their irreconcilable enemy, and supported a certain person named Theodosius, who with some others, separated from the Eunomeans, and declared against the ordination of Aëtius. But Euzoius of Antioch did not approve the proceeding of Eudoxius of Constantinople; and thus were the Arians divided.

THE Arians at Alexandria did at this time try again what they could do against St. Athanasius: Lucius their chief, and certain others being come to Antioch, presented themselves before the Emperor Jovian, as he was coming out of the Roman gate, in his way to the field, where the publick exercises were performed, and said; We beseech your mightiness, of your piety, to give ear to us. Who are you? answered the Emperor. Christians, my lord, replied they. Whence? and of what city? asked the Emperor: They answered, Of Alexandria. What is your request? said he. We beg you to give us another Bishop. I have already given orders, said the Emperor, that Athanasius your former Bishop should return to his See. My lord, replied the Arians, he hath been accused and banished many years ago. Whereupon a soldier, fired with zeal, said; I intreat you, my lord, to enquire your self who and whence they are. These are the spawn of Cappadocia, the remains of that wretch George, who have put Alexandria and the whole world into confusion. The Emperor hearing these words, spurred his horse forward. The Arians returned a second time, and said; We have matters wherewith to charge Athanasius, and evidences to prove our accusations. Ten, nay twenty years ago, he was banished by Constantine and Constantius, of eternal memory, and by the most beloved of God, the most philosophical, and most happy Julian. Accusations, answered the Emperor Jovian, of ten and twenty years standing are worn out. Talk to me no more of Athanasius, I know why he was accused, and how he was banished.

LVII.
The solicitations of the Arians against Athanasius.
Acta ap. ij.
Ath. to. 2.
p. 27.
Soz. vi. c. 5.

THE Arians returned a third time, and said; We have still certain other accusations against Athanasius. The Emperor replied, It cannot be known who is in the right amidst the croud and confusion of voices, chuse two persons from among you, and as many from among the people; for I am not able to answer every one of you in particular. Those that were among the people said: These are the remains of that party of the impious George, who have oppressed our province. The Arians said: We beseech you name any person except Athanasius. I told you before, replied the Emperor, that what relates to Athanasius is already determined. And then, flying into a passion, he called out to his guards in latin, *Feri, feri*, that is, Strike, strike. Alas, said the Arians, if you send Athanasius our city is undone, no body will assemble with him. However, answered the Emperor, I have taken pains to be thoroughly informed, and I know that his opinions are good, and that he is orthodox, and that he teaches sound doctrine. It is true, said

A. D. 363. said the Arians, that he utters what is plausible with his mouth, but the thoughts of his heart are not right. It is sufficient, replied the Emperor, that you bear witness, that he speaks and teaches well. If his thoughts are bad, he is to give an account to GOD. We men judge by words; it is GOD only that knows the heart. Give orders, said the Arians, that we may have liberty to meet together. Who hinders you? said he. He calls us, my lord, said they, hereticks and dogmatists. It is his duty, replied the Emperor, and theirs who teach sound doctrine. My lord, we cannot bear it, replied the Arians; he has taken away the Church lands from us. It is out of interest, said the Emperor, then, that you come hither, and not through zeal for the faith. Be gone, continued he, and live at peace. And afterwards: Go to church; you will have a meeting to morrow, after which each shall subscribe what he believes. There are Bishops here; and likewise Athanasius himself: They who are not sufficiently informed in the faith may be instructed by him. You have to morrow and next day; for I am going to the field.

AN advocate of the sect of the Cynicks, said to the Emperor: My lord, the treasurer, at the instance of the Bishop Athanasius, hath taken away my houses. If the Treasurer said the Emperor has seized on your houses, what has that to do with Athanasius? Another advocate named Petalas, said: I have an accusation to prefer against Athanasius. And you, said the Emperor, who are a Pagan, what business have you with the Christians? Some of the people of Antioch took Lucius and brought him before the Emperor, saying, Pray, my lord, look, what sort of man they would have made a Bishop; for very probably his outward appearance was not promising: However, Lucius presented himself again before the Emperor, at the gate of his palace, and besought him to give ear to him. The Emperor stopped, and said: Tell me, Lucius, how came you hither, by land or by sea? By sea, answered Lucius. Hear what I say to you, Lucius, replied the Emperor: May the god of the world, and may the sun, and the moon, punish them that came with you, for not throwing you into the sea; may the vessel that brought you never have a fair wind, and in a storm may it never find a harbour. The Arians by means of Euzoius, had intreated Probatius and the other eunuchs of the palace to recommend them: But the Emperor understanding it, caused the eunuchs to be severely chastised, and said: If any body solicits against the Christians, let him be used in the same manner. The

Soz. vi. c. 5. Emperor extremely satisfied with the conversation of St. Athanasius, sent him back into Egypt to govern the Churches, and retained a great esteem for his capacity and virtue.

LVIII.
St. Athanasius at Thebais.

ST. Athanasius in this time of peace, may be supposed to have visited the Churches in the Upper Thebais. Going up the Nile, he came by boat to Tabenna, where was the monastery of St. Pachomius. This saint had a great respect and affection for St. Athanasius, as knowing the sanctity of his life, the great persecutions which he had undergone for the faith, as also his charity, which extended to all the world, and particularly to the Monks. He

He made haste, therefore, with all his Monks, to meet the holy Archbishop, A. D. 363. and they received him with great joy, singing hymns and psalms: But St. Pachomius kept himself concealed in the croud, without presenting himself to him, because he knew that Aprio Bishop of Tentyra in that neighbourhood, had frequently mentioned him to St. Athanasius, as an admirable person, and a true servant of God, begging, that he would promote him to the priesthood. * St. Pachomius had at that time a great number of disciples, whom he had received by the express order of God, repeated three times by the ministry of angels; and he governed them by the rule which he received from Heaven, written upon a table; the chief articles of which are as follows: Every one of them was to eat and fast according to their strength; and labour was appointed in the same proportion: They lodged in different cells, three in a cell; but had but one kitchen and refectory. Their dress was a tunick called *Lebitone*; it was made of flax without sleeves, but with a cowl; they wore a girdle, and over the tunick, the skin of a white goat, called in Greek *μείλotes*, which covered the shoulders; they wore both at meals, and also when they slept; but when they received the communion, they left off the *Melote* and the girdle, wearing only the tunick. At meals, they covered their heads with their cowls, that they might not see each other; they observed a profound silence; and the guests did not eat with the community. The Novices spent three years before they studied things of the greatest perfection, during which they were contented to labour in simplicity. The whole monastery was divided into four and twenty companies, each of which bore the name of one of the letters of the Greek alphabet, with a secret meaning relating to the manners of those that belonged to it. The most simple, for example, were ranged under the *Iota*, which is the figure I; the most untractable were under the *Xi*, or the figure Ξ , to the end that the Abbot might more easily inform himself of the state of every one in so great a multitude, by enquiring of the respective superiors in this mysterious language, which was known only to the most advanced in spiritual knowledge. In short, the angel who spoke to St. Pachomius, ordered him to say twelve prayers in the day, twelve at evening, and as many in the night. He thought this too little; but the angel answered, as much is ordered as the weak can with ease perform: the perfect are not limited to this rule; for they pray, without ceasing, in their cells.

Sup. lib. 10.
n 8.
Vita. S. Pach.
c. 22.

St. Pachomius then began to receive all those who applied themselves to him to perform penance; but did not admit them to the company of the Monks, till after a long probation. He set them an example by his own austerity, although the care of the whole monastery lay upon him: He served at table, worked in the garden, answered those who knocked at the

LIX.

St. Pachomius.

* See Tillemont, Tom. vij. in St. Pacome, where it appears, that no great stress is to be laid upon the miracles here related, but particularly That concerning the table of his rule, &c. upon which he says, On a sujet de craindre—Que on n'ait insuite ajouté qu'il avoit receu de cet ange la regle qu'il faisoit observer, & qu'il avoit fait écrire. Besides, he tells us, that there is no account of this rule's being delivered by an angel, in the Greek, and some of the Latin copies; and that the authors, who assert it, are not agreed about the articles in the table.

gate,

A. D. 363. gate, and assisted the sick day and night. His three first disciples were Psen-
theffus, Suris, and Obsis. The most eminent after these were Pecusius,
Cornelius, Paul, another Pachomius, and John. He intrusted these with
the care of the monasteries who were the most capable. On festival days,
they sent for the Priests from the neighbouring villages, to celebrate the
holy mysteries at their cells; for St. Pachomius would not suffer his Monks
to take orders, saying, that it was better for them that there should be no
occasions of envy and vanity among them: However, he admitted into his
monastery such as had been formerly ordained by the Bishops, and made use
of their ministry; he received them with respect, although they lay under a
suspicion of having committed some crime, leaving them to be judged by
the Bishops.

AMONG the great numbers of those who placed themselves under his
direction, there were old men, children, and persons of all conditions. Ac-
cordingly he governed them in a different manner, as their strength and dis-
positions required. Some worked for a maintenance; others served the com-
munity; they did not eat all at the same time, but each as their labour or
devotion gave them opportunity; only he exhorted them all to obedience,
as the shortest way to arrive at perfection. He appointed particular superi-
ours, to relieve himself, over each Tribe or Convent, which all together con-
tained several thousands of Monks. If any of these superiours were absent,
in such case he took his business upon him, as being the servant of all; and
carefully visited their monastery.

c. 26.

SEEING some poor people in the neighbourhood, whose business it was
to breed cattle, deprived of the holy sacraments, and reading the Scriptures;
he resolved, in concert with St. Aprio Bishop of Tentyra, to build a church
in their village, which was almost desolate. And as there was yet no Reader
or other Clerk ordained to perform Divine service in this new church, he
went thither with his Monks at the proper time for Ecclesiastical assemblies,
and read the holy Scripture; neither was he ashamed at his age, to perform
this function, although one of the lowest in the Church; and he read with
such attention and devotion as made the people look upon him rather as an
angel than a man. By this means he brought many over to the Christian
Faith; for he was very zealous for the conversion of the Pagans; and as
great an enemy to the hereticks, especially to Origen, whom he looked upon
as such, because of the errors that had been imbibed by those who had read
his works. This was the state of St. Pachomius when St. Athanasius visited
Thebais.

c. 27. 44.

LX.
*The monastery
of St. Pachomius's sister.*
c. 28.

ST. Pachomius's sister hearing of the wonders which he wrought, came to
his monastery to visit him; but he ordered the porter to give her this answer:
Sister, you know now I am alive and in good health, depart in peace; and
be not afflicted that I do not behold you with the eyes of the body: If you
desire to follow my way of life, think well upon it; and if I perceive that
your resolution is fixed, I will cause a habitation to be built for you, where
you may dwell with decency; and I doubt not but the LORD will incline
others

others to follow your example. His sister having heard these words, wept bitterly, and being pricked with remorse, resolved to serve GOD. St. Pachomius, by the assistance of his Brethren, built her a monastery at some distance from his own, the Nile running between them; and in a little time she became the mother of a great number of religious women. St. Pachomius committed the care thereof to an ancient and holy man, called Peter, who from time to time was to visit those servants of GOD, in order to instruct them, and by his exhortations to administer comfort to them. He gave them a rule, and formed their lives exactly according to that of his Monks. If any of the Brethren had in the monastery of these virgins, a sister or relation, whom he desired to see, one of the Elders of the monastery of the most approved virtue was sent with him. At first he applied himself to the superiour, and in her presence, and that of some others who were advanced in years, he saw his relation with the utmost modesty, nor did he give her or receive from her any present. If they wanted any Monks for building, or any kind of labour, they were put under the government of men of well-tried virtue, who were appointed for that purpose; they laboured in the fear of GOD, and returned to their monastery at meals, avoiding eating or drinking with them. When one of the sisterhood died, the rest prepared every thing that was necessary for her funeral, and carried her to the bank of the river that separated the two monasteries, singing psalms, as was the custom. Then the Monks went over with branches of palm trees, and olives, and carried her, singing as they went along, to the other side of the river, and joyfully interred her in their burying places.

St. Pachomius had likewise the gift of miracles. A woman of the city of Tentyra, who had been long afflicted with an issue of blood, being informed of the virtue of St. Pachomius, applied herself to the Confessor Dionysius, Presbyter and Treasurer of the Church of Tentyra, who was a particular friend to the holy man; and she desired him to send for him, as upon some necessary business. St. Pachomius being come to the Church, and having prayed some time, saluted Dionysius, and sat down by him. While they were talking together, the woman, full of Faith, came behind him trembling with fear and respect, touched the cowl with which his head was covered, and was immediately healed. She fell down upon her face, and gave thanks to GOD; and having received the blessing of the Priest Dionysius, she returned to her own home. A certain man seeing St. Pachomius at the door of his monastery, though at a great distance, ran to him and threw himself at his feet, beseeching him to deliver his daughter from the evil spirit which tormented her. He left him at the door, and going in, ordered the porter to say thus to him: It is not our custom to converse with women; but if you have any of your daughters cloaths, send them to me, I will bless them, and send them back to you; trusting in JESUS CHRIST she shall be delivered. A tunick therefore of the young woman's was brought to him, but he looked upon it with a severe countenance, saying, This is not her garment. The father assured him it was. St. Pachomius

LXI.
Miracles of
St. Pachomius.

c. 36.

A. D. 363. continued: I know very well that it is hers; but she hath made a vow of virginity and hath not kept it; wherefore I said it was not her proper garment. Let her promise you, in the presence of GOD, to live henceforth a life of chastity, and JESUS CHRIST will heal her. The father being grievously afflicted, examined his daughter, who confessed her crime, and promised him with an oath, never to be guilty of the like again. Then St. Pachomius prayed for her, and sent her some oyl, which he had blessed; and as soon as she was anointed therewith, she was healed.

c. 37.

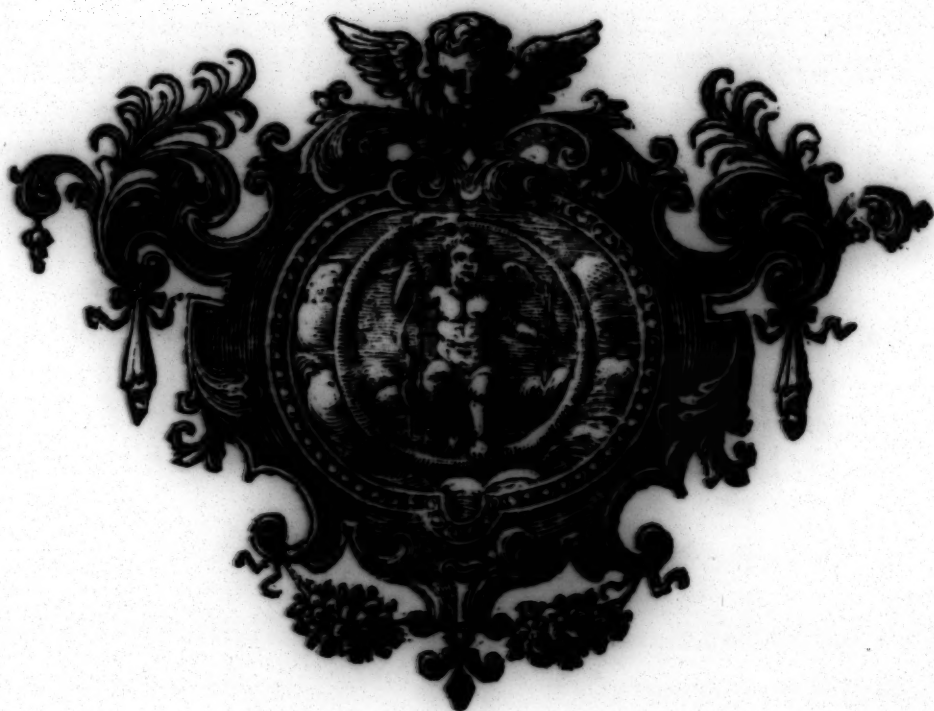
ANOTHER man having a son who was possessed, repaired to St. Pachomius; who gave him a loaf that had been blessed, earnestly advising him to make the possessed person eat a little of it before his meals. Accordingly, the father gave him some; but the devil would not suffer him to taste it; and having other bread before him, he took a handful and began to eat it. The father broke the bread that had been blessed into small crumbs, which he hid in some dates, out of which he had taken the stones, and gave his son nothing else to eat but these dates; but the possessed opened them, threw away the crumbs of bread, not touching the dates, and resolved to fast: Then the father let him go without nourishment several days. At length, being pressed by hunger, he took some of the bread that had been blessed, then fell asleep, and was delivered. St. Pachomius healed many other diseased persons; but when GOD did not hear his prayer, he was not grieved; being persuaded that he is often more merciful in refusing, than in granting our petitions.

VARUS Bishop of Panos, wrote to St. Pachomius, intreating him to come and found some monasteries near his city. He complied with his request, and by the way visited all the monasteries under his government. When he came to Panos with his Monks, the Bishop received him with abundance of respect, made a great feast upon the occasion, and appointed him places for building the monasteries. The saint joyfully laboured hereon; but as they were making a wall to inclose the building, certain profligate wretches came in the night and pulled down what had been built in the day time. The aged saint exhorted his disciples patiently to bear it; but GOD punished this action; and these wicked men being got together to repeat their crime, were burnt by an angel, and consumed in such a manner, that they were never seen any more. The building being finished, St. Pachomius left some of his Monks there, appointing Samuel, a person of a chearful temper and of great frugality, to be their superiour. And because these monasteries were near the city, he continued there a long time himself, till this new settlement was well established.

c. 45.

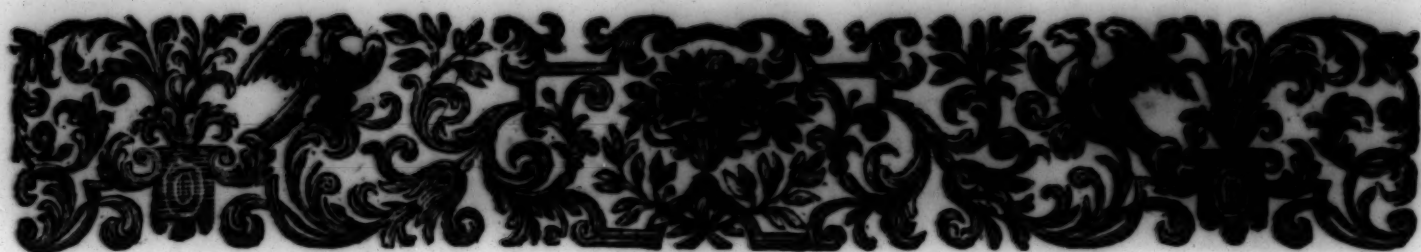
HE had the gift of Prophecy; and GOD, among other things, discovered to him the state of his monasteries after his death: That they should be greatly multiplied, and that some of the Monks should be stedfast in their piety and abstinence; but that many should grow remiss and be utterly lost: That this evil should chiefly happen through the negligence of the superiours, who, not trusting in GOD, but endeavouring to please the multi-

multitude, should sow discord, and retain nothing but the habit of Monks: A. D. 363. That the worst getting possession of the government, there should arise envyings and strifes among them: That they would be ambitious of getting into offices, and the choice would no longer be made by merit, but seniority: That the good would no longer be allowed to speak, but remaining silent and peaceable, should nevertheless be persecuted. St. Pachomius being extremely afflicted at this revelation, was comforted by a heavenly vision, wherein JESUS CHRIST himself appeared to him, surrounded with his angels.



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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XVI.

†††



JOVIAN staid but a little while at Antioch, departing A. D. 364. thence in the latter end of the year 363, in the midst of winter, in order to proceed to Constantinople: He went to Tarsus, where he gave orders for the beautifying and adorning Julian's monument, and got to Ancyra in Galatia on New year's day 364, and there took upon him the consular habit, making his son Varronian, a minor, his colleague. I. The Death of Jovian. Valentinian and Valens Emperors. Amm. xxv. c. ult.

Jovian being come to Dadaftana on the confines of Galatia, and Bithynia, was found dead in the night preceeding the seventeenth of February. It was supposed that he was choaked with the smoke of some charcoal that was set in his room to warm and air it. Some were likewise of opinion, that his death was in a great measure caused by indigestion; for his appetite was proportionable to his size; and he was accused of being given to wine. He died in his thirty third year, having reigned not quite eight months; his body was sent to Constantinople, in order to be interred among the Emperors. Socr. iij. c. ult.

THE army being come to Nice, the capital of Bithynia, they unanimously chose Valentinian Emperor, who commanded the second company of the *Scutarii*, and had staid behind at Ancyra. There was an *Interregnum* of ten days before he arrived and had been solemnly invested with the imperial robe, which was not done till the twenty sixth of February. Valentinian was born at Cibala in Pannonia, of a mean family; but his father had rose through all the military degrees, to the dignity of *Præfectus*. Amm. xxvi. c. 1. Victor. Epit. fectus

A.D. 364. *festus Prætorii*. The son had an undaunted resolution, a peircing wit, a pleasing countenance, and his discourse was graceful. Julian banished him, as hath been related, for his bold manner of confessing the faith, when he struck the door-keeper of the idol temple, who sprinkled him with lustral water. The very day of his election, the soldiers endeavouring to force him to make choice of a colleague, he said to them: It was in your power whether you would chuse me for Emperor; but since I am so, it is my business to judge what most conduces to the publick advantage. However the Empire being attacked on all sides by the barbarians, he at length resolved to take a colleague; and as he was deliberating on the choice of one, Dagalaifus general of the horse, said to him: If you love your relations, there is your brother; if you love your people, look out for some body else. However he chose his bother Valens; and as soon as he came to Constantinople, declared him Emperor, a month after his own election, on the fifth of the calends of April, that is the twenty eight of March. Valens was a Christian as well as his brother; but had not yet received baptism. They divided the empire, the army, and the officers between them; the chief authority being still vested in Valentinian, who took the west for his share, as the part most violently assaulted by the barbarians, leaving the east to Valens. Having passed the winter at Constantinople, they advanced together to Sirmium in Pannonia, where they parted; Valentinian set forward towards Milan, and Valens returned to Constantinople.

IN this year 364, in which Jovian and Varronian are set down as consuls, they published several laws in favour of Christianity. They took off the prohibition of instructing youth, allowing any to teach who were qualified for it; and forbad nocturnal sacrifices and magick rites. However Pretextatus, who was pro-consul of Greece, and a very zealous Pagan, having remonstrated that the Pagans would think life a burden, were the customs of their fore-fathers abolished, they were allowed to follow them, provided that they made no new additions. For the design of the law was to abolish the use of human sacrifices, and the barbarous ceremonies of magick. The Emperors, even at first, allowed every one in general the free exercise of their religion. And as the Christians, being now at liberty, were inclined to destroy and pull down the idol temples, the Emperors let guards be placed about them, on condition that no Christians were employed in that service; as appears by a rescript in the year 365, directed to Symmachus a Pagan, the Præfect of Rome. Although all the laws that were enacted under the joint reign of the two Emperors, bear the names of both according to custom, all those published in the west are to be ascribed to Valentinian. Thus Valentinian made that law which is addressed to Viventius Præfect of Gaul, by which all such as made a vow of perpetual chastity, all widows that were so far advanced in years as to be past hopes of marrying again, minors of both sexes until they attained the age of twenty years, and all women in general till they were married, are exempted from the capitation tax. He likewise forbad the officers of justice to prosecute the Christians in any case on sundays. He ordained, that in respect to Easter-day the prison doors should be set open to such as were not

Sup. lib. xv.
n. 9.

Theod. iv.
hist. c. 5.
Sozom. vi.
c. 6.

Amm. xxvi.
c. 4.

Theod. iv.
c. 12.

Amm. lib.
xxvi. c. 5.

L. 6. de.
med. & prof.
C.
Theod. lib.
xiii. l. 7. C.
Th. de.
males. lib.
ix. 9.
Zozim. lib.
iv. p. 735,
736.
L. ix. ibid.
de. males.

L. iv. C.
Th. de.
cenfr. lib.
xiii.
L. i. de.
execut. lib.
viii. l. 10.
de. exact.
Lib. xi. C.
Theod. L. iii.
l. 4. C.
Th. de.
indulg. l. ix.
l. i. C.
Theod. de
pœn.

not guilty of sacrilege, treason, or other hainous crimes, amongst which he reckoned adultery. And he forbad criminals being condemned to serve as gladiators in publick shews.

THE Emperor Valentinian entred Milan on the first of June 364, where he spent the greatest part of the year 365. St. Hilary was there likewise, and together with St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, defended the Catholick faith against Auxentius the Arian Bishop of Milan. Auxentius applied first to the Emperor, complaining that Hilary and Eusebius were seditious persons, and calumniators, who had falsely accused him of Arianism, although he taught nothing but the Catholick faith. The Emperor being willing to settle peace and unity, published an edict, positively prohibiting any to raise disturbances in the church of Milan. St Hilary opposed this edict, representing to the Emperor, that Auxentius was a blasphemer, and an enemy to JESUS CHRIST, and did not believe as the Emperor imagined. Valentinian moved with this remonstrance, ordered that they should assemble with other Bishops, about ten in number, in the presence of the questor, and master of the offices. Auxentius in this conference began to cavil, and start objections as in a secular court; saying, that Hilary ought not to be heard as a Bishop, he having been condemned by Saturninus at the council of Beziers. St. Hilary could very well clear himself from this accusation; and the commissioners were of opinion, that without staying to consider these objections, they should proceed to treat of the faith, according to the Emperor's order. Auxentius finding himself closely pressed, and seeing the danger to which he exposed himself, by denying the Catholick faith, declared that he believed JESUS CHRIST to be very GOD, of the same Divinity and of the same substance with the Father. For fear what had been said should escape the memory of those who were present at the conference, St. Hilary immediately presented a writing by the questor to the Emperor, containing what had been agreed to, and all were of opinion that Auxentius ought publickly to make the same confession. He was therefore obliged to put it down in writing; but after he had long studied upon it, he found means to abuse the sincerity and good intentions of the Emperor, in a writing drawn up as follows:

To the most happy and most glorious Emperors, Valentinian and Valens the august, Auxentius Bishop of the Catholick church of Milan. I conceive, most pious Emperors, that the reconciliation procured by the great labour and pains of six hundred Bishops, ought not to be rendered ineffectual by the disputes of certain private persons, who were rejected ten years ago, as is proved in writing. This union of so many Bishops is the council of Rimini, and they who were rejected are Hilarius and Eusebius of Vercellæ, condemned and banished by the Arian faction in 355. Auxentius continues; I never knew Arius, I never had a sight of him, nor am I acquainted with his doctrine; but have believed from a child as I have been instructed, and as I have been informed by the Holy Scriptures; I have believed, I say, and do believe in one true GOD, the almighty Father, invifible, impassible, immortal; and in his Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, born of the Father before all worlds, and before any beginning, GOD; the true Son of GOD the Father, as it is written in the gospel. He adds what relates to the incarnation and the

II.
St. Hilary's
conference
with Auxen-
tius.
Gothof.
Chron. Cod.
Theod.
Hilar. cont.
Aux. n. 7.

Sup. l. xii.
St. Hilary n. 42.

Ap. Hilar.
p. 1270.
Nov. edit.
1693.

A. D. 364. Holy Ghost. Then he proceeds: I never preached two Gods; for there is not two fathers to call them two Gods, nor two sons, but one only son of one only father, God of God as it is written; There is one only God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one only LORD JESUS CHRIST, by whom are all things. The Catholick Bishops have always in their assemblies condemned heresies; but especially in the council of Rimini. And to the end that you may be the more thoroughly informed of what hath passed therein, I have sent you the acts of this council, and beg that you would be pleased to have them read to you. You will thereby see that they who have been long since deposed, that is Hilary and Eusebius, endeavour to make a schism in all places: For you know very well that we ought no longer to attempt making a new exposition of the Catholick faith, which hath been once thoroughly explained according to the Holy Scriptures.

1 Cor viii.
5.

III.
St. Hilary
writes
against
Auxentius.
Hilar. n. 10.

AUXENTIUS having delivered in this writing, a report was spread among the people, that he had acknowledged JESUS CHRIST to be very God, of the same Divinity and substance with the Father; and that St. Hilary's exposition of the faith was not different in its meaning from his: So that the Emperor believing Auxentius to be really a Catholick, embraced his communion. But St. Hilary still maintained that it was all hypocrisy, that the faith was overthrown, and that they mocked both God and man. Whereupon the Emperor Valentinian ordered him to leave Milan. He obeyed; and being now deprived of any other means of defending the truth, published a treatise in writing, directed to all the Catholicks, both Bishops and people, wherein he displays all the artifices of Auxentius. He proves at first, that they ought not to be deceived by the specious title of union, and that the Church doth not stand in need of any temporal support; which he explains in this manner.

In. Aux.
n. 3.

Act. xvi. 25.

THE misery and error of our times are much to be lamented, wherein it is believed that God wanteth the assistance of man; and worldly power is courted for the defence of the Church of CHRIST. I beseech you, who imagine your selves Bishops, what assistance had the apostles recourse to, for the preaching of the gospel? What assisted them in declaring the name of CHRIST, bringing over almost every nation from idolatry to the worship of God? Did they send for any officers of the court when they sung and praised God in the prison, in chains, and after they had been scourged? Did St. Paul establish the Church of CHRIST by the Emperor's edicts, when he himself was exposed in the theatre? I suppose he was protected by Nero, Vespasian, or Decius, whose malice increased the lustre of the heavenly doctrine. When they subsisted by their labour, when they met together secretly in upper chambers; when they travelled through towns and cities, and almost all nations, in journeys by sea as well as by land, notwithstanding the decrees of the senate, and the edicts of the rulers. I suppose they had not then the keys of the kingdom of heaven. On the contrary, did not the power of God manifestly appear, in opposition to the malice of evil men, in as much as the preaching JESUS CHRIST the more increased the more strictly such preaching was forbidden: But now, alas! the Divine faith is recommended by worldly advantages, and by endeavouring to add authority to the name of CHRIST, they make people believe that it is of it self weak. The Church threateneth

threatneth banishment and imprisonment, and she attempts to force men in- A. D. 364.
to a belief of her doctrine, who hath established her doctrine by suffering,
banishment, and imprisonments. She waits for peoples joining in commu-
nion with her as for a favour, after she hath been confirmed by despising the
terrors of persecution; she banishes the Bishops after she hath been increased
by the banishment of them; she glories in being loved by the world, who
cannot belong to CHRIST unless she be hated of the world. Such is the
church compared with that committed to our charge; and which we now
suffer to run to ruin.

ST. Hilary afterwards relates what had been done at Milan, and lays open
the artifices of the writings of Auxentius. First, saith he, he calls the
confession of faith of Nice in Thrace holy, which was forcibly extorted,
and universally rejected. Auxentius did not name Nice in Thrace, but ^{n. 8.}
the form of Rimini, on which he insisteth, was in effect the same. St. Hi- ^{Sup. lib. xiv.}
lary continues: He saith that he knows not Arius, although he was or- ^{n. 13, 14.}
dained Priest of Alexandria, in the Arian church, over which Gregory pre-
sided. It was agreed amongst them, that it should be written that JESUS
CHRIST is very GOD, of the same Divinity and the same Substance with
the Father: However he ranges these words, with a diabolical artifice, say-
ing, that JESUS CHRIST is born before all time, that he is GOD, true
Son, to the intent that according to the sense of the Arians, true may
be referred to Son, and not to GOD. The ambiguity of the latin words
cannot easily be expressed in our language: *Deum verum filium*, where *ve-*
rum may as well relate to the word that goes before, as to that which fol-
lows. St. Hilary proceeds; and, still further to prove the difference of this
expression, it is added: Of one true God the Father, to shew that the Fa-
ther is true GOD, and that JESUS CHRIST is truly no more than the
Son. In the following part of the discourse Auxentius saith, that there is
but one Divinity, and doth not attribute it to the Son, but to the Father ^{n. 11.}
only. He saith he doth not teach two Gods, because there is not two
Fathers. Who doth not see that the Divinity is set forth as belonging
only to the Father? From whence he concludes in the stile of Satan, we ac-
knowledge one only true GOD the Father. And again, the Son, accord-
ing to the scriptures, like the Father who hath begotten him. If this is any
where to be found in the sacred writings, he may be cleared: But if the
Father and Son are one by the truth of the Divinity, why is the imperfect
opinion of the resemblance preferred? It is true JESUS CHRIST is the
image of GOD; and so is man. You stile JESUS CHRIST GOD: Moses ^{Exod. vii. 1.}
is called the GOD of Pharaoh, You call JESUS CHRIST Son and first born
of GOD: Israel also is called his first born. You say JESUS CHRIST was ^{Exod. iv. 22.}
born before the beginning of time; the devil also was created before the be-
ginning of time and ages. You only refuse to acknowledge JESUS CHRIST
to be what he is; that is true GOD, of the same Divinity and the same
Substance with the Father. If you believe so why have you not written it
simply? and if not, why have you not simply denied it? He had before ob-
served that since the Arians concealed their opinions, under these artful
expressions, the Catholicks under their government could not perish, because
they

A. D. 364. they judged of the faith of these false teachers by their words ; so that the ears of the people, faith he, are purer than the hearts of their Bishops.

n. 12. HE concludes by exhorting the Catholicks to shun the communion of the Arians. It is not right, faith he, to be so fond of the walls to pay a reverence to the buildings of the church, and earnestly to recommend the name of union upon this consideration. Is it to be doubted that antichrist shall sit in the same places ? The mountains, the forests, the lakes, prisons, and gulfs are, in my opinion, more safe, since the spirit of God did there inspire the prophets. St. Hilary speaketh thus, in opposition to such as chose rather to assemble with the Arians, than leave the places where they were wont to pray, and assemble in the country and in unfrequented places, as was usual in the east. Thus did this holy Bishop resist Auxentius, preserving

Vita St. Hil.
in edit. an.
1693.
Pagi. ad an.
369. n. 3.

always a great respect towards the Emperor. He returned to Poitiers where he died in peace, in the fourth year of Valentinian, and in the year of CHRIST 367. A book was preserved there, containing the gospels written in Greek with his own hand, where St. John was placed next after St. Matthew. His sepulcher was for several ages famous for many miracles which were wrought there ; and in several ancient sacramentaries we find his name in the canon of the mass in the first rank after the martyrs. St. Eusebius of Vercellæ died some time after ; at least we hear nothing more of him after this dispute : And Auxentius was likewise opposed by Philaster Bishop of Brescia, and by Evagrius a Priest in Antioch, who came into Italy with St. Eusebius.

Gaud. vita
S. Philastr.
Hier. ep. 48.

IV. IN the beginning of this reign the Bishops of Hellepont and Bithynia, and the rest of the Macedonians or Semi-arians, obtained permission of the Emperors, to meet together in order to reform the doctrine of the faith. They held their council at Lampfacus, a city bordering on the straits of the Hellepont, in the seventh year after that of Seleucia, in the consulship of the two Emperors Valentinian and Valens, that is in the year 365. They here spent two months in debates, and at length ordained, that what had been done at Constantinople in 360, at the instigation of Eudoxius and Acacius, the chief of the Anomæans, should be void ; that no regard should be any longer had to the exposition of faith which had been introduced by the western Bishops, that is the form of Rimini. That they should maintain that the Son is like the Father in Substance ; and that the addition of *like* was necessary to denote the difference of the *Hypostases*. That all churches should follow the confession of faith of Seleucia, proposed before at the dedication of the church of Antioch. That those who had been deposed by the Anomæans, should resume their sees, as being unjustly deprived ; and if any one should accuse them, he should undergo the same penalty, if his accusation should be proved a calumny. And that the judges in this case should be orthodox Bishops of the country, who should assemble with those of the neighbouring provinces in the church, where the witnesses who were to give in their evidences of the character and behaviour of the person accused, should appear. This is what was ordained by the Bishops of the council of Lampfacus. They afterwards sent for the Anomæans, and offered to admit them to penance : but they not complying, the Semi-arians notified their decrees to all the churches.

The council of
Lampfacus.
Socr. iv. 2, 4
Sozom. vi.
c. 7. v.
Pagi, Anno
365. n. 2.
Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 22.

Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 16. xii.
n. 11.

THEY very early foresaw that Eudoxius would endeavour to bring the court over to his party; they therefore resolved to prevent him, and repaired to the Emperor Valens at Heraclea, to inform him of what had passed at Lampfacus. But Eudoxius had already gained the Emperor and those who were about him; so that when the deputies of the council of Lampfacus made their address to the Emperor, he exhorted them to have no difference with Eudoxius; and they excusing themselves, and complaining of the fraudulent practices at Constantinople, and the artifices by which the decrees of the synod of Seleucia had been overthrown; he flew into a passion, sent them into banishment, and ordered that Eudoxius's party should have Churches.

THUS did he begin to persecute the Semi-Arians and Catholics; but this first persecution was broken off by the civil war against Procopius, who was that relation of Julian's whom he had appointed his successor, and who had taken care of his funeral. He had since lain concealed, remaining some time near Chalcedon, at a country seat belonging to the heretick Eudomius: from whence he secretly got to Constantinople, and taking advantage of the absence of Valens who was in the East, and of the odium cast upon him by the avarice and cruelty of his father-in-law Petronius, he caused himself to be declared Emperor on the twenty eighth of September, in the same year 365. Valens had marched towards Syria to oppose the Persians, if they should attempt to break the truce, and had stopped at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. He returned immediately to oppose Procopius, who at first gained some advantages; but he was at length deserted by his own men, in a battle fought at Nicolia in Phrygia; whence escaping into the woods, he was seized by two of his officers, and brought to Valens, who ordered his head to be cut off on the twenty seventh of May 366, otherwise the sixth of the calends of June, in the consulship of Gratian, son of Valentinian and Dagalaiphus.

VALENS being in the East, was resolved to punish the Philosopher Maximus; who had perverted Julian, and governed him to the end of his life, by his delusions and impostures: Besides, Valentinian had been accused by him to Julian, as guilty of impious practices against the Pagan Religion. Valens, therefore, commanded Maximus to be brought before him, with Priscus, who not being found guilty, was dismissed, and so returned into Greece. As for Maximus, the people exclaimed against him in the theatres, and many complained to the Emperor of his ill conduct: He was condemned to pay a considerable fine, they being persuaded that he had amassed a great sum by indirect means. He was likewise cruelly tortured; and in order to deliver himself from the pain, he ordered his wife, who was present, to buy him some poison, which she would needs drink first herself, and was killed by it: Maximus drank none, but was delivered by Clearchus, who was made Proconsul of Asia, at the time of Procopius's rebellion; and who even prevailed with the Emperor Valens to mitigate his fine and set him at liberty. Thus did Maximus escape for this time. The Physician Oribasius, another great friend of Julian's, was stripped of his wealth and sent into banishment, among the Barbarians.

V.
The rebellion
of Procopius,
and his death.
Sup. lib. xv.
n. 44.
Philost. ix.
c. 5.

Idac. fast.

Amm. xxvj.
c. 9.

A. D. 366.

Idac. Fast.

Zosim. lib.
iv. p. 753.

Eunap. in
Max. p. 98.

Liban. Or.
Fun. p. 327.

Eunap.
Oribas. p.
173.

A. D. 366. THE civil war not lasting above six months, Valens soon began again to disturb those who were not of the same opinion with him in matters of religion. He was extremely incensed against the Bishops of the council of Lampascus, because they had condemned the Arians and the Form of Rimini. In this fit of passion he sent for Eleusius of Cyzicus; and having assembled certain Arian Bishops, pressed him to embrace their communion. At first Eleusius boldly withstood him; but at length the fear of banishment and of losing his estate, brought him to comply with all their desires. But he immediately repented; and having returned to Cyzicus, confessed his sin before all the people, complaining, with tears, of the violence that had been offered to him, and admonishing them to make choice of another Bishop: But the people of Cyzicus had so great a reverence for his virtue, that they could not be induced to appoint him a successor. The Catholics of Constantinople, that is, those who professed the Nicene Creed, received no better treatment than the Semi-Arians: The Novatians were included with them in the persecution, their belief as to the Trinity being the same; and they were forced to leave the city. The Emperor commanded the churches of the Novatians to be shut up; for the Catholics, indeed, never had any since they were deprived of them by Constantius.

VII. THE Semi-Arians seeing themselves thus persecuted by Eudoxius and the pure Arians, and not being allowed to assemble in any one place, held divers lesser councils at Smyrna, Pisidia, Isauria, Pamphylia, and Lycia; where they agreed, that they ought in this extremity to have recourse to the Emperor Valentinian, and Liberius Bishop of Rome, and that it was better to embrace the Faith of the Western Bishops, than communicate with Eudoxius's party. They sent, therefore, Eustathius of Sebasta, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabala in Cilicia, with orders not to enter into any dispute with Liberius, concerning the Faith; but to communicate with the Roman Church, and approve the belief of the *Consubstantiality*. The letters which they were to deliver were directed to Liberius Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops of the West; as to persons who, having preserved the Faith uncorrupt ever since the time of the Apostles, were more obliged than any others, to maintain and defend it. The deputies being arrived in Italy, found that the Emperor Valentinian had set out from thence for Gaul at the end of the year 365, to make war on the Barbarians. They did not judge it convenient to follow him into a country, where, by reason of the war, the ways were not open. They stayed therefore at Rome, and delivered the letters which they brought to Liberius the Bishop; who at first would not receive them, looking upon them as Arians, who had given up the Nicene Creed. They replied, they had renounced their error, and that they had long since rejected the belief of the Anomæans, and confessed that the Son was *like* the Father in *all things*; that there was no difference between the terms *Like* and *Consubstantial*. Liberius required them to give him the confession of their Faith in writing, and they delivered him the same which we retain at this day.

THEY therein declared as deputies from the council of Lampfacus to A. D. 366. the Bishop of Rome, and all the Bishops of Italy and the West, that the Creed of the council of Nice ought to be inviolably observed; that the term *Con-* Sozom. vj. c. 11. *substantial* was inserted therein after an holy and religious manner, in opposition to the errors of Arius. They condemn Arius and his impious doctrine, together with his disciples and adherents: They condemn all Hereticks, the Sabellians, the Patropassians, Marcionites, Photinians, Marcel- lians, and Paul of Samosata; their doctrine and all their adherents; in short, all heresies that contradict the Nicene Creed. They particularly condemned the exposition which was read in the council of Rimini, which being brought to Constantinople from Nice in Thrace, was subscribed by those who had been seduced by perjury. Now our Faith, say they, as well as that of the Bishops, from whom we are deputed, is this: We believe in one GOD, &c. then follows at length the Nicene Creed, with their subscriptions; and they continue: If any one, after this exposition of Faith, would prefer any accusation against us, or them from whom we are sent; let him come with letters from your holiness, before such orthodox Bishops as you shall have approved; let us both be heard by them, and let the party that is convicted be punished. The original of this declaration was deposited at Rome. Basil. ep. 82. p. 911. D.

LIBERIUS, having taken these precautions with the deputies of the Eastern Bishops, admitted them to communion with him, and dismissed them with a letter directed to the Bishops from whom they were deputed, with this superscription: To our beloved Brethren and Colleagues, Euthius, Cyril, and others, whose names are there set down, to the number of sixty four; and all the orthodox Bishops of the East, Liberius Bishop of Rome, and the other Bishops of Italy and the West, health in our LORD. Liberius, by thus placing their names before his own, returns them the same compliment which they had payed him. He expresses the joy with which he received the tokens of the purity of their Faith, and their union with all those of the West. He extols the Nicene Creed; he saith, the attempts made by the Arians at the council of Rimini, to shake it, have not had any effect: For, proceeds he, almost all who were led away by violence or fraud, have recovered themselves from their error, anathematized the exposition of Rimini, subscribed the Nicene Creed, and returned to our communion, being animated with greater indignation against the doctrine of Arius, and against his disciples.

LIBERIUS did not long survive this reconciliation of the Eastern Bishops; he died on the eighth of the calends of October, in the consulship of Gratian and Dagalaiphus, *i. e.* on the twenty fourth of September, 366, having sat in the holy See fourteen years, and some months; notwithstanding his fall, his memory was had in veneration, and the most noted Bishops of that time, St. Epiphanius, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose mention him with the usual marks of respect. Damasus, by birth a Spaniard, was elected to succeed him, whose father called Anthony, had been successively Excerptor, or Scribe, Reader, Deacon, and lastly had the office of Presbyter of the Roman Church, to which is annexed the title of St. Laurence. Damasus served in the same Church as his father; and according to the report

V. Vales. ad Socr. p. 40.

VIII. The death of Liberius. — Damasus Pope. Schism of Ursinus. Lib. Marcel. Præf. p. 4. Sup. lib. 111. n. 10. Epiph. Har. 75. n. 2. Bas. ep 74. p. 875. D.

A. D. 366. report of St. Jerome, lived in a perfect state of continence. When Liberius was banished by Constantius, in 355, he was Deacon of the Roman Church, and engaged himself with a solemn oath, with the rest of the Roman Clergy, never to admit any other Bishop during the life of Liberius, whom he attended sometime in his exile at Berœa. He was above sixty years old when he was elected Bishop, and was ordained in the Basilick of Lucina, otherwise called St. Laurence, which title he bore.

Soon after, Ursinus a Deacon also of the Roman Church, who could not bear Damasus's being preferred before him, got together a croud of disorderly and seditious people in another Basilick, and persuaded Paul Bishop of Tibur, a dull ignorant man, to ordain him Bishop, contrary to the rule founded upon general tradition, which required three Bishops for the ordaining of a Bishop; and to the antient custom of the Roman Church, whose Bishop was to be consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia. The people took part in this schism, and a tumult ensued. Juventius Præfect of Rome, and Julian the *Præfectus Annonæ*, or overseer of the markets, banished Ursinus, with the Deacons Amantius and Lupus, his chief abettors; there were likewise seven Presbyters arrested, and ordered to leave the city: But Ursinus's party forced them out of the hands of the officers who were conducting them away, and immediately carried them to the Basilick of Liberius or Sicina, where Ursinus had been ordained; which is now the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. The people that sided with Damasus, came together with swords and clubs, and laid siege to the Basilick the twenty fifth of October, at eight of the clock in the morning, in the same year 366. There was a sharp dispute: the gates of the Basilick were broke open; they set fire thereto, tore off the roof, and a hundred and thirty seven persons of both sexes were found killed. The Præfect Juventius, not being able to appease the tumult, was forced to retire to a house in the country.

Amm. xxvij.
c. 3.

Hier. epist.
61. ad Pam-
mach. c. 3.
Epist. conc.
Rom. an.
378. 10. 2.
conc p. 1001.
Ambr. epist.
21. ad Va-
lentin. al. 13.
ant. 32.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, a pagan author of those times, in relating this story, equally blames both parties; and adds; When I consider the magnificence and grandour of Rome, I do not deny but that those who are ambitious of this dignity, ought to use all their endeavours to arrive at it, since they by this means procure a certain settlement, where they are enriched by the offerings of the ladies; they ride in chariots, richly cloathed; and feast so splendidly, that their table surpasseth even that of Kings. They might be truly happy, if contemning the splendour of Rome, they lived like some Prelates in the provinces, who by the plainness of their diet, their mean apparel, and the modesty of their looks which are turned towards the ground, make themselves acceptable to the eternal GOD and his true worshipers. These last words of Ammianus are more to be credited, than what he saith of the Bishops of Rome. However, they must have had some appearance of pomp and state; since, as St. Jerome reports, Prætextatus, who was afterwards Præfect of Rome, said merrily to the same Damasus: Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian immediately. In the beginning of this schism, Valentinian ordered the Bishop of Rome, with his Colleagues, to enquire into the cases of the other Bishops; and in general, he decreed by a law, that in cases relating to the Faith, or in any Ecclesiastical matters, the judges were to be of equal dignity with the party

party accused; that is, Bishops should be judged by Bishops, and not by the laity. A. D. 366.

EUSTATHIUS and the other deputies from the East, having set out from Rome with Liberius's letter, went into Sicily, and there convened a synod of the Bishops of the country, in whose presence they approved the Nicene Creed and the word *Consubstantial* in the same manner as they had done before at Rome; and the Bishops of Sicily gave them letters agreeable to those of Liberius. Eustathius himself went to Illyricum; and it was he, most probably, who brought over Germinius Bishop of Sirmium from the grosser Arianism; for we have a confession of Faith, in which he declares, that he believes the Son of God to be like the Father in his Divine Nature, Power, Glory, Wisdom, and in every respect. The rest of the Arian Bishops of Illyricum, of whom the chief were Valens, Ursatius, and Palladius, were alarmed at this recantation of Germinius, and wrote to him several letters upon this occasion; one of which is dated the fifteenth of the calends of January, in the consulship of Gratian and Dagalaiphus, *i. e.* the eighteenth of December 366; but Germinius persisted in maintaining, that the Son was like the Father in all things, Innascibility only excepted.

THE deputies of the council of Lampascus being returned into the East, found a council assembled at Tyana, at which were present Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Athanasius of Ancyra, Pelagius of Laodicea, Zeno of Tyre, Paul of Emesa, Otreus of Melitene, the holy and aged Gregory of Nazianzum; and many others who had assisted at the council of Antioch held under Jovian, in the year 363, in which the belief of the *Consubstantiality* was settled and confirmed. In this council of Tyana were read the letters brought by the deputies from Liberius, and the Bishops of Italy, Sicily, Africa, and Gaul; and it may be supposed, that the Western Bishops freely gave them, to wipe out the disgrace brought upon them by the council of Rimini. The fathers of the council were exceedingly rejoiced at it; they restored Eustathius of Sebastia, who had been formerly deposed, and received him as a Catholick Bishop, and wrote to all the Churches of the East to read the decrees of the Bishops of Asia, who had sent those deputies, together with the letters of Liberius and the Western Bishops, and to consider their number. For, said they, you will find that all these Bishops together amount to a much greater number, than they who composed the council of Rimini: They exhorted them therefore to joyn with them in communion, and to publish a declaration in writing to this purpose. They invited them also to assemble at Tarsus in Cilicia before the end of the spring, at a certain day which they mentioned: they chose this season very probably that they might not be troubled with the heat in summer, which is very violent in Cilicia. There were several messengers dispatched for this purpose, especially to the Catholick Bishops; and in this council of Tarsus, the Nicene Creed was to be confirmed and all differences and disputes composed.

But as they were upon the point of meeting together, certain Asiatick Bishops, about 34 in number, assembled in Caria. They commended their zeal for the union of the Churches, but rejected the word *Consubstantial*, and insisted upon adhering to the confession of faith made at the dedication of the Church of Antioch, and that of Seleucia, which they ascribed to the martyr St. Lucian. But there was a more powerful obstacle to the council of Tarsus. The Emperor Valens

IX.

The council of Tyana.

Socr. i. 12.

Epist. Illyr.

ap. Theod.

iv. c. 9.

Hilar. Frag.

13, 14, 15.

Sup. lib. xv.

n. 55.

Bas. 74.

p. 875. D.

Ep. 82. p. 911.

D.

X.

The beginning

of Valens's

persecution.

Soz. vj. c. 12.

at

A. D. 367. at the solicitation of Eudoxius of Constantinople, wrote to the Bishops, forbidding them with threats to hold this council, and moreover ordered the governors of the provinces to force the Bishops that were deposed in the reign of Constantius, and who had returned to their sees in the reign of Julian, to leave their churches. It is believed that this happened in the beginning of the Year 367.

v. Pagi. an.
370. n. 3.

Soc. 4. c. 13.

By virtue of this order, the officers who commanded in Egypt, and especially the Præfect Tatian, attempted to take away the churches from St. Athanasius, and force him to leave Alexandria; for the Emperor's order inflicted great Penalties on the magistrates and officers that served under them; in case of disobedience; as fines, and even corporal punishments. The Christians being assembled, besought the Præfect not to banish the Bishop before he had fully examined the terms of the Emperor's order. The Emperor, said they, requires only those to be driven away who, having been first expelled under Constantius, have returned in the time of Julian. Athanasius was indeed banished under the reign of Constantius, but he also recalled him. Julian, who repealed the banishment of all the rest, persecuted him only; and it was Jovian who recalled him. The Præfect would not yield to these reasons; but the faithful people continued to oppose him, and hindred any violence from being offered to St. Athanasius. Seeing therefore that the people crouded together from all parts, and that the city was filled with disorder, and a sedition ready to break out, he informed the Emperor thereof, and in the mean time suffered St. Athanasius to continue at Alexandria.

MANY days after, the sedition seeming to be appeased, St. Athanasius went out of the city in the night time, and concealed himself in a house in the country. But the same night the Præfect of Egypt, and the general of the troops, seized upon the church, where the Bishop generally lodged; for they thought the people had no further intention of rising; and besides, it was a time when every body was asleep in their beds. They sought for St. Athanasius in every place, even in the uppermost rooms, but returned without success, being much surprized that he could not be found. However he received notice of their coming, whether by an angel, as some believed, or by other natural means, it is certain he retired very opportunely; and it was upon this occasion that he concealed himself in his father's sepulcher. He might stay there without any inconvenience; for the sepulchers of the antients, especially those of the Egyptians, were buildings raised in the open country, and withal so large that there were chambers in them. Thus did St. Athanasius retire the fourth time, lest he should be the occasion of those evils, with which popular commotions are usually attended. He did not continue above four months in this sepulcher; for the Emperor Valens soon ordered him to be recalled. It is supposed, that he gave the command against his inclinations, fearing lest Valentinian his brother, who maintained the Nicene creed, should be offended at his ill treating so great a man; or that his friends, who were very numerous, should attempt something prejudicial to the state. Perhaps the chief of the Arians feared lest St. Athanasius should apply to the Emperors, and should alter the opinion of Valens or raise Valentinian's resentment against him. For they had

had seen the effects of his powerful genius over Constantius, who was very A. D. 367. glad to grant him leave to return, and even pressed his return into Egypt. These are the conjectures of the historian Sozomen. It is certain St. Athanasius was spared in the persecution of Valens, that he continued peaceably in his church, and that Egypt was quiet all the rest of his life; although Lucius often pressed Valens to send him to Alexandria, of which place the Arians had ordained him Bishop; but he was withheld by his apprehensions of the people.

Epiph. Har. 68. n. 19.

VALENS had resolved to march against the Goths, who had passed the Danube, and ravaged Thrace. But before he hazarded his person in this war, he was desirous to receive baptism, which he did accordingly from Eudoxius, the famous Arian, then in possession of the See of Constantinople. At the very time of the ceremony, Eudoxius made him take an oath never to depart from his creed, and in all places to pursue those of the contrary opinion. Thus did Valens wholly deliver himself over to the Arians, with whom his wife Albi Dominica, had first engaged him. The heretick Eunomius had, by Auxentius the *Præfektus Prætorii*, been banished into Mauritania, as having had a part in the conspiracy of Procopius. He travelled in the winter towards the place of his banishment; but being come to Marfa in Pannonia, he was there received with open arms by the Bishop Valens, who was an Arian as well as himself. The Emperor also came thither accompanied with Domnus Bishop of Marcianopolis, who was likewise an Arian. These two Bishops maintained that Eunomius had been wrongfully accused, and represented his misfortune in so moving a manner to the Emperor, that he repealed his sentence. He even desired to see Eunomius, but was prevented by the contrivance of Eudoxius of Constantinople, who without question apprehended his own credit might be lessened thereby. The Emperor Valens persecuted the Catholics more openly three years after, when he found himself at liberty by having concluded the war with the Goths.

Theod. iv. c. 12. Hier. Chr. an. 368.

Philost. ix. c. 8.

IN the mean time the Emperor Valentinian was seized in Gaul with a dangerous distemper, which caused apprehensions that there would be some commotion about the choice of a successor. To prevent which, as soon as he was recovered, he declared his son Gratian, *Augustus*, being then but eight years of age. This happened at Amiens on the ninth of the calends of September, that is the twenty fourth of August of this same year 367. Valentinian had this son by Severa, whom he afterwards divorced, and married Justina, the widow of the tyrant Magnentius, on account of her extraordinary beauty, who brought him a son called, after his own name, Valentinian, and three daughters.

Amm. xxij. or. 6. Zozim. lib. 4. p. 742. Socr. iv. c. 11. Idac. fast. Cang. famil. Byf. Zoz. iv. p. 767. Socr. iv. c. 31.

ABOUT this time St. Hilarion died in the Island of Cyprus, having in vain endeavoured to conceal himself in divers countries. He had stayed a year in the desert of Oasis, when one of his disciples called Adrian, brought him the news of Julian's death, and that a Christian Emperor reigned in his stead, proposing to him to return to his monastery in Palestine. The saint was far from accepting this proposal, and hiring a camel, came to Parætonium, where he went aboard a ship, in order to pass over into Sicily, with one of his disciples, whose name was Zanan. In the midst of the sea, the de-

XI. The travels of St. Hilarion and his death. C. 30.

A. D. 367. vil entred into the son of the master of the ship, and began to cry out : Hilarion, servant of G O D, why do you not let us rest, at least upon the sea ? Give me time to get to land. If my G O D suffers it, replied he, stay ; if he drives you away, why do you vent your rage upon a sinner, and a beggar ? He spoke in this manner lest the mariners and the merchants should discover him on his arrival. The child was delivered soon after, but the saint made the father and the rest of the ship promise not to declare his name to any one. Being come at Pachinum in Sicily, he offered the master of the vessel the gospels, which he had written when young with his own hand, for the payment of his and his disciple's passage. The master refused, and the rather because he saw that all their wealth was this book, and the cloaths which they had upon them.

ST. Hilarion fearing lest he should be discovered by the merchants of the east, travelled up in the country twenty miles from the sea shore, and stopped in an unfrequented place ; where by gathering sticks he made every day a faggot, which he sent his disciple to sell at the next village, in order to buy a little bread for themselves, and such as happened to come to them. In the mean time one possessed by a devil, cried out in St. Peter's at Rome ; Hilarion, the servant of J E S U S C H R I S T, came some days since into Sicily ; he thinks that he is very well concealed, but I will go and find where he is. He accordingly embarked with his slaves, landed at Pachinum, and went and prostrated himself before the cottage of the aged saint, and was immediately delivered. From that time an innumerable multitude of sick and pious persons resorted to him ; among others one of the chief men of the city, who being cured of a dropsy, offered him great presents ; but he answered in these words of the gospel ; Freely ye have received, freely give.

Matth. x. 8.

c. 32.

H E S Y C H I U S, another faithful disciple of St. Hilarion, likewise sought for him in all parts, being persuaded, that where-ever he was, he would not long be concealed : At length in the farthest part of Peloponnesus at Methone, now called Modon, a certain Jew whose trade was to sell old goods, told him that a prophet of the Christians had appeared in Sicily, who wrought so many miracles, that he was taken for one of the holy men of old times. Whereupon Hefychius embarked, and arrived safely at Pachinum, and enquiring for the holy man at the first village, found that every body knew him ; but the greatest wonder was, that after he had performed so many miracles, he had not taken any thing from any person, not so much as a morsel of bread. Hefychius soon learnt from Zanan, that the aged saint was resolved to go into some barbarous country, where not even his language should be understood : He carried him therefore to Epidaurus in Dalmatia, where he was soon found out by his miracles. He delivered the country from a serpent of a monstrous size, which devoured flocks of cattle, and men themselves ; and in the earthquake which happened on the twelfth of the calends of August, in the first consulship of Valentinian and Valens, *i. e.* the twenty of July 365, the sea having overflown its banks, and threatening to overwhelm the whole city of Epidaurus, the inhabitants in a croud brought him out upon the shore : He made three crosses upon the

Amm. xxvi.
in fine.
Hier. Chr.
an 365.
Idac. fast.
an. 365.
Chr. pasch.
an. cod. p.
301.

the sand, and stretched out his hands against the sea, which immediately A. D. 367. stopped, rising up like a high mountain.

ST. Hilarion knowing how much this miracle had been noised abroad, c. 34. fled away in the night time in a small bark, which carried him to a ship, designing to proceed to the island of Cyprus. They met in their passage two pyrate vessels; all who were aboard came one after another to tell him the news, astonished with fear. He smiled as he beheld them at a distance, then turning towards his disciples said to them: Ye men of little faith, what fear you? are they more numerous than Pharaoh's army? When the pirates were advanced within a stone's throw, he went forward to the prow, and stretching out his hands against them, cried: Be satisfied with having come thus far; and immediately the pyrate ships run back, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the rowers to the contrary, returning to the shore much faster than they came out.

BEING arrived at Cyprus, he retired to a place two miles from Paphos, c. 35. where he remained quiet some days. But he had not been there three weeks, when such as were possessed with devils in any part of the island, began to cry out, that Hilarion servant of JESUS CHRIST was come, and that they must go to him; most part of them said, that they knew him very well, but could not tell where he was. Within a month two hundred of them, of both sexes, gathered round him. And to revenge himself in some sort of the devils, who would not suffer him to be at rest, by the force of his prayers, in a week's time, he put them all to flight, and delivered the possessed persons.

HE continued two years in the island of Cyprus, still considering how c. 36. he might make his escape; but at length by the advice of Hefychius his disciple, he laid aside his design of leaving the island, and retired to a place twelve miles from the shore, not unpleasantly situated, among very rough and craggy mountains, where there was water and fruit trees; of which however he never eat. He wrought there also many miracles; and the inhabitants diligently guarded the passes, least he should get away from them. c. 37. At length knowing that his death approached, he wrote with his own hand a short letter to Hefychius who was absent, intending to leave him all his riches; that is his gospels and his cloaths, which were a tunick made of course hair, a cowl, and a short mantle, and this letter was instead of a will. c. 38. Many pious persons came to him from Paphos, hearing that he had foretold his death; among the rest a woman called Constantia, whose daughter and son-in-law, her husband, he had healed. He caused them all to swear not to keep his body a moment after the breath was gone out of it, but to bury him in his cloaths in a garden where he then was. Being at the point of death, he said with his eyes open: Go out, my soul, go out; of what are you afraid? thou hast served JESUS CHRIST almost threescore and ten years, and dost thou fear death? He was buried immediately as he desired. Hefychius, who was in Palæstine, hearing this news, repaired to Cyprus, and pretending that he would reside in the same garden, stole away the body ten months after, at the hazard of his life. Constantia used to watch at the sepulcher of St. Hilarion, and to speak to him as if he had been present, begging his prayers: but as soon as she understood that his body was taken

A. D. 367. taken away, she dropped down dead. Hefychius conveyed it to Majuma, and interred it in his old monastery, with a great concourse of Monks and people. The clothes were not spoiled, and the body was as intire as when he was alive, and even afforded an agreeable scent. The inhabitants of Cyprus pretended still to have his spirit; and although great miracles were daily performed in Palestine, in the place where his relicts lay, yet more were wrought in the garden at Cyprus. He died at about fourscore years of age, and consequently about the year 370, being sixty five years old at the death of St. Anthony.

Sup. lib. xiiij.
n. 37.
Pagi. 372,
11.

XII. THE council of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana is with great probability supposed to have been held near this * time; it is remarkable for the sixty canons which were made there, relating to sundry points of discipline, especially their rites and ceremonies, and the life of the Clergy: It prohibits the promoting those to the priesthood who have newly received baptism, and ordaining before the auditors; that is, those who were admitted only to hear the instructions delivered in the Church, and were not allowed to be present at the prayers. The council would not have the choice of those who are to be preferred to the priesthood, left to the people, but would have the Bishops chosen by their metropolitans, assisted by the neighbouring Bishops, after a long probation of their faith and morals. It prohibits the appointing Bishops in boroughs and villages; allowing only visitors, and forbids those who are already settled there, to act any thing any more than the Presbyters, unless by the order of the Bishops of their respective cities. It forbids settling those women in churches, whom they stiled Elders and Presidents. These were the oldest Deaconesses who were seated above the rest. The council forbids such distinction, probably because some had made an ill use of it; for St. Epiphanius affirms, that the rank of Deaconess is the highest to which a woman can be raised in the Church; that there never were any Priestesses, and that they can have no part in the sacerdotal office.

Hæref. 79.
n. 4.

THE council orders the Clerks not to lend money upon usury; or to go to taverns, or houses of entertainment: which order is likewise extended to the Monks. These are the Ecclesiastical degrees mentioned by them; Priests, Deacons, Ministers, or Sub-Deacons, Readers, Chaunters, Exorcists, and Porters. The Clerks, and all Christians in general, are forbidden to bathe with the women, which was common among the Pagans. They forbid Clerks to assist at the publick shews exhibited at weddings and festivals, and require them to rise up and withdraw before the dancers come in. They forbid any to dance who are present at weddings, only allowing them to take a modest repast, as becometh Christians. The Clerks are not allowed to travel without canonical letters and an order from the Bishop. The Bishops who are sent for to council; ought not to condemn the summons; but to attend, in order to give or receive instruction; and are not to be excused, but in the case of sickness.

c. 19.

As to the prayers and ceremonies of the Church: After the sermon of the Bishop, the prayer of the catechumens is to be repeated: after they are gone out, the prayer for the penitents, who approach to receive the laying on of hands, and then withdraw. Then the three prayers of the faithful; the

* See Tillemont, Tom. vj. not. 95. per les Ariens.

the first very low, the second and third aloud ; then the Peace is pronounced ; A. D. 367. and after it hath been said by the Priest to the Bishop, the laity pronounce it likewise. Afterwards, the holy offering is celebrated, and the Priests only are allowed to enter into the Chancel, and there receive the Communion. The Priest must not go into and sit down in the Chancel without the Bishop, ^{c. 36.} unless he is sick or absent. The Deacons are not to sit down in the presence ^{c. 20.} of the Priests, unless by their order ; the Deacons also are to be respected by the Sub-Deacons, and by all the Clerks. The Sub-Deacons shall have no ^{c. 21.} place in the Deaconry, nor meddle with the sacred vessels. They are not to ^{c. 22, 23.} wear the *Orarium*, nor stir from the door, but to attend the prayers. This canon seems to confound the Sub-Deacons with the porters. The Readers ^{c. 23.} and Chaunters shall not wear the *Orarium* when they read or sing ; which was a piece of linnen worn about the neck, from whence came our stole. ^{c. 26.} No person is to exorcise in the Church, or in the house, unless ordained by ^{c. 44.} the Bishop. Women shall not enter into the Chancel.

PRIVATE hymns are not to be repeated in the Church, nor other books ^{c. 59.} read, besides the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. After this canon, the council sets down the catalogue of the holy Scriptures. In the Old Testament, the books of Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, ^{c. 60.} and the Maccabees are omitted ; in the New, the Revelation only ; by which we see that there were still some particular Churches who questioned the authority of these books. None are to sing in the Church but the ^{c. 15.} Chaunters that are ordained, who stand in the Desk and sing out of the book. In the publick prayers, two or more psalms are not to be said to- ^{c. 17.} gether, but something is to be read between each psalm. On Saturday the ^{c. 16.} Gospel is to be read with the other Scriptures. Christians are not to judaize ^{c. 29.} by abstaining from work on Saturdays, but to labour on this day, preferring Sunday before it, observing that day, if possible, like Christians. These words, if possible, seem to shew, that the Christians did not refrain from work so rigorously as the Jews.

THE holy Eucharist is not to be sent at the Feast of Easter to other Dio- ^{c. 14.} cesses, as an *Eulogy* ; that is, as the Loaf that was blessed and sent in token of communion. The Clerks or Laymen invited to the *Agapæ* are not to ^{c. 27.} carry away their plates, that the good order of the Church may not be interrupted or disturbed. The *Agapæ* are not to be held in the Church, nor ^{c. 28.} ^{c. 38.} are any to eat or spread a table in the house of GOD. Neither the Bishops nor Priests are to offer the sacrifice in houses. During Lent they are not to offer bread, that is, consecrate the Eucharist, except on Saturdays and ^{c. 49.} Sundays. Lent is not to be dishonoured by breaking the fast on Thursday ^{c. 50.} in the last week ; but all Lent is to be kept with fasting, and only dry meats to be then eaten. The feasts of the martyrs are not to be kept in the ^{c. 51.} time of Lent ; but they are to be commemorated on Saturdays and Sun- ^{c. 52.} days. Neither are marriages to be solemnized, nor birth days kept in Lent.

NONE are to be admitted to Baptism after the second week in Lent. This ^{c. 45.} was because the whole time of Lent was appointed for the examination of the catechumens. They who are fit must learn the Creed, and rehearse it ^{c. 46.} before the Bishop or Priest on the Thursday in holy week. They who have ^{c. 47.} been

- A. D. 367. been baptized in their sickness and recover, are to learn the Creed, and be sensible of the gift of GOD which they have received. They who have been baptized, ought afterwards to receive the heavenly Unction, and partake in the regality of JESUS CHRIST. Sinners who have continued instant in prayer and other penitential exercises, and given proofs of a perfect conversion, should be admitted to the communion, in hopes of the mercy of GOD, after they have been assigned a time for performing penance proportionable to their fall. Such as have freely and lawfully entered into a second marriage, and have not solemnized it clandestinely, shall by indulgence be admitted to the Communion, after having spent some short time in fasting and prayer. Christians are not indifferently to marry their children to Hereticks.
- c. 48.
- c. 2.
- c. 1.
- c. 10, 31.
- c. 6.
- c. 9.
- c. 34.
- c. 32.
- c. 33.
- c. 7.
- c. 8.
- c. 35.
- Theod. in Coloss. ij. 18.
- Ibid. iij. 17. Perron. replique. p. 914.
- HERETICKS ought not to be suffered to enter into the Churches; nor the Faithful to go to the Churches or Cœmeteries of the Hereticks, to pray; otherwise they shall be excommunicated for some time, and shall perform penance before they are re-admitted. Leaving the martyrs of JESUS CHRIST to apply to the false martyrs of the Hereticks is forbidden, on pain of incurring the censure of anathema. Their *Eulogies* must not be received; nor is any one to pray with them, or schismaticks. The Novatian or *Quartodeciman* converts, are not to be admitted till they anathematize all heresies, and especially their own; and then those whom they call the Faithful, having learnt the Creed, and received the sacred Unction, shall partake of the holy mysteries. Although the Montanists be Clerks, and in great esteem among their own people, they shall be diligently instructed and baptized by the Priests and Bishops of the Church. We see here that the Baptism of the Montanists, and not of other Hereticks, is rejected. After the canon forbidding to seek after the pretended martyrs of the Hereticks, follows this: The Christians must not forsake the Church of GOD, to go and invoke angels, and hold prohibited assemblies. If therefore any be found addicted to this secret idolatry, let him be anathematized, because he has forsaken our LORD JESUS CHRIST. There remained at that time in Phrygia and Pisidia some judaizing Hereticks, who were for having angels adored as those by whom the law had been given. They said, that GOD, being invisible and incomprehensible, he could not be reached, and that he must be rendered propitious by means of the angels. This is what is related by Theodoret, who lived sixty years after this council; and who affirms, that in his time, on the confines of these provinces, there were still to be seen the oratories of St. Michael. To these Hereticks he applies this canon of the council of Laodicea; and he adds, that to put a stop to this old disease, the council hath forbidden to pray to angels and leave JESUS CHRIST, *i. e.* that the Church hath condemned those who address themselves to angels, exclusive of JESUS CHRIST, and who confine themselves to them, as the last objects of their worship; not believing that their prayers could reach unto GOD; and who by their own authority erected oratories to St. Michael as the Protector of the people of GOD, and not to JESUS CHRIST, in memory of St. Michael his † servant.

† M. Fleury here labours to palliate the present practice of the Romanists, by his explanation of the foregoing canon; which is so plain against them, that there is no need of answering his arguments.

THE following canon of the council of Laodicea, forbids Presbyters or A. D. 369. Clerks being Magicians, Enchanters, Mathematicians, or Astrologers, (as we now call them;) as also making Ligatures, or composing characters; and orders the wearers of them to be turned out of the Church. The receiving the presents sent from the Jews or Pagans at their festivals is likewise forbidden, or solemnizing such festivals with them. The taking the unleavened bread given by the Jews at their Passover is particularly forbidden. And, lastly, celebrating with the Gentiles their festivals. These are the canons of the council of Laodicea, which are revered by all antiquity.

AFTER a war of two years, the Emperor Valens obliged the Goths to sue for peace, which he granted them in the third year, in the consulship of Valentinian the younger, and Victor; that is, in 369. At this time it is probable, that the Emperor Valens came to Tomi, a large city and capital of that part of Scythia, which was under the Roman empire, situate on the coast of the Euxine sea, near the mouth of the Danube. The Bishop of the Scythians resided in this city; for although they had many cities, castles, and towns, it was a custom of long standing among them to have but one Bishop for the whole nation. The Bishop at that time was Britannio or Vetrano, a very zealous Catholick. Valens being come to Tomi, went to Church, and endeavoured, as was his custom, to persuade the Bishop to communicate with the Arians. But Britannio boldly opposed him, and declared, that he would maintain and defend the Nicene Creed; and leaving him went into another Church. He was followed by his flock, that is almost the whole city who had gathered together to see the Emperor, expecting likewise that somewhat extraordinary would happen. The Emperor seeing none but his train left with him, was enraged at this affront: He ordered Britannio to be apprehended and sent into banishment; but recalled him soon after, fearing lest he should incense the Scythians, a brave people, and useful to the Romans for preserving of this frontier. St. Britannio is commemorated by the Church on the twenty fifth of January.

PEACE being concluded with the Goths, Valens returned to Constantinople, where he passed the latter end of the year 369. In the beginning of 370, he departed thence for Antioch, to carry on the war against the Persians, which was begun three years before. He had got no farther than Nicomedia, when he was informed of the death of Eudoxius the Arian Bishop of Constantinople. He had first been Bishop of Germanicia in Syria, where he continued near eighteen years; he afterwards sat two years in the See of Antioch; whence he was removed to Constantinople, which See he filled eleven years, viz. from the year 360 to 370. The Arians chose in his room Demophilus, a native of Thessalonica, formerly Bishop of Beroea in Thrace; the same who under Constantius had been the occasion of the fall of Liberius Bishop of Rome. The Emperor approved his election, and he was ordained by Theodore or Dorotheus Bishop of Heraclea, who as such had the privilege of consecrating the Bishop of Constantinople, because Heraclea had been the metropolitan Church. At the ordination of Demophilus, instead of the ordinary acclamation, *ἀξιός*, which signifies Worthy; many cried out, *ἀνάξιός*, that is, Unworthy. The Catholicks likewise being willing to lay hold of this opportunity, elected Evagrius Bishop of Constantinople, and he was ordained by a Bishop called Eustrathius.

THE

XIII.
The persecuti-
on renewed.

Amm. xxvij.

c. 5.

Zosim. lib. 4.

+

V. Chron.

Cod. Theod.

V. Pagi.

An. 369. i.

Sozom. vi.

c. 21.

Theod. iv.

c. 35.

Martyrolog.

Philost. ix.

n. 5.

Socr. iv. c. 14.

Sozom. vi.

c. 13.

Philost. ix.

n. 8.

Sup. lib. xiv.

n. 4. 23.

Philost. ix.

n. 10.

Soz. vj. c. 13.

A. D. 369. THE Arians made this a new pretence for persecution ; and the Emperor Valens being informed of these transactions, and apprehending some commotion, sent troops from Nicomedia to Constantinople, with orders to seize upon Evagrius and Eustathius, and to banish them to two several places, which was accordingly executed. It is thought that Evagrius died in exile, and he is honoured by the Church on the sixth of March. The Arians being now grown more insolent, on account of the Emperor's protection, abused the Catholics, giving them opprobrious language, striking and imprisoning them, forcing them before the magistrates, and causing them to pay fines. St Eulogius is reckoned to have suffered martyrdom in this persecution, with several others, whose memories are celebrated by the Church, on the third of July.

Martyr. Rom. 3. Juil. Menolog. cod. Socr. iv. c. 16. THE Catholics sent a deputation to the Emperor, to complain of this violence, consisting of fourscore Ecclesiasticks, the chief of whom were Urbanus, Theodore, and Menedemus. Being come to Nicomedia, they presented their petition to the Emperor, and laid before him the sufferings of the Catholics. He was extremely incensed at their complaints ; but fearing to raise a sedition, dissembled his rage, and gave private orders to Modestus, the *Præfectus Prætorii*, to put them to death without noise. The Præfect therefore pretended that he would send them into banishment, which they generously embraced ; but he ordered them to be put into a ship without ballast, and commanded the mariners to set fire to it as soon as they got out to sea ; which was accordingly put in execution. They were carried on board under pretence of being conveyed to the place of their banishment ; but in the midst of the gulph of Astacus, at the bottom of which stands Nicomedia, the mariners set fire to the vessel, and going into a boat which followed them, made off. A high west wind happening to blow, drove the burning vessel into the haven of Dacidizus, on the coast of Bithynia, where it was entirely consumed, and in this manner were these fourscore Ecclesiasticks martyred, who are commemorated by the Church on the fifth of September. The famine which this year laid waste Phrygia, and the neighbouring parts, and which obliged several of the inhabitants to leave the country, and retire to Constantinople, and other places, was esteemed an effect of the Divine vengeance for this barbarous action.

XIV. FROM Bithynia Valens went into Galatia, where he ravaged the Church without any difficulty : he hoped to do the same in Cappadocia, because of the difference that had arisen some years before, between Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, and St. Basil, several persons of the greatest distinction siding with the latter. His going away had also incensed him against the Bishop, who was the cause of it, and they seemed disposed to separate themselves from him. St. Basil remained quiet in the desert of Pontus, diligently practising the duties of a monastick life. St. Gregory Nazianzen at first accompanied him ; and the Bishop Eusebius inviting him to be present at the Ecclesiastical assemblies, he wrote to him in the stile of a Christian philosopher. I cannot bear the injury you have offered to my brother Basil ; to shew me respect and use him ill, is as if you should stroke a man with one hand, and give him a blow with the other. Believe me, give him satisfaction, and you

*St. Basil oppo-
ses Valens.
Greg. Nys.
cont. Eun.
p. 48.
Soz. 6. c. 15.
Sup. lib. xv.
n. 14.
Greg. Naz.
ep. 20.*

you will have reason to be satisfied with him: I will follow him as the shadow does the body. This letter gave Eusebius some uneasiness; but ^{Ep. 169,} St. Gregory afterwards pacified him; and the persecution being begun, he ^{170.} offered to come to his assistance, and finding him very well disposed, in- ^{Ep. 19.} formed St. Basil thereof, exhorting him to be before hand with him, and not to suffer himself to be outdone in this trial of virtue. To this he adds the consideration of the times. The hereticks, says he, have conspired against the Church; some are already come, others it is said, are upon the way, the holy doctrine is in danger. If you think it best for me to accompany you, I will not refuse it. He accordingly took this matter up- ^{Gr. O. 20.} on him, who brought back St. Basil, who on his side did not stay to be ^{p. 337.} much intreated. He therefore left the desert of Pontus, and returned to ^{Sozom. vi. c. 15.} Cæsarea, as soon as he heard that the Emperor drew near with the Arian Bishops, who always attended him, and whom the absence of St. Basil filled with great expectations. Valens used his utmost endeavours to gain ^{Gr. Nyss. p. 49. R.} him; he threatned, he flattered, he promised him his favour, and even the government of the Church. St. Basil on the other side exhorted him and his attendants to acknowledge their fault, and repent, and to cease persecuting the servants of God against whom their attempts were vain: And so far was he from retaining any resentment against the Bishop Euse- ^{Greg. Or. 20. p. 339.} bius, that he joined with him to oppose the common enemy. He put an end to all scandal and difference among the Catholics, and so vigorously did he act, that the Emperor and his Arian Bishops were forced to retire without effecting any thing; and St. Gregory Nazianzen had no small share in this victory.

St. Basil afterwards laboured more diligently to serve his Bishop, to ^{Ibid. p. 340.} wipe out all past suspicions and jealousies, and to let the world see that he knew how to obey. He was always with Eusebius teaching him, informing him, and executing his orders; he was every thing to him; a faithful counsellour within, an active minister without; and although he held but the second rank in the Church, as being a Presbyter, yet he had the chief authority, in as much as he guided the Bishop. For Eusebius having not ^{Sup. lib. xv. n. 13.} long been a Bishop, and being ordained immediately upon his receiving baptism, seemed to retain something of the manners and customs of the world, and he had not such knowledge in spiritual matters, as to be able to conduct himself in these troublesome times. He therefore stood in need of some assistance; but he joyfully embraced it, and whatever authority Basil had, he esteemed the same as if he had it himself. St. Basil served the Church in several respects; he spoke boldly to the magistrates, and persons of the greatest authority: He decided differences to the satisfaction of the contending parties. He assisted the poor, both in their spiritual and bodily necessities; he fed them; he lodged strangers; he took care of the virgins and monks, as appears by the rules which he gave them in writing, and by word of mouth, and regulated the prayers and service of the altar. This is recorded by St. Gregory Nazianzen, who here seems to speak of the liturgy which has been by all ages ascribed to St. Basil, and is still in use in the eastern churches, though since that time it hath undergone some alterations.

A.D. 370.

Greg. Naz.
Or. 20.
p. 341.

HE particularly manifested his charity in the famine which raged in Phrygia, and the neighbouring parts, this year 370. It was the most severe famine that ever was known in Cappadocia; and Cæsarea, which was an inland town, received no assistance from traffick. Those who had corn were so far from being concerned at the necessity of the poor, that they endeavoured to make their market by it. However the intreaties and exhortations of St. Basil were so powerful, that the rich opened their granaries. He afterwards called the poor, who were almost dead with hunger, and caused kettles to be brought full of herbs that were boiled, and salt meat, and he himself being girded with a linnen cloth, and assisted by his friends and servants, distributed it to them with his own hands, accompanying these his alms with a word of exhortation for the support and refreshment of their souls.

Epist. 62.

ABOUT this time, Ancyra and Neocæsarea lost their pastors, and St. Basil wrote consolatory letters to these churches, making great encomiums upon their Bishops. The Bishop of Neocæsarea was named Musonius. St. Basil calls him the pillar of truth, the guardian of the paternal laws, the enemy of novelty. In him might be seen, faith he, the ancient form of the church, and it seemed as if we lived with those who governed the Church two hundred years ago. He congratulates this city for having had, since the great St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, even to their late Bishop, a constant succession of holy pastors. He exhorts them to chuse a successor without ambition or faction, and to have an eye only to the publick good, in which the advantage of every particular person is included.

Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 18.
Ep. 67.
Ep. 53.

ATHANASIUS was Bishop of Ancyra, who had been placed there in the room of Basil by the council of Constantinople, in 360. St. Basil expresseth abundance of concern for his death, and bestows commendations upon him, which we have the less reason to suspect of flattery, because Athanasius had inadvertently received a bad impression of his doctrine.

XV.

The death of
St. Emmelia,
St. Cæsarius,
and St.
Gorgonia.
Greg. Nyss.
vita S. Macr.
p. 186.
v. Pagi. an.
379. n. 8.
Greg. ibid.
p. 201. B.
Martyr.
Rom.
Basil. ep. 7.
ad Euseb.
Samos.

THEY had already chosen successors to these two Bishops, when St. Basil acquainted St. Eusebius of Samosata with the death of St. Emmelia his mother, who died in a very advanced age, in a monastery to which she had retired with St. Macrina her daughter. She had then but two of her children with her, St. Macrina the eldest, and St. Peter, afterwards Bishop of Sebasta, the tenth and youngest. As they stood on each side of her bed, she took them both by the hand, and said: Lord, I offer unto thee, according to thy law, the first fruits and the tenths of my womb. She was buried by her husband in the church of the forty martyrs, at the distance of seven or eight stadia from the monastery, that is a full quarter of a league; she is celebrated by the Church on the thirtieth of May. St. Basil was more afflicted at the death of this saint, than was allowable in a person of his age and virtue. He was just recovered from a distemper which had reduced him to the utmost extremity, and which was the more violent, by reason of the great severity of the winter: And the condition in which he saw the Church, was not such as could administer any comfort to him.

ABOUT the same time St. Gregory Nazianzen lost Cæsarius and Gorgonia, his brother and sister, whom the Church also places in the number

of

of the saints. Cæsarius had been recalled to court by Jovian, with great tokens of respect; and Valens had made him quæstor or treasurer of Bithynia, where he resided. St. Gregory was far from rejoicing at the preferment of his brother, on the contrary, he was afflicted to see him incumbered with the weight of temporal affairs, and exhorted him to disengage himself from them; and he was determined thereto by the earthquake, which entirely ruined the city of Nice, on the eleventh of October 368. Cæsarius was almost the only person of distinction who escaped, but he here lost part of his wealth, and remained some time under the ruins, from whence he miraculously got out with only some slight wounds. He therefore resolved to dedicate himself intirely to God; but he died soon after, having first received baptism, and left his wealth to the poor; for he had neither wife nor children. St. Gregory his brother spoke his funeral oration, his father and mother being present. Cæsarius is honoured by the Greek Church, on the ninth of March, and by the Latin Church on the twenty fifth of February. St. Gorgonia their sister died some time after, St. Gregory likewise made her funeral oration, where describing her virtues, he sets a pattern of Christian perfection to married women. She was so extreamly reserved and modest, that she thought much of the least smile; she mortified her eyes, her ears, and all her senses: the ornaments of dress in which women are so nice, she despised; but was very careful in beautifying and adorning of churches. Though her understanding was extraordinary, and her prudence so great that the whole country sought to her for advice; and though she was deeply skilled in the mysteries of Religion, as well by reading of the sacred books, as by her own meditations; yet was she not on this account the more given to talking, but was very solicitous to conceal her good works, and to be really pious rather than appear so. Her house was open to all persons of virtue, she had a particular respect for the Priests, a tender concern for the afflicted, and was very liberal, especially to poor widows. She prayed with fervour and attention, frequently shed tears, was frequently upon her knees, fasted and watched often, and was as constant in singing of Psalms. However she was not baptized till the latter end of her life; but before she died, had the comfort to see her husband, children, and grandchildren partake of the same blessing. And so great was her trust in God, that after a dangerous fall she would not, through modesty, have recourse to any physician or surgeon, but was miraculously healed. Another time, in a distemper which the physicians judged desperate, she laid her head upon the altar, and began to pray, crying out, and pouring forth a flood of tears, of which mixt with what she could preserve of the *Antitypes* of the precious body or blood, that is of the Eucharist, she made an ointment, and forthwith returned perfectly cured: this could not have happened till after her baptism, since the Eucharist was only administred to the faithful who had been baptized. Such was the character of St. Gorgonia, who is commemorated by the Church on the ninth of December.

St. Gregory Nazianzen was then with his father, assisting him in his old age, and easing him as priest of part of his Episcopal office. One of the principal services which he did him, was the reconciling him with the monks,

Greg. Or. 10.
p. 168.

Id. carm.
p. 34. C.

Orat. 10.
p. 173. C.

Orat. 11. p.
181, 182.

P. 183. B.

P. 185. B.

P. 187. A

XVI.

Reconciliation
of the Monks of
Nazianzum.

Greg. Carm.
47. p. 107.
D.

Greg. ep. 195.
ad Lolle.
p. 105. ad
Cæsar.

Socr. vi. c. 3.
Soz. viij. c. 2.

Vita Greg.
Naz.

Orat. 19.
p. 297.

Orat. 12.
p. 202. D.
203.

Greg. Orat.
19. p. 304,
305.

Monks, who had separated from his Communion, when he signed the form of Rimini. Many of whom are remarkable for their piety and doctrine; among others Cledonius, Eulalius, and Carterius. Cledonius, after having made a considerable figure at court, bestowed all his wealth upon the poor, and retired to the desert; he was a Presbyter, and had entered into a strict friendship with St. Gregory the son. Eulalius is the same whom after the death of his father, he caused to be ordained Bishop of Nazianzum. He was his cousin, and together with a brother of his called Helladius, who died some time after, chose the solitary state. Carterius is supposed to have governed, together with Diodorus, the monasteries of Antioch, and to have been St. Chrysostome's master. These were the chief of those Monks who had separated from the Bishop Gregory. The reputation of their virtue had gained a great part of the flock over to their side, and they had proceeded so far as to procure Priests to be ordained by other Bishops to administer the sacraments to them.

THE aged saint used his utmost endeavours to reconcile them to him, by his exhortations, prayers, gentleness, and meekness; he besought God day and night, that he might obtain this blessing, before he ended his long life; and it was prayed for with no less fervour by his son Gregory. This unhappy difference took up his thoughts day and night; and the offices of devotion, far from giving him any comfort, brought back to his remembrance those beloved Brethren, in whose company he had so often performed them. He imposed silence upon himself, and all this while forbore speaking in publick. At length, he persuaded his father to ask pardon for his fault, and to make a plain confession of the true Faith. The Monks and their followers renounced the suspicions which they had conceived of the pious old man, and acknowledged, that his Faith had always been pure and uncorrupt. He on his side joyfully received them, and together with them received the Priests whom they had caused to be ordained. St. Gregory the son solemnized this reconciliation, by an excellent discourse, wherein, among other things, he saith, That reconciliations, attended by frequent relapses, are worse than division, because they exclude all hopes of a firm and lasting union; that there is a bad agreement and a good division. When the impiety is manifest, we ought boldly to oppose sword, fire, and authorities; and to fear nothing so much as the fearing any thing more than God: But when our scruples are only founded on suspicions, it is much better to remain in a body, that we may set each other right, than to engage ourselves by division in prejudices that destroy our mutual trust and confidence; and afterwards endeavour imperiously to correct others, like tyrants, rather than Brethren.

THE pious and aged Gregory fell sick, and was brought so low, that there was no hopes of his life; a violent fever set all his intrails in a flame, his strength was wasted, and he could neither sleep nor eat, but panted, and was in continual agonies. His mouth being ulcerated, he was hardly able to swallow any water; neither could the skill of his physicians, nor care of his servants, afford him any relief. He no longer knew any body about him, but lay at the last gasp. This happened on Easter Sunday at night; St. Gregory the son, Nonna his mother, all the Clergy and people were at pray-
ers

ers in the Church, divided between their joy for the festival, and grief for the loss that they were like to sustain: The time for celebrating the mysteries being come, the aged saint began to stir feebly, and called to a servant with a very faint voice, ordering him to come near to get him his cloaths, and to give him his hand. The servant obeyed with eagerness and surprize; and the holy Bishop leaning upon him, got up, stretched out his feeble hands, in order to pronounce the prayer, and in few words celebrated, as well as he was able, the divine mysteries, joyning in spirit with those who were praying in the Church. Having, according to custom, pronounced the words used in the consecration of the Eucharist, and given his blessing to the people, he went to bed again, took a little nourishment, fell asleep, and gathered strength by degrees; so that on Sunday the Octave of Easter, which was then called New Sunday, or the Sunday of the Renewing, as it is still called by the Greek Church; on that day, I say, he came and offered the sacrifice in the Church with his whole congregation. St. Gregory his son afterwards publicly related this cure as an undoubted miracle.

EUSEBIUS Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, died soon after his Church had been attacked by Valens, having stoutly resisted both in this and Julian's persecution. Accordingly, in some Martyrologies, he is placed in the number of the saints, although improperly confounded with Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine. The Church of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, found itself exposed to the same disturbances at his death that it had felt at his election; having always preserved the Catholick Faith, and been at unity within herself, she was envied by the Hereticks. This was one of the largest Sees of all the East, the metropolis of all Cappadocia, and perhaps of all that part, which in the civil government, was called the diocess of Pontus; that is, it had under its jurisdiction above one half of Asia Minor. The Clergy of Cæsarea wrote, according to custom, to the Bishops of the provinces, and they assembled to proceed to an election.

THE holy Bishop of Nazianzum being summoned thither as well as the rest, and fearing that he could not be present, being, by reason of his great age, not able to undergo the fatigue, and at that time likewise being sick, wrote to the Clergy and people of Cæsarea in these words: I am an inconsiderable Pastor of a small flock; but Grace is not measured out according to the extent of the place; let therefore the small as well as the great, be permitted freely to give their opinion. Your consultations concern the Church for which CHRIST died. The eye is the light of the body, the Bishop the light of the Church; since you have summoned me according to the canons, and I am detained by sickness and old age, if the Holy Ghost enableth me to assist at the election in person; for to the faithful nothing is incredible; it will be best for me, and what I most desire: But if my infirmities hinder my attendance, I concur as much as one that is absent can. I question not but in so large a city, which hath always enjoyed Prelates of so great worth, there may be other persons worthy of the first station; but I cannot think any so fit as our dear son the Presbyter Basil. He is a man, I speak it in the presence of GOD, whose life and doctrine is pure; and the only one, at least the fittest to oppose the Hereticks, and that licentiousness of the tongue which is now so predominant. I write this to the Clergy, to the Monks,

to

XVIII.

St. Basil Bishop of Cæsarea.

Greg. Naz.

Or. 19.

P. 310. C.

Or. 20.

P. 342. D.

Vita. Greg.

Martyr.

Hier. &

Ufua. 27 Jun.

Greg. Or.

311.

Ap. Greg. ep.

22.

Luke xi. 34.

to persons in authority, the Senate, and all the people. If my suffrage is approved as just, and proceeding from God, I am spiritually present; or rather have already given the imposition of hands. If you are otherwise minded; if the intrigues of a party, or regard to any particular family, by-asse your judgment; if order gives way to sedition and tumults, do as you think fit; I withdraw from you.

At. Basil.
ep. 4.

Greg. ep. 29.

THE good old man wrote also to St. Eusebius of Samosata, to beg his assistance upon this occasion, though he was not of the province; laying before him the danger which the Church of Cæsarea was then in, by the attempts of the Hereticks. St. Eusebius of Samosata accordingly came, and his presence did very much conduce to the comfort and support of the Catholics; for although St. Basil was apparently the fittest person to succeed in the vacant See of Cæsarea, the principal men of the country opposed his election; their faction was supported by the most ungodly of the people, and they had gained over a part of the Bishops: So that being assembled, they wrote to the Bishop of Nazianzum, to invite him to come to them; but in such manner as gave him to understand they did not desire his company. He let them see by his answer, that he understood their meaning, and declared to them as he had done before to the Clergy and people of Cæsarea, that he gave his vote for the Priest Basil, as the most worthy person, and protested against any election that might be brought about by faction. And if he is refused, added he, on pretence of his ill state of health, it is not a wrestler but a Teacher that you want. He was not satisfied with writing, but knowing that his vote was requisite to make the election canonical, notwithstanding his great age and the distemper, by which he was almost brought to the brink of the grave; he left his bed, and caused himself to be conveyed to Cæsarea, accounting it a happiness if he ended his life in performing so good an action. St. Basil was accordingly elected, and canonically ordained Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and this ordination is commemorated by the Church on the fourteenth of June.

XVIII.
The conduct
and behaviour
of St. Basil.

Greg. N.

or. 19. p. 312.

Id. or. 20.
p. 334. S.

THE aged and pious Gregory returned to Nazianzum, having recovered his health and strength almost to a miracle. The Bishops of the contrary party to St. Basil, could not endure that Gregory should triumph over them, and their shame and spite drove them to reproach him with injurious language. Gregory still conquered them by his patience and meekness, and contenting himself with having gained the main point, let them have the satisfaction of talking. Their malice in time turned into admiration, and they afterwards looked upon him as their Arbitrator and Patriarch.

ST. Basil proceeded in the same manner; he endeavoured to soothe and mollify the minds of those who were exasperated against him; not by flattery and cringing, but by a noble and generous behaviour; not only considering the present, but endeavouring to oblige them to submit for the future. He did not make use of any artifice or indirect methods to bring them under; but won upon them by kindness, not exerting his authority, but letting them see that he spared them. He spoke little, but performed much. Every body was obliged to yield to the superiority of his genius and exalted virtue; and they were all firmly persuaded, that they must remain united and in subjection to him, or renounce their eternal salvation.

Thus

Thus tamed and brought under, they were eager to clear themselves, to give marks of their friendship to him, and proofs of their progress in virtue; for that was the only solid justification; some few only continued incorrigible; about whom he did not concern himself. Thus doth St. Gregory Nazianzen set forth his friend's conduct: For his part he was not forward to come to him, after his promotion to the Bishoprick. St. Basil being sick, had desired to see him, and he had already begun his journey; but at the same time, understanding that the Bishops were assembled at Cæsarea, to chuse a successor to Eusebius, he returned back, blaming St. Basil for want of discretion, in not perceiving that he brought upon himself a suspicion of attempting to strengthen his party, by sending for his friends. Perhaps St. Gregory was afraid of being elected himself. He observed the same conduct after the election, and only wrote to St. Basil: That although he was very glad of his promotion, he would not come to him so soon, though he should desire it, that he might not give any handle for slander against them both, That he would come when God should so order it, and when the clouds of envy should be dispelled. St. Basil complained of this at first, but afterwards acquiesced in the opinion of his friend.

Or. 20. p. 344.
A.
Ep. 20. 29.
in fin.

Ep. 24.

St. Basil extending his care and zeal towards the whole Church, was extremely afflicted at the division which reigned in the East, even among the Catholick Bishops. He thought the best way to heal this, would be to stir up the Bishops of the West, and to endeavour to influence them by the authority of St. Athanasius. He wrote to him therefore, upon his first entrance into that See, in these words: I have long since been persuaded that the only means of assisting our Churches, is procuring the Bishops of the West to joyn in this work. If they will shew the same zeal in our behalf as they have against one or two of their own body, perhaps we shall make some progress. Those in power will reverence the authority of so great a number of Bishops, and the people will follow them without opposition. Leave behind you this monument worthy of you; and by this single action, crown those numerous combats which you have sustained in defence of the Faith. Send men from your holy Church, powerful in the sacred doctrine to the Western Bishops, who may lay before them the evils which oppress us. He excites him himself to take care of the Church of Antioch, without expecting any assistance from the West; remonstrating to him, that the division of that Church was the heaviest evil; and that it is, as it were, the head, whence health and strength will be communicated to all the body. He sent this letter by Dorotheus Deacon of the Church of Antioch; and at his desire added another to explain himself more clearly, as to what related to that Church, and to St. Meletius, of whom Dorotheus was a faithful friend. St. Basil therefore declares to St. Athanasius, that all parties in the Church of Antioch ought to be united to St. Meletius: this, says he, is what all the East earnestly desire; and I in particular wish it, being in all respects attached to him: He is a man whose Faith there can be no exception to, and in morality, none may be compared to him; and some expedient shall be found to satisfy the rest. Besides, you are not ignorant that such of the Western Bishops as most firmly adhere to you, have the same thoughts. In these letters St. Basil all along styles St. Athanasius his father, and speaks to him

XIX.
St. Basil labours to reunite the Catholicks.
Greg. Or. 20.
Basil ep. 48.

Epist. 50.

Basil ep. 52. him with extraordinary respect. St. Athanasius received them favourably, and sent back the Deacon Dorotheus with one of his Presbyters called Peter, to endeavour to reconcile the factious spirits.

Ep. 57. St. Basil having received by them the answer of St. Athanasius, sent back Dorotheus to him with a letter, wherein he commends his constant labour for the good of the universal Church; and adds, We thought good to write to the Bishop of Rome, to consider of what is transacting in these parts, and to give his opinion thereupon: For, as it is difficult to send from thence deputies in common by order of a council, he ought to make use of his own authority upon this occasion, and make choice of persons who are able to bear the fatigue of the journey, and to speak with temper and resolution to such among us as walk not in the right way. It will be necessary to bring with them the Acts of the council of Rimini, that what was there brought about by violence, may be reversed. Let them come secretly without any noise, and by sea, before the enemies of unity know of their voyage. Some also desire, and we believe it convenient, that they should condemn the Heresy of Marcellus: For hitherto they have always anathematized Arius; but we do not find, that they blame Marcellus, whose Heresy is intirely opposite. The very Substance of the Son of God is thereby called in question; it being affirmed, that he was not in being till he came out from the Father, and that after his return to him he no longer subsists; as is proved by his books. However, the Western Bishops have never found fault with him, although they may be reproached with having at first, for want of knowing the truth, admitted him to Ecclesiastical Communion. St. Basil speaks of what had passed at Rome under Julius, in the year 342; and what he says here of the Heresy of Marcellus is remarkable; especially as he writes to St. Athanasius.

Sup. lib. 12.
n. 23, 25.

Ep. 220. St. Basil wrote also to St. Damasus Bishop of Rome, styling him, Most Venerable Father; but it may be questioned, whether this term of honour was used in regard to his person or dignity, since he applies the very same words to St. Athanasius. Almost all the East, saith he, from Illyricum as far as Egypt, is tossed with a furious tempest. All who stand up in defence of the truth, are obliged to quit the Churches, that they may be delivered up to the Arians. We looked for no succour but from your charity; but seeing our selves disappointed of this hope, we could no longer forbear writing to you, to induce you to take care of us, and send those unto us who may heal our divisions, or at least make known to you the authors of them, that you may henceforth know with whom you ought to hold communion. The assistance that we beg you to give us is not without president. We are informed by tradition and the letters still preserved among us, that the blessed Dionysius, your predecessor, did visit, by letter, our Church of Cæsarea, that he comforted our fathers, and sent men to deliver our Brethren out of captivity. St. Basil here hints at the incursion of the Goths into Asia Minor, under the Emperor Gallienus, which agrees with the time when St. Dionysius was Bishop of Rome. To this letter St. Basil added instructions to those who were to be sent to Rome, and transmitted them both to St. Meletius by Dorotheus, that he might not act any thing without his consent and participation. He expresses his foresight of a persecution ready to fall upon them.

Sup. lib. 7.
n. 56.

Ep. 57.

DAMASUS Bishop of Rome had had many struggles with the faction of his opposer Ursinus. Though he was banished in 366, the schismatics were so importunate with the Emperor Valentinian, that they procured him to be recalled, and themselves likewise who were exiled with him, by a rescript addressed to Prætextatus Præfect of Rome, ordering, that they should suffer a severer punishment, if they renewed their former quarrels. Whereupon Ursinus returned to Rome, with two of his Deacons, on the fifteenth of September 367. But he was obliged to quit it again two months after, being banished into Gaul with several others. Thus was peace restored to Rome, by the authority of Prætextatus, and the testimony he gave to the truth, as saith Ammianus Marcellinus. The schismatics, although they had now no Clerks to head them, did nevertheless hold assemblies in the cōmeteries of the martyrs, and had likewise a church in their possession. This occasioned the defender of the Roman church, and Damasus the Bishop, to present a petition to the Emperor Valentinian, who upon the receipt of it, gave orders to Prætextatus to put that church, which was the only one which they had left, under the power of Damasus, which was accordingly executed, and the schismatics driven away by force of arms. Damasus offered up vows to the holy martyrs for the return of the schismatical clergy, which having afterwards obtained, he performed them, by composing verses in their honour.

ABOUT the same time he convened a numerous council at Rome, in conjunction with whom he wrote to the Bishops of Egypt, and perhaps to all the rest, to restore those, who were fallen into Arianism; for Rome and all the west were stedfast in the Nicene confession, except a very small number of that party which intirely adhered to the doctrines of Arius. In this council Ursatius and Valens were expressly condemned; but no mention is made therein of Auxentius, who usurped the church of Milan; perhaps out of regard to the Emperor Valentinian, who had embraced his communion. St. Athanasius having received this letter from St. Damasus, called a synod of the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, in number about ninety, and wrote back to him in the name of all of them, concerning Auxentius, wondering that he had not yet been deposed, and expelled the Church, since he was not only an Arian, but guilty likewise of divers evil practices, wherein he had joined with Gregory the usurper of the See of Alexandria. The Bishops of Egypt received satisfaction some time after: For the Bishops of Gaul and Venice, complaining that Auxentius and some others maintained the doctrine of the Arianians, a council of fourscore and thirteen Bishops, of divers nations, was held at Rome by virtue of a rescript from the Emperor, to enquire into the case of Auxentius, and to explain the Catholick Faith; and all that had been done to the contrary at Rimini, was declared null and void. We have two copies of the synodical letter from this council; the original latin, which at the beginning has the names of Damasus, and Valerian, Bishops of Rome and Aquileia, and eight others, and is directed to the Catholick Bishops of the east; and the Greek version, where only Damasus and Valerian are named, is addressed to the Bishops of Illyricum. And indeed there was a particular reason for addressing to them the decrees of this council, because that Arianism had greatly prevailed

XX.

Councils of Rome and Illyricum.

Marc. &

Fausti. p. 9.

Ap. Baron.

an. 368. p.

299. A.

Rescrip. ap.

Baron. an.

471. init. lib.

xxvii. C. 9.

Macr. &

Faust. p. 10.

Ap. Baron.

an. 368. init.

Ap. Baron.

app. to. 4.

P. 1.

Athan. ad.

Afric. p. 931.

Soz. vi. c. 23.

Athan. ad.

Afric. p. 941.

Sup. n. 2.

p. 940. D.

To. 2. Conc.

p. 892.

Ap. Theod.

ij. hist. c. 22.

ap.

Sozom. vi.

c. 23.

prevailed in that province, by means of Ursatius, Valens, Gaius and Germinius.

THE letter to the eastern Bishops accuses the Bishops, informed against by them of Gaul and Venice, rather of ignorance than malice, and mentions Auxentius as already condemned. It saith, that what had been done at Rimini was corrected at first by these very persons, who had been the authors of it: That they had confessed that they had been deceived by a new invented expression; and that they did not apprehend that it contradicted the Nicene creed. For, adds the letter, the number of those assembled at Rimini, cannot prejudice any man; since it is certain that neither the Bishop of Rome, whose opinion ought to be asked before any of the rest, nor Vincent, who for so many years, hath led a life agreeable to the purity of the priestly office; nor others of the like character gave their assent to it; especially considering what we have already mentioned; that they who seemed to give way to force, being better advised, protested that they were grieved at what they had done. The Bishops of Illyricum received likewise the synodical letter directed to them; and which in the conclusion, exhorted them to make a sincere declaration of their faith. Accordingly, having obtained leave from the Emperor Valentinian, they held a council, and made a decree, containing a confession of Faith agreeing with the Nicene Creed; wherein they say: We believe, as the councils lately at Rome and in Gaul, one and the same Substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in three persons, that is, in three perfect *Hypostases*. As to the incarnation they say, that JESUS CHRIST is GOD, clothed with flesh, and not a man clothed with Divinity: They anathematize him who hath written, that the Son was potentially in the Father, before he was actually begotten; which may be said of any creature. By which they seem to point at Marcellus of Ancyra. They sent these decrees to the Bishops of Asia and Phrygia, whom they charged to inform themselves whether it was true, that it was taught throughout Asia, that the Holy Ghost was of a different nature from the Father and the Son, as they said they had been informed by their brother Eustathius; who very probably was Bishop of Sabasta; who returning from Rome, had gone through Illyricum. They likewise recommended to them the discipline which was to be observed at the ordinations; viz. to chuse the Bishops from among the Priests, and the Priests and Deacons from among the Clergy, and not out of the city councils, or the military offices. And lastly, they set down the names of six Arian Bishops, whom they had deposed. The Emperor Valentinian adds to this letter a rescript, addressed to the same Bishops of Asia and Phrygia; wherein he exhorts them to accept the decree of the council of Illyricum, and not to make an ill use of the authority of the Emperor, that is his brother Valens, by persecuting the servants of GOD.

Valef. not.
ad. Theodor.
iv. 9.
Pagi. an.
363. n. 8.
Theop.
Chron. p. 52.
aa. 366.
Theod. iv.
c. 8, 9.

Sup. n. 9.

Theod. iv.
c. 8.

XXI.
The Letter of
St. Athana-
sius to the
Africans.
Tom. i.
p. 931.

THE same council of Alexandria wrote likewise to the Bishops of Africa, that is, of the province of Carthage, to strengthen them against those who would have the council of Rimini preferred to that of Nice, on pretence of the obscurity of the word *Consubstantial*. St. Athanasius writing in the name of this council, shews that the council of Rimini, so long as it was left

left at liberty, did not attempt to add any thing to what had been decreed by the council of Nice, that it even excommunicated Ursatius, Valens, Eudoxius, and Auxentius; and that thus it did rather oppose than favour the Arians. He shews the authority of the council of Nice, why it made use of the word *Consubstantial*, and the meaning of it. And lastly he treats in few words of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. But though this letter to the Africans is in the name of the ninety Bishops of Egypt and Libya, it is properly the letter of St. Athanasius; and the Bishops in whose name he speaks, were not all present at the council; but they did so intirely agree in their opinion, that they subscribed for each other. This letter, without doubt, produced the desired effect; and the church of Africa remained steadfast in the belief of the Trinity, as well as all the churches of the west.

ABOUT this time also, that is in the latter part of his life, we are to place the celebrated letter which St. Athanasius wrote to Epictetus, because at the beginning of it he mentions the councils of Gaul, Spain, and Rome, where the Arians, who still lurked about, had been anathematized, and the authority of the council of Nice acknowledged. There had been at Corinth a dispute concerning the mystery of the incarnation. Some said that the body of JESUS CHRIST was consubstantial to the Word, pretending, that if it were not so, they must admit of a quaternity instead of a Trinity. Whence it followed, that the body of JESUS CHRIST was not taken from Mary, since it was eternal as well as the Divine nature; or that the Divinity of the Word had changed its nature in becoming flesh. Others fell into the contrary extreme, and affirmed that JESUS CHRIST was a man adopted to be the Son of GOD, and consequently like the other prophets. That the Word of GOD was different from the CHRIST the Son of Mary, who suffered. They who disputed upon these questions were the disciples of Appollinarius; but he was not yet known to be the author of these errors. As they caused great disturbances, it was necessary to call a council, where at length all agreed to adhere to the Catholick Faith. The acts of the council were set down in writing, and Epictetus Bishop of Corinth, who had assisted therein, sent them to St. Athanasius.

HE could not read these propositions without horror, and refers those who had advanced them, to the council of Nice for their conviction, to which they ought to conform if they are sons of the Church. The council did not declare, said he, that the body of JESUS CHRIST, but the Son himself is consubstantial to the Father; it hath said that the body is taken from Mary. In truth, if the Word is consubstantial with the body taken out of the earth, and the same Word consubstantial with the Father, the Father will be consubstantial with the body made of earth; and how can you complain that the Arians make the Son a creature, you who make the Father consubstantial with creatures? If the body is before Mary from Eternity, as well as the Word, of what use is the coming of the Word? would he cloath himself with what was consubstantial with him? would he offer up himself in sacrifice for himself, and redeem himself?

HE afterwards proves from scripture, that JESUS CHRIST assumed a body like ours, of the blood of Abraham, and the substance of Mary; that he was really brought forth, and sucked her breasts. This body suffered

P. 934.

P. 941. D.

P. 940. C.

XXII.

The letter to Epictetus. To. i. p. 582. A.

P. 588. C.

P. 591.

Epiph. hær.

77. Dimariz.

c. 2.

P. 584.

P. 585. C.

Luk. xxiv.
39.

John i.
Gal. xi. 13.

P. 39.

circumcision, hunger, thirst, labour; and lastly the death of the cross: Whereas the Word is impassible. The body was in the grave, while the Word, without leaving it, descended into hell; because the body was not the Word, but the body of the Word, who took upon him the sufferings of his body, that we might partake of his Divinity. All this was not fiction and appearance, but truth and reality; otherwise the salvation of mankind, and the resurrection, would be only fiction and appearance, according to the doctrine of Manes. CHRIST said after his resurrection: Handle me and see, a spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me have. He did not say I am, but I have flesh and bones. As to what St. John saith, that the Word was made flesh, it is as St. Paul saith; that JESUS CHRIST was made a curse. Not that he became a curse it self, but that he took it upon him: However it ought not to be feared that the body of JESUS CHRIST being of a different nature from the Word, makes a Quaternity instead of a Trinity. The creature cannot be equalled to GOD, and the Divinity doth not admit of any addition. The incarnation hath added nothing to the Word; it is the flesh only that hath received infinite advantage by its union with the Word.

Rom. ix. 5.
Joh. xx. 28.
P. 590.

Mark ix.

P. 591.

As to those who said, that the Son of Mary was not the CHRIST, LORD and GOD; St. Athanasius asketh them, Why then from his birth is he called EMMANUEL, that is GOD with us? How doth St. Paul say, that he is GOD blessed for ever? Why did St. Thomas when he saw him, cry out; My LORD and my GOD, if the Word of GOD came unto the Son of Mary in the same manner as to the prophets? Why was he born of a virgin, and not of a man and a woman, as other holy persons? Why is it said of him alone, that he died for us? of him alone that he came at the end of the world? Why is he the only one who is already risen from the dead? It is said of others, that the Word of GOD was directed to them; and of him alone that the Word was made flesh. Him did the Father declare on the banks of Jordan, and on the mountain, when he said: This is my beloved Son. Him have the Arians renounced, and him do we acknowledge and adore, not dividing the Son and Word; but knowing that the Word it self is the Son, by whom all things were made, and who hath redeemed us. And a little afterwards: I beseech you, and all who shall hear this discourse, to take it in good part; and if any thing is wanting in point of doctrine, to correct it, and inform me of it: If the subject is not expressed with a suitable dignity and perfection of language, to pardon the weakness of my stile. Thus did the great Athanasius judge of his writings at a time when he was so thoroughly skilled in the holy doctrine.

XXIII.
Other letters
of St. Atha-
nasius.
Tom. ii.
P. 35.
Mark vii. 15.

He wrote likewise to an Abbot called Ammonius the father of many monasteries, against a ridiculous superstition of certain monks, who thought themselves defiled by their excrements and natural evacuations; taking this passage in the gospel in too gross a sense: It is not that which entred into a man that defileth a man, but that which cometh out of him. We are to observe, saith St. Athanasius, whence that cometh out that defileth a man. It is not from the body but from the heart; which is the repository of evil thoughts and of sins. He learnedly proves that all the works of GOD are good and pure, and that all the natural functions of the body are innocent and

and necessary; and that it is the abuse only that renders some of them criminal: thus homicide is a crime, though it is lawful, and even laudable to kill our enemies in a just war.

THERE was in Pentapolis, on the confines of Libya, two small towns Synes. ep. 67. p. 209, 210. called Palebisca and Hydrax, which had always been in the diocese of Erythræ, and were not considerable enough to have a Bishop of their own. However as Erythræ was at a distance from these towns, and Orion Bishop of Erythræ, an old man of an easy and peaceable disposition, the inhabitants of these towns were resolved to chuse a Bishop, even in his lifetime, who might better defend them from their enemies, and take care of their temporal affairs. A certain person called Siderius, came at that time from the army to improve some lands which had been granted to him. He was an active vigorous young man who knew how to make himself dreaded by his enemies, and to serve his friends. The inhabitants of Palebisca found him the most convenient for their purpose, as wanting a man of skill and prudence, to oppose the then reigning heresy. They therefore made choice of Siderius for their Bishop, and caused him to be ordained by one Bishop only, who was Philo of Cyrene.

THIS ordination was altogether irregular. He ought to have been ordained at Alexandria, or upon the place by three Bishops, consent having been first obtained from the Bishop of Alexandria. But the persecution would not admit of a strict observance of the rules of the Church: So that St. Athanasius complied with the times, and did not remove Siderius from Palebisca. And not only so, but esteeming him capable of a higher employment, translated him some time after to Ptolemais the metropolis of the province, to preserve the Catholick Doctrine, which was there almost lost, since Secundus one of the chief of the Arians, had been Bishop. But Siderius left Ptolemais in his old age to return to Palebisca; and as he had no predecessor in this see, neither had he any successor.

ON the other side, St. Athanasius inflicted the most severe penalties the Church could enjoin, on the governour of Libya, a man of a brutish temper, and wholly given up to cruelty and debauchery. St. Athanasius excommunicated him, signifying his sentence by letter to the rest of the Bishops, especially St. Basil, to the end that the whole world might shun his communion. St. Basil answered, that he had published his excommuni- Ep. 47. cation in his church, and that this wretch would be cursed by all the faithful, and that no body would share with him, either as to fire or water, or be under the same roof with him. He adds, that he hath notified this censure to all the servants, the friends, and the guests of the governor, by which we may suppose that he was of Cappadocia. We see by this instance what were the consequences of excommunication at that time, even with regard to civil society.

WE have likewise two letters of St. Athanasius in defence of St. Basil; To. i. p. 95. P. 592. the first to two Presbyters, John and Antiochus; wherein he calls him a true servant of God: the second, to a Presbyter, whose name was Palladius; his words are as follows: As to what you tell me concerning the Monks of Cæsarea, who oppose the Bishop Basil our brother; they would have reason, were his doctrine suspicious; but they are assured, as we are all,

all, that he is the glory of that Church, and contendeth for the truth : far from opposing him, we ought to approve his good intention ; for, according
 1 Cor. ix. 28. to the report of Dianæus, they disquiet themselves in vain : I am persuaded that he maketh himself weak with the weak, that he may gain them. Our Brethren should return thanks to G O D, for having blessed Cappadocia with such a Bishop. Let them know it is I that write this, that they may entertain such sentiments as they ought of their father, and preserve the peace of the Church.

XXIV. *The discretion of St. Basil when calumniated.* *Basil ep. 203, 204.* THIS condescension and compliance of St. Basil, with which St. Athanasius said some were offended, was very likely the manner wherein he dis-
 coursed of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost : For he required nothing more of the Macedonians, who were desirous of returning to the Church, than to confess the Nicene Creed, and to declare that they did not believe the Holy Ghost to be a creature; without obliging them expressly to affirm, that he is G O D. And himself in his writings and sermons forbore to call him formally G O D ; although he used terms of the like signification, and proved his Divinity by unanswerable evidence. The reason for his proceeding in
 Greg. Naz. Or. 20. p. 364. this manner, was the condition of the times ; he saw that the Hereticks being protected by Valens, wanted only a pretence to turn the Bishops who were most zealous for the truth out of their Sees, himself more especially ; and that the Eastern Church was full of division and faction ; so that he reckoned that the most effectual method to preserve religion, was to procure unity and concord, using the weak with all possible indulgence ; and he hoped, that after their reconciliation, G O D would enlighten them more, by their communication with the Catholicks, and peaceable examination of the truth. Thus doth St. Gregory Nazianzen justify the conduct of his friend, who doth himself explain it in two letters to the Priests of Tarsus.

D. ep. 205, 204. *Ep. 141. p. 934. C.* *Gr. Or. 20. p. 365. A.* ST. Basil did nevertheless call the Holy Ghost G O D in publick writings, when he thought it necessary ; as in his letter to the Church of Cæsarea about the year 363 ; and this was his constant practice in his conversation with his particular friends, especially with St. Gregory Nazianzen ; to whom, as that saint testifieth, he protested that he would rather deny that there was any Holy Ghost, than not adore him with the Father and the Son as *Consubstantial*. They had likewise agreed, that while St. Basil observed this precaution, Gregory who was not so much exposed to the persecution, should boldly preach up that truth. At an entertainment where St. Gregory was
 Greg. ep. 26. present with many of their common friends, the conversation fell upon St. Basil : They all mentioned him with admiration, and jointly commended the two friends ; when one of the guests, a Monk, cried out ; You are great flatterers, praise them in other respects with all my heart ; but as to the main, which is the Faith, neither Basil nor Gregory deserve any commendation : one betrays it by his discourse, and the other by his silence. Who told you this, audacious man ? replied Gregory. The Monk answered : I come from the feast of the martyr Euphychus, where I heard the great Basil speak admirably well of the Divinity of the Father and the Son ; as for the Holy Ghost, he made but little mention of him : And, whence comes it, said he, looking upon Gregory, that you speak plainly of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as you did at a certain assembly, and that Basil speaks
 obscurely

obscurely on this subject, and with more policy than piety? Because, replied Gregory, I am an obscure man, and but little known; therefore what I say is of no consequence. Basil is great in his own character, and by the dignity of his Church; all that he saith is exposed to publick notice; they strive hard against him, and the Hereticks endeavour to catch up some word from his mouth, whereby they may turn him out of the Church; he who is almost the only spark which we have left. It is better, therefore, to give way a little to this storm, and make known the Divinity of the Holy Ghost by other expressions: Truth consists rather in the meaning than in the words: But all that St. Gregory Nazianzen could say, could not bring the company to relish this wary proceeding. He gave an account of this conversation to St. Basil, who answered: If our brethren do yet doubt of my opinion, I have nothing to reply; for, how shall I be able to persuade, by a short letter, those who have not been persuaded by so long an experience of me? In a short time, by God's help, calumnies will be disproved by deeds: For we shortly expect at least to be driven from the Church, or out of the country, for the defence of the truth; perhaps even worse will befall us. And though nothing of what we expect should happen, the judgment of CHRIST is not far off.

THE journey of the Deacon Dorotheus, sent by St. Basil in concert with St. Meletius and St. Athanasius to the West, procured no other relief to those of the East, but letters, which were brought by Sabinus Deacon of the Church of Milan. He likewise delivered letters to St. Basil from St. Valerian Bishop of Aquila, and carried the letter to Antioch from the council of Rome, composed of ninety three Bishops, against Auxentius; to which are subjoined three extracts of the decrees of the said council, explaining the article of the Trinity; that is, of the Divinity of the Word in opposition to the Arians, the Semi-Arians, and Marcellus of Ancyra; the Divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonians; and the belief of the incarnation, in opposition to Apollinarius; not naming, however, any of these Hereticks. This letter was received and approved by all the Churches in the East, in a council held at Antioch, consisting of a hundred and forty six Bishops, who by their subscriptions confirmed the confession of the council of Rome. St. Meletius is placed at the head of these Bishops; next to him St. Eusebius of Samosata, St. Pelagius of Laodicea, Zeno of Tyre, Eulogius of Edessa, Bematius of Mallos in Cilicia, and Diodorus of Tarsus; the rest are not named. To this council is ascribed, and not without reason, a letter from the Eastern Bishops to those of Italy and Gaul, which is to be found among the letters of St. Basil, very likely because he drew it up, and which beareth the names of Meletius, Eusebius, Basil, Bassus, Gregory, Pelagius, and several others, to the number of two and thirty; and, moreover, at the end is added, And others; by which it appears, that the council was numerous. The Deacon Sabinus had the charge of this letter; and the Easterns refer it to him to give a more exact relation of their sufferings, which they describe in the following manner: The matter is not now concerning one or two Churches; Heresy hath spread from the confines of Illyricum, even to Thebais. The holy doctrine is overthrown, the Laws of the Church confounded, ambitious men get possession of the greatest offices, which become a reward for impiety.

The

Basil epist. 33.

XXV.

Council of Antioch.

Sup. n. 18.

Basil ep. 324.

Sup. n. 19.

Tho. 2. conc.

P. 892.

Valef. ad

Theodor. l. v.

c. 3. p. 41.

Basil ep. 69.

The gravity befitting the character of a Priest is lost; no Pastors are to be found, who have any knowledge of their duty; they convert the goods of the poor to their own use, or gratify their creatures with them. The strictness of the canons is forgotten; the liberty of sinning is great: For they who have obtained their authority by the favour of men, express their acknowledgments by permitting any thing to sinners. By this means the people are not corrected, and the Pastors have not the courage to open their mouths, being the slaves of those by whom they were promoted. The Catholick Faith is made a pretence, whereby to conceal private enmities. Some fearing to be convicted of infamous crimes, raise disturbances among the people, that in this time of confusion they may not be regarded, and may make a peace impossible; dreading, lest, when all is quiet, their shameful practices should be discovered: The Infidels laugh at these evils, and they stagger the weak; the Faith becomes doubtful, and ignorance gets possession of mens minds. The mouths of the good are stopped, while the wicked are allowed freely to blaspheme. The sanctuaries are prophaned; the Catholics avoid the places where they used to pray, as nurseries of impiety, and go into deserts to lift up their hands to Heaven with groans and tears. The report of what hath happened in most places hath reached you; you know that both sexes, old men and children, are dispersed without the city, to perform their devotions in the open air, enduring the injuries of the weather with extraordinary patience. The letter proceeds to conjure those of the West, in the strongest terms, to come speedily to their assistance, and to send a numerous deputation, that might have the authority of a council. This letter takes notice of the faction that reigned even among the Catholics, that is the schism at Antioch; and concludes with approving the synodical letter sent by the Bishops of the West.

Basil. ep. 324.

ST. Basil wrote also by the Deacon Sabinus, to the Bishops of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, and to some from whom he had received private letters; among the rest, to Valerian of Illyricum, or rather of Aquileia. He congratulates him as well as the rest, on the uniformity of belief throughout the Western Churches; and saith, that it is by their means, that the Faith must be restored in the East; to the end, that they may requite the benefit which they have received from it.

XXVI.
A persecution
at Antioch.
Sup. n. 26.
Socr. iv. 17.
Greg. Nyss.
in Melet.

p. 1023. B.
Theod. iv.
c. 13.

Basil. ep. 187.

p. 368. A.

Socr. iv. c. 2.

Soz. v. c. 7.

THE melancholy description which we meet with in these letters of the state of the East, was but too true, and the persecution was there very fierce; especially since the time that the Emperor Valens arrived at Antioch, that is about the month of June, in the year 370. Thus did he fulfil the oath which he had taken to Eudoxius at his baptism.

ST. Meletius, as the chief of the Catholics, was banished the third time, and sent to Armenia, his native country: Here he dwelt near Nicopolis, in a place belonging to him called Gethasa on the confines of Cappadocia; which gave frequent opportunities to St. Basil of conversing with him. Paulinus the other Catholick Bishop of Antioch, was spared, either by reason of his virtue, or the smallness of his flock. But neither did the flock of Meletius want assistance; the Priests Flavian and Diodorus took this care upon them, the same who, while they were yet laymen, had supported it under Constantius. Flavian, who was afterwards Bishop of Antioch, did not yet

yet speak in the congregation, but contented himself with supplying those that did with matter and arguments. Diodorus was Bishop of Tarsus, and at that time united in a strict friendship with St. Basil, St. Athanasius, Peter, and Timotheus his successors. John and Stephen did also labour to preserve the flock of St. Meletius, who afterwards made them both Bishops, John of Apamea, and Stephen of Germanicia. The Catholics of the communion of St. Meletius had been deprived of their churches; that is to say, of the *Palea*, and a new church which the Emperor Jovian had given them. They assembled therefore at the foot of the mountain near Antioch, where there were caverns, in which it was said, that St. Paul formerly concealed himself. Here they sung praises to God, and heard his word, being exposed to the rain and snow in winter, and extreme heat in summer. However, soldiers were sent to drive them thence, and they met together on the banks of the Orontes: but being forced from this place also, they resorted to the field, where the publick exercises were performed; whence they received the name of *Campenses*, which was given them by those of Paulinus's communion; and from this place too they were forced to remove. In the mean time the Emperor Valens caused many of them to be tormented and put to death by several methods; but especially by throwing them into the Orontes.

Hier. ep. 57.
Damaso.

Socr. iv. c. 17.

THE palace of Antioch was situated upon the banks of this river, the high way leading into the country passing between. One day the Emperor Valens looking down from his gallery, beheld an old man covered with an ordinary mantle, walking with more haste than his great age seemed to permit. He was told, that it was the Monk Aphraates, for whom the whole city had a prodigious veneration; and indeed he had left his retirement to come to the assistance of the Church, although he was but a layman; and was then repairing to the place where the Catholics held their meetings. Whither are you going? said the Emperor to him. I am going to pray for the prosperity of your reign, answered Aphraates; but you ought, replied Valens, to have stayed at home and prayed in secret according to the Monastick rule. You say very well, my lord, replied Aphraates, so I ought; and did so as long as our SAVIOUR's sheep enjoyed peace; but in their present danger all methods should be tried to save them. Tell me, my lord, were I a maid confined in my father's house, and should see it take fire, what ought I to do? sit still and let it burn? or rather leaving my chamber, run and carry water to all parts to extinguish the flames? this is my practice now. You have set fire to our father's house, and we run to extinguish it. Thus spake Aphraates; and the Emperor held his peace. But one of the eunuchs belonging to his chamber, reviled the aged saint from the top of the gallery where he stood, and threatened him with death. Some time after, this eunuch going to see whether the Emperor's bath was warm, his head turned round, and he threw himself into the cauldron of boiling water; and no body being there to help him out, he lost his life. The Emperor sent another eunuch for him; but he brought word that he could not find any body in any of the chambers; many ran to the place, and looking about in all the tubs and vessels, they at length found the unhappy man lying dead. The report of this accident went all over the city, and all praised the God of Aphraates. And the Emperor being terrified,

XXVII.
St. Aphraates,
Theod. iv.
hist. c. 26.
Id. Philost.
c. 8.

durst not send him into banishment, as he had resolved ; but he continued to persecute the rest of the Catholicks.

ST. Apraates was born of a noble family in Persia. Being converted to the Christian Faith, he left his country and came to Edeffa, where he shut himself up in a little house which he found without the city, and lived there in the practice of piety. From thence he passed to Antioch ; then disturbed by the Hereticks under the reign of Constantius, and retired to a monastery without the city. He learnt a little Greek ; and though his stile was very barbarous, having a great mixture of his own language ; and though he had difficulty of expression, he nevertheless gained more upon his hearers than those sophists who valued themselves most for their Rhetorick. People of all conditions flocked about him ; magistrates, artificers, soldiers, the learned, and the ignorant : Some silently attended to him ; others proposed questions ; and notwithstanding all this fatigue and labour, he would never have any body to wait upon him, nor receive ought of any person, except some bread of one of his friends ; to which in his extream old age, he joyned some herbs, and never eat any thing till after sun-set. Such was the character of the famous Aphraates, who then came in to the support of religion, and afterwards wrought many other miracles, which are recounted by Theodoret, who was an eye-witness, and had received his benediction in his childhood.

XVIII.
St. Julian
Sabbas.
Theod. Philoth. c. 2.
p. 780. C.
Sup. lib. xv.
n. 48.

THE Hereticks raised a report, that the great Julian had embraced their communion, the famous Anchorite of Osrhoena, to whom the death of the Emperor Julian had been revealed : He was called Sabbas ; that is, in the Syriack, Grey-headed, or Old Man. To stifle this false report, Flavian Diodorus, and Aphraates applied themselves to Acatius afterwards Bishop of Bercea, who had been instructed in the rules of a monastick life by Asterius a disciple of Julian Sabbas. They persuaded Acatius to go with Asterius to the holy old man, and bring him to the assistance of the Church. When they were arrived at the place of his abode, Asterius said thus to him : Tell me, father, why do you take pleasure in undergoing so much trouble ? Because, replied Julian, the service of GOD is dearer to me than my body or my life : I will shew you, answered Acatius, the best way of serving God at this time. When he was shewing St. Peter in what manner he should make it appear that he loved him more than the rest, he said to him : If you love me feed my sheep. You, father, should act in the same manner ; the flock is in danger ; you may betray the truth by your silence ; for your name is made use of by the Arians as a bait to draw in the simple, and they boast that you are of their communion.

John xxi. 17.

THE good old man no sooner heard these words, but he set forward towards Antioch, and for a while took leave of his solitude. Having journeyed two or three days in the desert, he arrived in the evening at a small town, where a certain rich woman, throwing herself at his feet, besought him and his pious companions to take up their lodging at her house ; where-to he consented, although in the space of forty years and more, he had not seen any woman. While she was busy in serving her guests, it being night time, her only son, about seven years old, fell into a well. This accident made a great noise, and it came to the ears of the mother : but she ordered all

all her servants to be quiet, covered the well, and continued to wait upon her strangers. Being at table, the holy old man desired the child might be called to receive his blessing; the mother replied he was sick; but the faint insisted upon his being sent for. At length she discovered the accident. Julian got from the table, and running to the well, he caused it to be uncovered, and some lights to be brought, and beheld the child sitting upon the surface of the water, which he dashed about with his hand in sport. A man being let down by a cord into the well, drew the child out, who immediately ran and fell at the feet of the good old man, saying, that he had seen him supporting him upon the water.

BEING come to Antioch, the people crowded from all parts to get a sight of him, and to be cured of sundry distempers. He lodged at the foot of the mountain, in those caverns where it is reported that St. Paul lay concealed; but quickly fell sick himself of a violent fever. Acatius was much grieved, fearing lest those who came in crowds to him to be cured of their distempers, should be offended thereat. Julian said to him: Be not discouraged; if my health is necessary, God will grant it me immediately; and forthwith he went to prayers in his usual posture, falling on his knees, and prostrating himself with his face on the ground, and begged God to restore him his health, if it might be serviceable to those who were present. He had not quite ended his prayers, when he fell into a sudden and violent sweat, which carried off his fever. He afterwards cured many distempers of all sorts; and set forward to the place where the Catholics held their assemblies. As he was passing before the gate of the palace, a beggar who dragged himself along, having lost the use of his legs, stretched forth his hands, and touched the mantle of the aged saint, and was immediately healed, and got up, running and leaping: This brought the whole city together, so that the field where he used to exercise, was filled with the multitude, to the no small confusion of the hereticks. St. Julian cured many other sick persons, who prevailed upon him to come to their houses, and among others the Count of the east; and some time after this he returned to his cell.

PASSING through the city of Cyrus, two days journey from Antioch, he stopped at the church of a martyr, where the Catholics assembled, who besought Julian to deliver them from the sophist Asterius, whom the hereticks had made Bishop, and sent to their city to seduce the simple. Have courage, said the good old man, join with us in prayer to God, and to your prayers add fasting and mortification. They did so, and the sophist Asterius, on the eve of the festival in which he was to speak to the people, was seized with a distemper, which carried him off in a day's time. Theodoret, who records these wonders, had learnt them from Acatius, one of the saint's disciples. St. Basil assisted upon this occasion the church of Antioch, with a letter full of comfort and tenderness. Basil. ep. 60.

WHILE the Emperor Valens thus persecuted none but the Catholics only, he suffered every other sect to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, that is, all the hereticks, the Jews; and even the Pagans; they performed their profane ceremonies with all possible security, which had been restored by Julian, and abolished by Jovian. During the whole reign of Valens, XXIX.
The magicians
massacred.
Theod. iv.
hist. c. 14.
Idac. v. hist.
c. 21.

Valens, fires were lighted upon the altars : Libations and victims were offered unto the idols : Feasts were kept in the squares and publick places ; they celebrated the festivals of Jupiter and Ceres. At the *Orgia* of Bacchus, men and women ran about in a wild and distracted manner, wearing goats skins, tearing dogs to pieces, and committing other extravagances, which were usual at this solemnity. However, at last the Emperor made the Pagans feel his indignation, the occasion whereof was this.

Anon. xxiv.
c. 2.
Soz. p. 743.

BEING at Antioch, he discovered that two pretended diviners, Hilary and Patricius, had been employed to find out who should succeed Valens in the empire. Being both of them apprehended and put to the torture, Hilary confessed as follows : We made with laurel branches this table with three feet, in imitation of the tripod of Delphi ; which having consecrated with mystick charms, and abundance of ceremonies, we placed it in the middle of a house, purified throughout by perfumes ; and on the table was set a round bason composed of divers sorts of mettals, on the brim whereof were ingraven at due distances, the four and twenty letters of the Greek Alphabet. A man cloathed with a linnen garment, with socks of the same, came up to it, with a fillet about his head, covered with vervain. Having invoked in certain hymns the god who presides over divinations, that is Phœbus, the same man poised a ring which hung from a curtain by a very fine thread, which ring had been before prepared by the mysteries of the art. We wanted to know who was to succeed the present Emperor, because it was said he was to be a person of great accomplishments ; and the ring dancing over the bason, pointed out the two syllables *Theod*, stopping at the four Greek letters, *theta*, *epsilon*, *omicron*, and *delta*. Some of the bystanders cryed out, The destinies pointed at Theodore. We looked no farther, for it was certain enough amongst us, that he was the person sought for. This was the confession of Hilary.

Chryf. ad.
Jun. vid.
Sozom. vi.
c. 35.

THIS Theodore held the second rank amongst the Emperor's notaries, which was a very considerable office at that time. He had a greaceful person, a compleat knowledge of letters, and used to speak to the Emperor with great freedom. He was a Pagan, which made Philosophers, and other Pagans who were greatly offended at the progress of Christianity, wish to be under his government. So that we need not wonder if the magick ring well managed, pointed at the initial letters of his name. The Emperor Valens being of an impetuous temper, on the discovery of this conspiracy was transported with rage, and set no bounds to his revenge. He put all the accomplices of this fact to death, and all who were so much as suspected to have a hand in it : Some he condemned to the flames, as magicians, and some were sentenced to die by the sword. Antioch was, if I may use the expression, overflowed with blood. The Philosophers were searched for as magicians. Maximus was accused of having some knowledge of the magical operation, and of foretelling a great massacre, after which Valens should lose his life in an unusual manner. He was therefore brought to Antioch, and afterwards sent back to Asia, where the governour Festus ordered him to be beheaded. Such was the end of the Philosopher Maximus, the chief contriver and promoter of Julian's apostacy. And so great a dread seized upon the Philosophers, that none durst profess him-
self

Eunap. in
Max. p. 104.
105.

Soz. vi.
c. 35.

self such, or wear the habit of one; and even particular persons left off the fringed mantles, that were in any respect like the Philosophers. Search was also made after magical treatises, and great heaps of books were publicly burned; amongst which were included some that treated only of law or human learning. In short the Emperor Valens was so cautious, as to put several considerable persons to death, whose names began with the two fatal syllables *Theod*, such as Theodore, Theodosius, Theodotus, Theodulus, or others of the like names: among the rest Theodosius or Theodosiolus, father of the Emperor Theodosius, who did indeed succeed Valens. Many changed their names on this occasion.

At Rome also search was made after the magicians, much about the same time. Many were there accused of this crime in the year 370. Among others a famous soothsayer, called Amantius. Some senators were included in the number of the accused, and the Emperor Valentinian, who was at Treves making war upon the Germans, being consulted, ordered the magicians to be prosecuted. But he declared that he did not thereby prohibit the Haruspices from practising their art; and that he gave liberty to all to follow the religion of their ancestors, as he had declared in the beginning of his reign. He did not deprive the pagan sacrificers of their privileges, and exemptions, not even in Gaul where he then was; as appears by two laws published in the years 371 and 372. He permitted the altar of victory to remain at Rome, which Constantius had removed, and had been replaced there, very likely in the time of Julian. Lastly, Valentinian passed a law relating to stage-players, which does not discover much zeal for religion. As people of this profession were not admitted to Baptism till they had quitted their employment, the Emperor indeed prohibits those who have been baptized to come upon the stage again; but at the same time he decrees, that if, being in danger of their life, they should desire Baptism, the magistrates should be informed, that they might cause them to be visited, and see whether really they were in danger. All the Pagans dreaded least the comedians should turn Christians, and a stop should by this means be put to the publick diversions. This law is dated the eleventh of February 371. Thus did the two Emperors tolerate idolatry both in the east and west.

But it met with a powerful adversary in Gaul, in the person of St. Martin. The see of Tours being vacant, his virtue and miracles made the people desire him to be their Bishop. But as they knew how difficult it was to get him out of his monastery, one of the citizens called Ruricius, pretended that his wife was sick, and falling down at his knees, prevailed upon him to come out. A party of the inhabitants, who had formed an ambush in the way, seized upon him, and carried him to Tours, where an incredible multitude of people had flocked together, not only out of the country, but from the neighbouring cities, to bear a part in this election. All concluded that he highly deserved the Bishoprick, except some few, and those were Bishops, who opposed him. They said his mean appearance, his slovenly habit, and dirty hair, made him contemptible. But the people derided these reproaches, esteeming them rather commendations. They were also moved by an unlooked for accident: The reader who was

Socr. iv. c. 19.

Hier. Chr. an. 371. Amm. xxviii. c. 1. p. 512. L. 10. C. Th. de malef. Sup. n. 1.

L. 75. C. 77. C. Th. ac. decur. lib. 12. Symm. x. epist. 54. Sup. xxii. n. 4. L. 1. C. Th. de scen. lib. 15.

XXX. The ordination of St. Martin. Sulp. Sev. c. 7.

to

to have read that day, not being able to get through the croud, one of the congregation took the Psalter, and read the first passage which he happened to light upon, which was this verse in the eighth Psalm: Out of the mouth of babes thou hast ordained praise, because of thine enemies, to destroy the *enemy and the defender*; for thus was it then read, whereas we at present read it the enemy and the avenger. Now he who most strongly opposed St. Martin's election was a Bishop called Defensor; whereupon all the people imagining he was signified by these words of the Psalm, and that God had suffered it to be read, thereby to make known his will; there arose a great cry, and the opposite party were confounded.

St. Martin continued when he was Bishop his former manner of life, retaining the same humility of mind, and meanness of habit. But he had not the less authority upon this account. He remained some time in a cell near the church; but afterwards, not being able to endure the disturbance and interruption of the many visits which he received, he built himself a monastery about the distance of two miles from the city, which is now in being, under the name of *Marmontier*. It was then a desert, inclosed by a high steep rock on one side, and with the river Loire on the other; and the entrance into it was by a very narrow passage. The holy Bishop had there a wooden cell, as likewise had many of the Brethren: most of them took up their dwelling in the holes which they had digged in the side of the rock; and one is still shewn, where St. Martin is said to have lodged. He had there about fourscore disciples, none of whom had any distinct property; none were allowed to buy or sell, as was the practice of the greater part of the monks. They were not allowed to follow any other business or occupation, but writing; neither did they spend any other time in this but on fast days: the old men employed their time in prayer. They seldom left their cells, unless when they met together in their oratory; they eat all together towards evening, after the time of fasting was over; they abstained from wine, unless their infirmities required it. Most of them had garments of camels hair, that is of coarse camlet; and they esteemed it a crime to wear soft cloathing. There were nevertheless many men of quality among them, who had been educated in a very different manner, and many who were afterwards Bishops. For there was not a church which did not desire a pastor out of the monastery of St. Martin.

Sulp. dialog.
2. c. 6.

SOME time after his ordination, he was obliged to repair to the court of the Emperor Valentinian, who generally resided in Gaul. He knowing that St. Martin was come to beg of him what he had no mind to grant, gave orders that he should not be admitted into the palace: For besides, that he was naturally proud and passionate, his wife Justina, who was an Arian, hindered him from shewing any respect to the holy Bishop. St. Martin having twice or thrice in vain attempted to get access to this Prince, he had recourse to his ordinary weapons. He put on hair cloth, covered himself with ashes, refrained from eating and drinking, and prayed day and night. On the seventh day an angel appeared unto him, and ordered him to go boldly to the palace. St. Martin accordingly goes thither on the assurance of the angel; the doors open, no body stops him, and he comes

to

to the Emperor, who seeing him at a distance, asked in a passion why they had let him in? and would not vouchsafe to rise; but the place where he sat, was all on a flame, which soon forced him to get up. Then finding that he had felt the effect of a Divine Power, he embraced the saint several times, and granted him all that he desired, even before he had time to ask. He gave him audience several times, and often made him eat at his table; and at last, on his departure, offered him great presents, which St. Martin refused, resolving not to quit his state of poverty.

IN the neighbourhood of Tours there was a place much revered by the people; they imagining it to be the sepulcher of some martyr; and the preceeding Bishops had moreover erected an altar there. But St. Martin who was not over credulous, desired the eldest of the Clergy to shew him the name of the martyr, or the time of his martyrdom; and finding no certain tradition of either, he forbore for some time going to that place, that he might not prejudice religion, or authorize superstition. At length he went thither one day with some of the Brethren; and standing over the sepulcher, besought GOD to shew him who was buried there. Whereupon, turning to the left, he saw not far from him a pale ghost of a fierce aspect, whom he commanded to speak: the ghost told his name; and it appeared, that he had been a robber who was executed for his crimes; whom the people honoured through mistake, having no pretence to the title of a martyr. None but St. Martin saw him; the rest only heard his voice; he caused the altar to be removed, and freed the people from this superstition.

XXXI.
*The labours of
St. Martin
for the Faith.
Vita, c. 8.*

HE destroyed many idol temples, and felled several trees that were held as sacred by the Pagans; nay, often to the hazard of his life. Having demolished a very ancient temple, he would also have cut down a Pine that stood near it; which the Chief Priest and other Pagans opposed. At last they said to him: If thou trustest so much in thy GOD, we will fell this tree our selves, if you will stand under it when it falls. He accepted their conditions, and suffered himself to be tied as they would have him, on that side toward which the tree leaned: Multitudes crouded to see this sight; and the Monks who accompanied him were in great apprehensions. The tree being half cut, gave a great crack, and began to fall towards St. Martin; whereupon, he lifting up his hand, made the sign of the cross, and immediately the tree, as if forced back by a violent whirl-wind, fell on the other side, and in its fall had like to have crushed the country people, who thought themselves most secure: They gave a great shout, and there was not any of this prodigious multitude who did not demand the imposition of hands, in order to be received as Catechumens. Another time, as he was pulling down a temple in the country of the Ædui, that is in the territory of Autun, a great number of Pagans fell upon him with great fury; and one bolder than the rest attacked him sword in hand. The saint took away his mantle, and presented his bare neck to him; but the Pagan having lifted up his hand, fell backwards, being miraculously terrified, and begged his pardon. Another, as he was destroying certain idols, struck at him with his knife; but the knife slipped out of his hand and disappeared. He often persuaded the Pagans to destroy their temples themselves. Before his time there were very few Christians in these parts of Gaul; but he left them

c. 10.

c. 13.

c. 14.

them full of places set apart for pious uses ; for wherever he destroyed the temples, he presently built churches or monasteries.

- c. 16. HE continued frequently to perform great miracles. He healed a slave belonging to Tetradius, formerly Proconsul, that was possessed with the devil : At Treves he cured a maid who was sick of the palsey and just ready to expire, by putting some oyl that had been blessed into her mouth : At Paris, as he entered the gate of the city, followed by a great croud, he kissed a most loathsome leprous man, and gave him his benediction, and forthwith he was healed ; the next day he came to church, and returned thanks to GOD. Small threads of the cloaths, or of the hair shirt of St. Martin, healed the sick, when fastened about their fingers or their necks. Arborius, who had born the office of Præfect, having a daughter sick of a violent quartan ague, laid one of the saints letters upon her breast, and the ague immediately left her. Paulinus afterwards of great fame for his sanctity, being seized with a great pain in his eye, where a cataract was beginning to gather, St. Martin touched him with a pencil, and he was immediately cured. These are some of his miracles.

XXXII. IN the mean time the persecution continued in the East, though the fury of it was somewhat abated ; for Valens being at Antioch, the philosopher Themistius made a speech to him, whereby, though he was a Pagan, he did a little soften him with regard to the Catholicks. He shewed him, that there was no reason to be surprized at the variety of opinions among the Christians, since it was small in comparison of the multitude and confusion of tenets among the Greeks, that is, the Pagans ; who held above three hundred different opinions. Valens therefore contented himself with banishing the Ecclesiasticks, instead of putting them to death ; so that the persecution was less violent ; but it still continued and spread throughout Syria ; and St. Pelagius Bishop of Laodicea was banished among the rest. He had married in his youth ; but on his wedding day, he prevailed upon his bride to live in a state of celibacy : And as he had applied himself no less to the practice of all other virtues than that of chastity, he was unanimously elected Bishop. He had many years governed that Church, and was then banished to Arabia. The Churches of Chalcis and Berœa did also feel the effects of this persecution ; and St. Basil wrote letters to them for their encouragement and consolation. Writing to the Church of Chalcis, he observes that the persecution had not yet reached him and the Churches of Cappadocia ; but that the example of the neighbouring Churches gave him continual expectations of it. He says, that not only the Priests and Clergy of Chalcis, but also the greatest amongst the people had been tempted. The Church of Berœa sent the Presbyter Acatius to him, who was afterwards their Bishop, from whom he learnt a full account of their sufferings, and the harmony and agreement that was between the Clergy and people. He exhorts them to perseverance, and tells them that their example has given fresh courage to many Churches.

IN Palestine, Philip Bishop of Scythopolis, and successor to Patrophilus ; afterwards Athanasius who succeeded Philip ; Gemellinus, and several others preached openly the grosser Arianism ; affirming, that the Son of GOD was a creature, and that the Holy Ghost had nothing in common with

The persecuti-
on in Syria.
Socr. iv. c. 32.
Sozom. vi.
c. 36.

Theod. iv.
c. 13.

Basil ep. 297.
Chalcid. ep.
298. 299.
Berœens.

with the Divine nature ; and not satisfied with infecting the country by their discourses, they used open force in persecuting the Catholicks. At Jerusalem a certain person called Hilarius or Hilarion, who had made himself infamous by his communicating with the Arians, filled the See of St. Cyril, who was yet living, though probably in exile : For, after Irenæus, whom the Arians in the council of Constantinople, in the year 360, had made Bishop of Jerusalem. St. Cyril had taken possession of his See, very probably under the reign of Julian ; but he was deprived of it again by Hilarius. Acatius who was blind of one eye, died some years before at Cæsarea, and St. Cyril who was then at Jerusalem, appointed Philumenus to succeed him ; but Eutychius of Eleutheropolis, who though a Catholick in his heart, did adhere to the Arians out of aversion to St. Cyril, did set up another Cyril at Cæsarea, surnamed the Old. St. Cyril sent thither afterwards Gelasius his sister's son ; and the Arians taking advantage of the divisions of these three Bishops, who disputed the See of Cæsarea with each other, ordained there Euzoius, who must not be mistaken for Euzoius of Antioch. Euzoius of Cæsarea laboured with great application to restore the library of St. Pamphilus, causing the books to be new copied out upon parchment. Among the rest the works of Origen, a great many of which he recovered, and made a table of them. He was a man of learning, and composed himself several treatises. St. Epiphanius then Bishop of Salamina in the isle of Cyprus, was held in so great veneration, that the Arians did not venture to meddle with him, and he remained at peace in his Church.

St. Barfes or Barsen, having long lived a solitary life, was made Bishop of Edessa in Mesopotamia. Valens at first banished him to the island of Aradus in Phœnicia : But being informed that by healing distempers by his word only, he drew crouds of people after him ; he sent him away to Egypt to the city of Oxyrynchus ; and as his reputation was so great, multitudes of people still resorted to him, he sent him to Thebais, to a place called Philo, bordering on the barbarous nations. His bed was long preserved at Aradus ; it was held in great reverence in the time of Theodoret ; and many sick persons were healed by lying down upon it. The Latin Church honours the memory of St. Barfes on the thirtieth of January, and the Greek Church the fifteenth of October. Valens sent to Edessa in his room an Arian Bishop ; but all the people went out of the city and assembled in the fields. Valens himself was an eye witness of it, when he came to Edessa to visit the famous Church of St. Thomas the Apostle. He was so incensed thereat, that he struck the Præfect Modestus, because he had not taken care to hinder these assemblies ; and ordered him to draw together all the soldiers he had under his command, and what other troops he could find, to disperse this multitude. Modestus, although an Arian, gave private notice to the Catholicks not to assemble the next day, at the place where they were wont to pray, because he had orders from the Emperor to punish those that should be found there. He hoped by these menaces to hinder their assembling, and to appease the Emperor. But the Faithful of Edessa were hereby only the more incited to come together ; and they made more than ordinary haste very early in the morning to repair to the usual place, which

Epiph. Hær. 73. n. 37, 38.

Hier. Chr. in. 349. Sup lib. 14. n. 23.

Epiph. Hær. 73. n. 37.

Hier. epist. 141. Id. de script.

Hier. ep. 61. c. 3.

XXXIII. The persecution at Edessa.

Theod. hist. iv. c. 16. Ruf. ij. c. 5.

Socr. iv. c. 8.

Sozom. vi.

c. 18. Theod. iv. c. 16.

was crouded with them. The Præfect Modestus being informed of this, knew not what resolution to take. However he marched up towards the midst of the assembly, he and his troop making great noice, to terrify the people. Coming into the city, he saw a poor woman hastily running out of her house, not so much as staying to shut the door after her, and who held a child by the hand, letting her gown trail negligently on the ground, not being veiled, as was the manner of the country. She crossed the file of soldiers that marched before the Præfect, and passed on with great eagerness. He caused her to be stopped, and asked whither she was going in such haste? I am in haste, said she, to go into the field where the Catholicks meet. You are the only person then, said Modestus, who are ignorant that the Præfect is going thither, and that he will put all to death whom he shall find there. Yes, replied she, I have heard so, and that is the very reason that I am hastening thither, fearing lest I should miss the opportunity of suffering martyrdom. But why do you carry this child with you? said the Præfect. That he may partake, said she, in the same glory. Modestus surprized at the resolution of this woman, returned to the palace, and having discoursed the Emperor thereupon, he persuaded him to give over an enterprize, the event whereof would be unfortunate and dishonourable.

Theod. iv.
c. 17, 18.

VALENS resolved therefore to spare the people, and ordered the Præfect to apprehend the Priests and Deacons; and either prevail upon them to communicate with the Arian Bishops, or drive them out of the city, and send them to the remotest parts of the Empire. Modestus having drawn them together, endeavoured to prevail upon them by saying; No man in his senses would attempt to oppose so powerful a prince. But they all remaining silent, the Præfect turned himself towards the Priest Eulogius, who was their chief, and asked him, why he made no answer? Eulogius replied, You demanded nothing of me. Nay, says he, I have been talking a long time to you. Eulogius answered, You speak to every body. If you ask me in particular, I will tell you what I think. Well then, said the Præfect, communicate with the Emperor. Did the Emperor, replied Eulogius, receive the Priesthood with the empire? The Præfect provoked by his answer, said, You are impertinent, I did not say so; I exhort you to communicate with those with whom the Emperor communicates. We have a Pastor, said Eulogius, and we follow his orders. Whereupon the Præfect sent them, to the number of fourscore, into Thrace.

Soz. vi.
c. 33, 34.

THE great respect which they met with, during their journey, raised the envy of their adversaries: For whole cities and towns came out to meet, and congratulate them upon their victory. Valens having received complaints hereof, ordered them to be separated, two by two, and these not to be relations. Some continued their journey towards Thrace; others were sent to the farthest parts of Arabia; others scattered through the little cities of Thebais. Eulogius and Protogenes were sent to the city called Antinoüs. These two were chief of the Clergy of Edeffa, who had long ago led a monastick life, and had made a great progress in virtue. They found that the Bishop of Autinoüs was a Catholick, and assisted at his assemblies. But observing that his congregation was not numerous, and that the greater
part

part of the inhabitants were Pagans, they laboured to convert them. Eulogius shut himself up in a cell, where he prayed night and day. Protogenes, who was well versed in sacred literature, and who could write readily in short hand, having found a place fit for his purpose, set up a school, where he taught the children that way of writing, and caused them to learn the Psalms of David, and the most suitable passages of the New Testament. One of these children falling sick, Protogenes went to the house where he was, and took him by the hand, and healed him by his prayers. The parents of the other children being informed of this, brought him to their houses, and desired him to relieve such as were sick among them; but he refused to pray for them till they had received Baptism, and the desire of being cured, inclined them to consent. If any one, whilst in health, became a convert, he carried him to Eulogius, knocked at his door, and desired him to baptize him. Eulogius was unwilling to be interrupted in his prayers; but Protogenes represented to him that nothing was so valuable as the salvation of mens souls. Every body was surprized to see a man, who could teach so well, and who wrought such miracles, yield to another that honour of administering Baptism; and it was concluded that Eulogius excelled in virtue. But perhaps Protogenes only paid him this deference, as being the elder Priest. This good use did these two saints make of their banishment.

EGYPT remained in peace as long a St. Athanasius lived; but he died during this persecution, and as it is thought on the second of May in the year 373. He died in his bed at Alexandria, after he had been Bishop full six and forty years, being now very old, and having performed many meritorious actions. Before he expired, he was desired to appoint a successor, and he named Peter, an excellent person already venerable by his age and gray hairs, and greatly esteemed for his piety, wisdom, and eloquence, the faithful companion of his labours and travels, and who never deserted him in any danger. This choice was confirmed by the suffrages of the whole church of Alexandria, the Clergy, Magistrates, Nobility, and all the people who publickly testified their joy by loud acclamations. The neighbouring Bishops made haste to assemble to solemnize his election and ordination; the Monks quitted their solitude to assist at it, and Peter was placed in the See of Alexandria, by the unanimous consent of all the Catholics. He wrote immediately according to custom, to the Bishops of the principal Sees, and we have St. Basil's answer to him still remaining. Damasus Bishop of Rome also wrote to him letters of communion and consolation, which he sent by a Deacon.

BUT the Arians taking courage again by the death of St. Athanasius, gave immediate notice thereof to the Emperor Valens, who was still at Antioch. Euzoius of Antioch was of opinion, that he ought to go himself to put Lucius in possession of the church of Alexandria, for which he was already ordained. The Emperor approved this journey: And the treasurer Magnus was sent with forces to accompany Euzoius: And in the mean time they wrote in the Emperor's name to Palladius Præfect of Egypt, and the troops that were there to drive away Peter. Palladius who was a Pagan, and who had often wished for an occasion to injure the Christians, willingly accepted

XXXIV.
The death of
St. Athana-
nasius. Peter
succeeds him.
Socr. iv.
c. 20.
Socr. vj.
c. 19.
Proter. epist.
ad. S. Leon.
tom. 3. com.
p. 1352. B.

Basil. ep. 320.

Socr. iv.
c. 21.
Sozom. vi.
c. 20.
Theod. iv.
c. 20.

Theod. iv.
c. 22.

Martyr.
Rom. 13.
May.

cepted the commission. He presently got together a company of Jews and Pagans, whom he gained by money and promises; and coming to the church of St. Theonas, he surrounded it, and ordered Peter to come out, if he would not be driven thence by force. Peter withdrew, and this croud of infidels entered the church: It resounded with the praises of idols, clapping of hands, impudent clamours, and scandalous expressions relating to the virgins who were consecrated to CHRIST. At this good men stopped their ears; but those insolent wretches, not satisfied with words, tore off the habits of the virgins, and having stripped them quite naked, led them in triumph through the city; and if any one endeavoured to persuade them to forbear their outrages, he got nothing but blows for his pains. Many of these virgins were violated, and many beaten to death, and their bodies were not so much as suffered to be buried. The Church honours those martyrs who were murdered on this occasion, in the church of St. Theonas.

BUT what was most intolerable to the Christians was the prophanation of the altar. The infidels caused a young boy to get up upon it, as if upon a stage, who by his infamous life dishonoured his sex; his cheeks were daubed with red, and his eye-brows with black, and he was dressed in womens cloaths in the same manner as the idols; probably he was habited like Bacchus. This wretch began to dance upon the altar, turning about and using several ridiculous gestures and motions with his hands, by throwing them about. In the mean time the bystanders burst into loud fits of laughter, which they accompanied with blasphemies. Another of them, notorious for his scandalous life, stripped himself naked, and ascended the Bishop's throne, as if to preach. Accordingly he began an harangue full of ribaldry, teaching impiety, extolling debauchery, leudness, and immodesty, intemperance and thievery, pretending to shew the usefulness and advantage of every one of these crimes, in contempt of the Christian morality.

SOME time after Lucius arrived from Antioch, together with Euzoius and count Magnus. Lucius was an Alexandrian, and had received Priest's orders from the usurping Bishop George, whom he was appointed by the Arians to succeed. They would have had their choice approved by the Emperor Jovian, who rejected Lucius with contempt. He was afterwards consecrated Bishop at Antioch, or some other place out of Egypt, having bought the Bishoprick, as if it had been a secular office. Magnus was treasurer of the Emperor's household; who having burnt the church of Berytus, under the reign of Julian, had been forced under Jovian to rebuild it at his own expence, and yet had like to have lost his head for it. Lucius came to take possession of the church of Alexandria, accompanied with the governor Palladius, count Magnus, their apparitors and soldiers, and a croud of Pagans extolling him, and saying openly to him; You are welcome, O Bishop, who do not acknowledge the son; Serapis favoureth you, and hath brought you hither.

XXXV.
Persecution in
Egypt.

AT the same time count Magnus caused nineteen, both Priests and Deacons to be apprehended, some of whom were about fourscore years of age; and having sent for them before his tribunal, as criminals, said aloud to them; Agree miserable men, agree to the opinion of the Arians.

If

If your religion be true, GOD will pardon you for yielding through necessity. He after added both promises and threats from the Emperor. They replied: Forbear to intimidate us by this unnecessary discourse; we adore no new god; we do not believe that he hath ever been without wisdom; that sometimes he is Father, and sometimes he is not, or that the Son is temporary. Our fathers assembled at Nice, have anathematized this error by confessing that the Son is *Consubstantial* with the Father. After having spoken in this manner, Count Magnus sent them to prison, and kept them there several days, in hopes to make them alter their minds. He afterwards caused them to be whipped and tormented before the people, who were greatly grieved at it: then having erected his tribunal in a publick bath near the gate, surrounded with Jews and Apostates, who were placed there to exclaim against the holy Confessors, he sentenced them to banishment; and sent them to Heliopolis in Phœnicia: all the inhabitants of which city were idolaters, and could not so much as bear to hear JESUS CHRIST named. He caused them to embark immediately, and pressed them forward with his drawn sword, without so much as giving them time to provide necessaries, or staying till the sea, which was tempestuous, grew calm; not being moved with the cries and tears of all the Catholicks.

THE Prefect Palladius ordered many to prison who had presumed to weep, and after having torn their bodies by scourging, sent about twenty three of them, for the most part Monks, to work in the mines. With them was taken the Deacon whom Damasus had sent from Rome to carry his letters to the Bishop Peter. He was publickly led along by the executioner, his hands tied behind him, and having been severely scourged and bruised with stones thrown at him, and whipped with leathern thongs with lead fastened to the ends; he was put aboard with the rest, without any other provision than the sign of the cross, which he made on his forehead; and was carried to the Phœnician copper mines. They tortured to death even the young children; nor were their parents suffered to give them burial. On the contrary they cut off the heads of such as expressed any concern for their distress. Euzoius having thus succeeded in his design, and put the Arians, though but few in number, in possession of the Churches of Alexandria, left the whole city in tears, and returned to Antioch. Soz. vi. c. 19.

SOON after Lucius had entered into Alexandria, an order came from the Emperor, to drive thence, and from every other part of Egypt, those who believed the *Consubstantiality*; in a word, to persecute all such as Lucius should appoint. The persecution was very violent; the Catholicks were dragged before the tribunals, imprisoned, and tortured. From Alexandria they went to other parts of the province. Count Magnus apprehended several Bishops, who were persecuted diverse ways; eleven particularly, who before their promotion to the Bishoprick, had from their infancy led a monastick life in the desert, were banished to Diocæsarea in Palestine, which was wholly inhabited by Jews. The chief of these were Eulogius, who had before been banished under the reign of Constantius, as had likewise Adelphius Bishop of Onuphis, and Ammonius Bishop of Pacnemoune; these two last had assisted in the council of Antioch in 362, and Isidore Bishop of Hermopolis, whom the Latin Church honours on the second of January. Socr. iv. c. 22, 24.
Theod. iv. c. 22.
Epiph. Har. 72. n. 10.
Sup. xij. n. 33.
Athanas. 10. 1. p. 155.
Pallad. Lanf. c. ii. 7.
Martyr. Theod. iv. c. 22.

Certain Catholick Monks and Clerks happening to be at Antioch, complained to the Emperor Valens of the outrages committed in Egypt. But he being prepossessed by the Arians, sent these Catholicks to a place not far distant from Neocæsarea in Pontus, where the severity of the climate soon put an end to their lives.

Sozom. vj.
c. 31.

AMONG the Bishops, who were banished as enemies to the doctrine of Arius, St. Melas of Rinocorura deserves to be taken notice of. They who came to apprehend him, found him preparing the lamps in the Church, as if he had been one of the meanest of his officers, girded with a greasy apron, with matches in his hand. They asked him where the Bishop was. He is here, said he, and I will bring you to the speech of him. Concluding that these men were tired with their journey, he immediately carried them to the Episcopal palace, set a table before them, and served them with such provision as he had. After they had eaten, he told them he was the Bishop. They in great surprize confessed to him the occasion of their coming, but gave him liberty to get away, so great a reverence had they conceived for his virtue: But he chose rather to suffer the same treatment as the rest of the Catholicks, and willingly went into banishment. All these virtues he had acquired by the monastick life, to which he had accustomed himself from his youth. His brother Solon, who was before a merchant, having taken to the same kind of life, made so great a progress under his government, that he succeeded him in the Bishoprick of Rinocorura. These two brothers had successors worthy of them; and Sozomen tells us, that their pious instructions were observed in his time, and that the Clergy of this Church lived together in a body. The Church commemorates St. Melas on the sixteenth of January.

Martyr. Rom.

XXXVI.
The Monks
persecuted.
Ruf. ii. c. 3, 4.
Soz. vj. c. 2c.

LUCIUS more particularly persecuted the Monks of Egypt, knowing well their strict adherence to the Catholick Faith, and the great authority which they had with the people; who not knowing how to dispute on the mysterious points of religion, were persuaded that these holy men were in the right, who were so remarkable for their virtue and miracles. Lucius despairing therefore to prevail upon them by persuasion, resolved to force them to a compliance, but he did not succeed. He went himself to pursue them in their deserts, with the Duke of Egypt, and a great number of soldiers. They found them at their usual employment, praying, healing the sick, and casting out devils. Some of them were upon the point of suffering violence from the soldiers, when a man was brought to them, the joints of whose feet had long been withered and dried up, in such a manner that he could not stand. They anointed him with oyl, and said to him: In the name of JESUS CHRIST, whom Lucius persecuteth, rise, and return to thy house; and forthwith he was healed. The persecutors not moved with these miracles, interrupted the holy Monks at their prayers, and forced them to quit their usual retreats. At length they proceeded so far as to scourge them, and wound them with stones and weapons; but they did not so much as hold up their hands to guard against the blows, being always ready to offer their heads to their swords, rather than depart from the Nicene confession. Lucius seeing that he could not overcome this multitude of holy men, advised the Duke of Egypt to banish the Abbots who governed

Socr. iv.
c. 22, 24.

governed them. They seized on the two Macarij, Isidore, and some others; Theod. iv. c. 21. and having conveyed them away in the night, carried them to an isle surrounded with bogs and morasses, and inhabited only by infidels zealous for their antient superstitions, and where the gospel had never been preached. In this place there was an idol temple, the Priest whereof was esteemed as a God among them. When the vessel wherein these Confessors were carried, drew near the shore, the devil entered into the daughter of the Priest, who ran furiously towards the shore, to which the rowers steered the vessel: As she ran crying aloud, many persons astonished at this strange accident, followed her. When she got near the boat, she began to cry with a loud voice: How powerful are you! ye servants of the great God. O servants of JESUS CHRIST, you drive us from every place, cities, villages, mountains, and deserts. We hoped to have been secure from you in this small island; this is our antient habitation; we are unknown here; nor do we disturb any body in this place; but if you will have it, take it; we resign it to you: we are nor able to resist your virtue. The devil having spoke thus, threw the maid on the ground, and left her; and the holy Monks raised her up, and restored her perfectly both in body and mind. All who were present, and the father first, threw themselves at the feet of the saints, and begged them to instruct them; and after the necessary preparations, they received baptism, and turned their temple into a church. Thus were all the inhabitants of this island converted. This being known at Alexandria, the people came in crouds to reproach Lucius, fearing that the wrath of God would fall upon them, if they did not recal these saints; and Lucius fearing a sedition, gave secret orders for their returning to their cells.

ISIDORE and the two Macarii who are named in this account, were some of the most famous Anchorites of all Egypt. Isidore, from his youth, Pall. Lanf. c. 1. had led an Ascetick life on mount Nitria, which was one of the most noted deserts of Egypt, and had taken its name from a neighbouring village, Id. c. 7. 14. Vitæ Patr. c. 21. where were laid up great quantities of Nitre, being four Alexandrian miles, which make about thirteen leagues, south of the lake Mareotis. This place was inhabited by five thousand Monks, they being divided into about fifty convents, dispersed in different parts of the mountain. Some lived alone, others two or three, or more together; for every one lived as he pleased, and as he was able, although they were all united by charity. St. Isidore had gone to Rome with St. Athanasius, and was known to persons of the greatest eminence in that city. He was a Presbyter and governour of the hospital of Alexandria. He had sisters were virgins, and lived in a monastery of seventy in number; and though he was rich, he left them nothing at his death.

THE two Macarii were, the one of Egypt, and the other of Alexandria. The Egyptian or the Elder was the first who inhabited the desert of Scetis. When he was young he gave such marks of his discretion, that he was called the Old Child; and at forty years of age he received the gift of miracles, to cast out devils, and deliver such as were possessed. He was ordained Priest, and XXXVII. The two Macarii. Sup. lib. 13. n. 38. Pall. Lanf. c. 19. lived to the year 391. It is observed, that he raised three persons from the dead; one in particular, to convince a heretick called Hieracitus, who denied the resurrection. St. Macarius the Alexandrian lived sometimes at Nitria,

Sup. lib. 8.
n. 26.
Vitæ. PP.
c. 29.
Pall. c. 20.
Vitæ. PP.
c. 22.
Pall. c. 69.

tria, and sometimes at Scetis, which was a days journey distant; and was Priest of the monastery of Cellæ, ten miles or three leagues beyond mount Nitria; so called from the many cells that were scattered up and down there, but so far asunder, that the Monks could not see or hear each other. They came together to Church on Saturday and Sunday; if any of them failed coming, it was concluded that he was sick; and the rest went to see him and carry him refreshments. Unless upon such an occasion, they did not visit each other, and a deep silence reigned throughout this desert.

Reg. c. 5.

ST. Macarius of Alexandria is noted for his mortification. One day being desirous of some raisins, some very fine ones were brought him; but he sent them to another who was sick. This latter out of the same temper of mind, sent them to a third; and this third to a fourth: And thus were they carried round to them all, till the last brought them back to St. Macarius, not knowing that they came from him. For seven years he eat nothing that had been dressed by fire, and three years together he daily lived on four or five ounces of bread dipped in water. To accustom himself to watching, he spent twenty days and as many nights in the open air, exposed in the day time to the heat of the sun, which is very violent in Egypt, and to the cold by night; which is such, that there is an order for fires amongst St. Pachomius's Rules. St. Macarius having heard the institutions of the monastery of Tabenna extolled, disguised himself in the habit of a labourer, crossed the desert, which was fifteen days journey over, and presented himself to St. Pachomius, and begged to be admitted. St. Pachomius said to him: You are too old to enter upon our way of life; it is as much as they can perform who have practised it from their youth; you will be disgusted at it, and leave us with curses. St. Macarius continued his intreaties for admittance, seven days together without eating; and at length said to him: Receive me, father; if I behave not like the rest, turn me out again. Whereupon St. Pachomius persuaded the Brethren to take him in. There were fourteen hundred in this monastery.

HE had not been long there before Lent came on. St. Macarius found that the Brethren practised diverse austerities; one did not eat till evening; another fasted two days, another five, another continued standing all night, and all day sat at work. Macarius having caused some Palm branches to be dipped in water, in order to work them, remained standing in a corner; in which posture he continued the whole forty days, till Easter, touching neither bread nor water, and neither kneeling, sitting, nor lying down. All the nourishment he received was some raw cabbage leaves on Sundays, that he might seem to eat and avoid vanity; and on other days he kept silence, praying and working. Which the Monks seeing, murmured, and said to St. Pachomius: Whence have you brought this man, without a body, in order to upbraid us? send him away, or we will all leave the monastery. St. Pachomius besought God to discover to him who this was; and understanding by revelation, that he was St. Macarius, took him by the hand, carried him to the oratory where the altar stood, embraced him, and said to him: You are Macarius, and have concealed your self from me. I have long since heard the fame of you, and have desired to see you. I thank you for having humbled my children; but you have sufficiently edified us; depart

I beseech you, and pray for us. Thus St. Macarius returned. He wrought many miracles upon distempered and possessed persons.

THE Saracens made war upon the Romans, under the conduct of their queen Mavia, or rather Maovia, who was a Christian. The Emperor Valens, who had enough upon his hands in the other parts, struck up a peace with her: but in the conditions she insisted, that a monk of the same nation should be made Bishop of her people, called Moses, greatly esteemed for his virtue and miracles, and who dwelt in the desert between Egypt and Palestine. The Roman generals willingly consented to this condition; which having notified to Valens, he commanded that Moses should be sent speedily to Alexandria, there to receive the imposition of hands according to custom; because that was the nearest church. The generals therefore took Moses out of his desert, and carried him to Lucius; but Moses being brought to him, said before the magistrates, and all the people that were gathered together: Stay, I am not worthy to bear the name of Bishop: but if I am called to this office, unworthy as I am, for the good of the publick, I take the Creator of heaven and earth to witness, that I will not receive the imposition of your hands, which are defiled with the blood of so many holy men. If you are yet ignorant of my faith, replied Lucius, you have no reason to separate from me only upon evil reports. Learn it therefore from my mouth, and be you your self the judge of it. I plainly perceive what your faith is, answered Moses: The Bishops, Priests, and Deacons that are banished among the infidels, condemned to the mines, thrown to the wild beasts, or destroyed by fires, testify your belief; the eyes are more faithful witnesses than the ears. Moses having spoken this, protested with an oath, that he would never be ordained by the hands of Lucius.

LUCIUS would willingly have put him to death, but it was necessary to satisfy the demands of the Saracen Queen. Moses therefore was carried, according to his desire, to the Catholick Bishops, who were banished to the mountain; by them he was ordained, and always continued in their communion. There were few Christians among the Saracens, but by his preaching and miracles he made a great number of converts. He kept them in peace with the Romans, to which the queen Maovia always remained faithful. St. Moses is commemorated by the Church on the seventh of February. St. Hilarion had before converted some Saracens; and a holy monk had converted a whole tribe of them, by obtaining a son for their Prince by his prayers, who was called Zocom. But the greatest part of this nation, which was very numerous, still continued idolaters.

IN the mean time Peter the lawful Bishop of Alexandria, wrote after his retreat, a long letter to all the Catholick Bishops, wherein he pathetically relates all the outrages committed at Alexandria, and part of the violent proceedings of the persecutors in the other parts of Egypt. He afterwards crossed the sea, and repaired to Rome, to saint Damascus, who received him with charity. That the Romans might be eye witnesses of the cruelties practised on this occasion, Peter brought before them a garment dyed with blood, which forced tears from every body. He remained about five years at Rome, *i. e.* until the year 378.

XXXVIII.
St. Moses
Bishop of the
Saracens.
Socr. iv.
c. 36.
Sozom. vi.
c. 38.
Theod. iv.
c. 25.
Ruf. ii.
c. 6.

Martyrol.
Sup. lib. xii.
n. 18.
Sozom. vi.
c. 38.

XXXIX.
State of the
Roman
Church.
Theod. iv.
c. 21.
Socr. iv.
c. 22.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 23. p.
418. D.

ST. DAMASUS, notwithstanding the protection of the Emperor Valentinian, was still disturbed by the Schismatics of Ursinus's party. After Ursinus had been forced to quit Rome, and been banished to Gaul, at the latter end of the year 367, his partisans not daring to assemble in the city, being prohibited by the Præfect Olybrius, met together without the walls in great numbers. Aginatus, who was lieutenant to the *Præfectus Prætorii* at Rome, wrote an account hereof to the Emperor Valentinian, who sent a rescript to Olybrius, and another to Aginatus, forbidding the Schismatics to assemble within twenty miles of Rome. Olybrius was Præfect of Rome in 369, having succeeded Pretextatus. But two years after, when Ampelius was Præfect, that is, in 371, the Emperor Valentinian permitted Ursinus, with seven of his adherents, to leave the place of their exile, and go whither they pleased; provided they did not set a foot in Rome, nor in the neighbouring parts: For nothing else can be meant by the expression used in this place. This order was addressed severally to Ampelius, and to Maximin, Vicar of Rome, and successor to Aginatus. It does not appear that Ursinus, or his party, did afterwards make any disturbance while Valentinian lived.

Sup. n. 19.

Refer. ap
Baron. an.
369. init.Ap. Baron.
an. 371.
init.L. i. Cod.
Theod. de.
his. qui. lat.
ix. 39.Refer. Gra-
tiani. to. 4.
conc.

p. 1004.

Libel.

Marc. &
Faufti.

65, 66, &c.

P. 65. 69.

Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 24.

Lib. Mar.

p. 73.

Ibid. p. 40.

Hier. script.
Greg. Bæ.

Optat. lib. 2.

Sup. lib. x.
n. 26.

Epist. conc.

Ro. t. 2.

p. 102. 6.

Aug. de.

heres. c. 69.

BUT the Luciferians, another sort of Schismatics, continually held assemblies at Rome, and they seem to be included in a rescript delivered to Simplicius, vicar of Rome after Maximin, in the year 374. The Emperor thereby ordains, that all who shall hold unlawful assemblies, to the prejudice of religion, shall be banished an hundred miles from Rome, and that those who have been condemned by the sentence of the Catholick Bishops, may not return to the churches which they have corrupted, nor petition the Emperor to have their cause again heard. It was probably in prosecution of this rescript, that Damasus caused a Luciferian Priest to be apprehended, called Macarius, who by night held a congregation in a private house. And he was banished, as also were some Luciferians, both priests and laymen. However Damasus could not hinder them from having a Bishop at Rome named Aurelius, who continued there till he died, and was succeeded by Ephesius, who kept his station at Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Damasus to remove him. The most noted Bishop of this party was Gregory of Elvira or Illiberis in Hispania Bætica, whose resolution and firmness of mind had been commended by St. Eusebius of Vercellæ. The Luciferians ascribed the gift of miracles to him, and this was the reason, as they said, why he was never banished; as if by attacking him, men had feared to draw upon themselves the anger of God. He lived to an extreme old age, and composed divers treatises; but in a low mean stile.

THE Donatists had likewise a Bishop at Rome, who assembled his small flock without the city, in a hollow part of a mountain, whence they were called *Montenses*. They had likewise the name of *Cutzupitæ*. The Donatists sent this pretended Bishop of Rome from Africk; or else their Bishops went and ordained him upon the place. Six are reckoned to have succeeded each other without interruption in the See of this cavern; namely, Victor, sent from Africa about the beginning of this century, Boniface, Encolpius, Macrobius, Lucian, and Claudian. The Donatists had another Bishop

Bishop in Spain, who had the management of the house and estate of a certain woman of quality ; and another in some place unknown, out of Africa. They were protected in Africa by Gildo brother to Firmus king of Mauritania, who revolted against the Emperor Valentinian, and whose party after his defeat was supported by Gildo. A Donatist Bishop called Optatus was his companion in his violences, who was therefore called Optatus the Gildonian.

Id. epist. 53.
al. 165.
Aug. ij. cont.
Petit. c. ult.
Id. iij. cont.
Cresc. c. 63.
n. 70.

ST. Optatus Bishop of Milevis, from whom we have the names of the Donatist Bishops of Rome, wrote a treatise about this time, under the reign of Valentinian ; and the occasion of his writing was this. Parmenian the Donatist Bishop of Carthage, successor to Donatus, having written against the Church, many Catholicks had desired, that there might be a conference between both parties ; which the Donatists had rejected, refusing even to speak to the Catholicks, or come near them ; pretending, that they would have no communion with sinners. Optatus, therefore, since he could not do it any other way, answered Parmenian in writing ; and proved that he had advanced several things that made for the advantage of the Catholick Church, many contrary to his own party, many seemingly opposite to the Church ; but which had in reality no truth in them : among others, that the Church had petitioned for soldiers to be sent against them, which Optatus absolutely denies.

XL.
St. Optatus
writes against
the Donatists.
H. er. Scrip.
Sup. l. 11.
c. 46.
Optat. lib. 1.

THIS work is divided into six books ; for St. Jerome does not allow of any more ; and it is a question whether that which now passed for the seventh, was written by the same author. In the first, St. Optatus gives an account of the schism of the Donatists, which began somewhat above sixty years before, and was occasioned by those who were called *Traditors*, for having lapsed in the persecution of Dioclesian. He brings this history down to the justification of Fælix of Aptungis. To shew who are schismaticks, he adds these remarkable words : It is not Cecilian who separated himself from Majorinus your grand-father ; it is Majorinus who separated himself from Cecilian. Cecilian hath not left the chair of Peter or Cyprian ; but Majorinus, from whom you hold the chair, which was not in being before Majorinus. In the second book, supposing it to be a principle agreed upon by all Christians, that there is but one Church, he shews by the succession in the Roman Church, that it is Catholick, and says : You cannot deny, that in the city of Rome the Episcopal chair was first given to Peter ; who sat therein, he who was chief of all the Apostles ; that all might preserve unity by means of this only chair ; that each Apostle might not pretend to have his own ; and that he that set up for himself another chair, might be accounted a schismatick and a sinner ; so that Peter sat first in this only chair ; to him, Linus succeeded, then Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus, Urban, Pontianus, Antherus, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, Sixtus, Dionysius, Fælix, Eutychius, Caius, Marcellinus, Marcel, Eusebius, Miltiades, Silvester, Mark, Julius, Liberius, and Damasus our present brother, with whom the whole world as well as we are in communion, by letters in form that have passed between them. Shew us when your chair was first founded, you who would pretend to be the Church. You likewise claim some part in the city of Rome ; but if Macrobius be asked where he sat,

Sup. lib. 9.
n. 34.
Sup. x. n. 12.
P. 439. Bibl.
PP.
P. 446. C.

can he answer in Peter's chair? I cannot tell whether he ever saw it; he never came near his tomb, where the relicks of the two apostles are to be seen: Tell me, Could he go in and offer the sacrifice? Your brother Macrobius must own to you that he sits in the same place where formerly Encolpius sat; and if Encolpius could be asked the question, he would say that he succeeded Boniface of Ballæ; who might have said, that he had succeeded Victor of Garba, sent from Africk by your people long since, to preside over a small number of mistaken men. To what end is this? to prove that your party could not have any Roman Bishop at Rome, and that they who succeeded one another in that city were Africans and foreigners: Is not the imposture evident?

- THE** Donatists reproach the Catholicks, with having committed outrages against them, which St. Optatus positively denies; and defies Parmenian to name any single Bishop, or Minister of the Church who had persecuted them. On the contrary, he lays this to the charge of the Donatists, and relates at length the cruelties executed by them in the time of Julian.
- Sup. lib. xv. n. 32. And as the Donatists grounded their accusation upon the coming of Paul and Macarius into Africa, who were sent thither by the Emperor Constantine to procure an union; the third book of St. Optatus is taken up in clearing the Church from the violences exercised on this occasion. He proves, that the Donatists drew them upon themselves, and that the Church was not at all concerned in them. We did not, says he, desire, advise, or know of it; neither did we joyn in it. Speaking of the seditious discourses of the pretended Bishop Donatus, and the submission due to authority, he saith: The state is not in the Church, but the Church in the state; that is, in the Roman Empire. And afterwards: None is above the Emperor, save God, who made the Emperor; so that Donatus, by setting up himself above the Emperor, seems to have pretended to be more than man, and to have esteemed himself a God.
- p. 459. B.
- In the fourth book, these words, concerning original sin, are observable.
- p. 469. D. No body is ignorant that every man, although born of Christian parents, is not without the spirit of the world, which must be driven out, before he partakes of the salutary washing, which is done by exorcising, whereby the unclean spirit is driven out. In the fifth book, he treats of Baptism, and shews, that its validity does not depend upon the sanctity of the Minister.
- p. 474. E. The labourers, saith he, are successively changed, but the sacraments cannot change; they are holy in themselves, and not made so by men. In the sixth book he sets forth the sacrileges committed by the Donatists, in the Churches of the Catholicks under the reign of Julian. We here find, that the Altars were of wood, and that at the celebration of the holy mysteries they were covered with a linnen cloth: But more especially it is here very plain what great reverence the Faithful payed to the Altars and to the sacred vessels; that they looked upon the Eucharist as a true sacrifice, believing that the Holy Ghost was brought down upon the Altar; and that the body of
- Sup. lib. xv. n. 32.
- L. vi. init. p. 479. E. 480. A. JESUS CHRIST is there present in the same manner as it was upon the cross, where the Jews put him to death; that they looked upon the overturning of Altars, or the breaking to pieces, or converting to profane uses the Chalices which had contained the blood of CHRIST, as horrid crimes.

IT was against the Donatists that the Emperor Valentinian directed a law to Julian Proconsul of Africa, importing, that they who administer Baptism a second time, should be held unworthy of the sacerdotal office. This law is dated at Treves on the tenth of the calends of March, in the fourth consulship of Valentinian and Valens; that is, the twentieth of February, 373. In the foregoing year 372, he had published a law against the Manichees, addressed to Ampelius Præfect of Rome, ordaining, that where any of them were found assembled together, their Teacher should be severely punished, and the houses confiscated where they taught. This law seems to have been occasioned by the search made at Rome after the magicians in 371 and 372. For the Manichees were accused of magick, and making use of ligatures, charms, and other impostures and delusions.

XLI.
The laws of
Valentinian.
L. i. Cod.
Th. de sanct.
bapt.
L. iii. C. Th.
de Hæret.
Epiph. Hær.
66. n. 13. &
n. 88.
L. xx. C. Th.
de Episc.

VALENTINIAN had passed another law, which, though a reflection upon the Clergy, was however necessary. Hereby Ecclesiasticks, and such as lived a life of chastity, that is, the Asceticks or Monks, were forbidden to go to the house of widows, or virgins who are orphans, and permitted their friends or relations to impeach them at the publick tribunals. It moreover decreed, that they should not receive any thing of the woman to whom they had particularly attached themselves, under a religious pretence, either by any sort of donation, or by will; not even by a third person, upon pain of confiscation, unless they be by right of blood the natural heirs of such women. This law was directed to St. Damasus Bishop of Rome, and read in the Churches of Rome on the third of the calends of August, in the third consulship of Valentinian and Valens; that is, the thirtieth of July, 370. It may be supposed, that this law had been desired by Damasus himself, to restrain by the secular power the avarice of many of the Clerks, who out of self-interest made application to the ladies of Rome, whose wealth was prodigious great.

THE Church was persecuted by the Goths, and some among them suffered martyrdom. The Christian religion had been long planted among this people, whom the antients sometimes confound with the Scythians and Sarmatians. Their Bishop Theophilus was present at, and subscribed to the council of Nice, as Socrates reports. St. Cyril of Jerusalem relates, that in his time there were martyrs among the Goths, as also among the Persians; and moreover he reckons the Goths and Sarmatians among those nations, which had not only Christian converts, but Bishops, Clerks, Monks, and consecrated virgins. Philostorgius says, that in the time of Constantine the Great, vast numbers of the Getæ, that is, Goths, were driven out of their country, on account of religion, and that the Emperor placed them in Mœsia. He reckons their conversion to have been as early as when they made their inroads into Asia Minor, under the Emperor Gallienus, and particularly into Galatia and Cappadocia.

XLII.
Martyrs a-
mong the
Goths.
Euseb. vit. iij.
c. 7.
Socr. ij.
c. 41.
Cyril. Catech.
10. p. 92.
Catech. 16.
p. 186.
Philost. ij.
c. 5.
Sup. lib. vij.
c. 58.
Sozom. vj.
c. 37.
Socr. iv. c. 33.

IN the reign of the Emperor Valens, the Goths were divided under the government of two kings, Fritigern and Athanaric. The greater part still remained Pagans, and many of the Christians who were subject to Fritigern, suffered martyrdom, although he was an Ally of the Romans. But under Athanaric, who was their enemy, the persecution was much more violent. He put many of them to death after diverse ways; some because of their boldness

Hier. Chr.
an. 370.
Ibid. Chr.
An. 407.
Aug. 18. civit.
c. 52.
Amb. in
Luc. lib. 2.
n. 37.
V. Ruinart.
Acta Martyr.
p. 671.
Menolg. 26.
Mart.

boldness with which they answered to the judges ; and others, without so much as giving them the hearing ; for he caused an idol to be placed on a chariot, which he ordered to be driven before the cottages of those who had been accused as Christians, who were commanded to adore and offer sacrifice to it : on their refusal, the huts and those within them were burnt. To avoid the effects of such violence, many persons of every sex and age, even sucking children, took sanctuary in the hut which served for their Church ; but the Pagans set fire to it and burnt them all. Athanaric having killed a great number of them, and abhorring to put all the rest to death, forced them to leave the country, after having endured many hardships ; and he obliged them to go into the dominions of the Romans. These martyrs, according to St. Augustine, were Catholics, nor were there as yet any Arians among the Goths.

OF so great a number of martyrs, there are few who are particularly known. Barthus is named, and Verca a Presbyter, and Arpila a Monk, who are said to have been burnt, together with three and twenty more, in a church where they had met together ; and they are reported to have suffered martyrdom about this time, namely, in the reign of the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, but under king Jungheric. Under Athanaric we are told the names only of St. Nicetas and St. Sabas. St. Nicetas is the most famous of the two ; but we are not so well acquainted with his story. That of St. Sabas is more to be depended upon, being preserved in a letter from the Church of Gothia to the Church of Cappadocia, to which his relicks were sent.

XLIII.
St. Sabas.

ST. Sabas, a Goth by nation, who had been bred from a child in the Christian religion, was a person of a meek and quiet disposition, and who spake but little ; he was well instructed in the principles of religion, which he knew how to defend against idolaters, without any studied rhetoric, but with great freedom. He sang in the church, of which he took great care. He despised wealth and feasting, avoided the company of women, and was every day constant in fasting and prayer, and he encouraged all men to the practice of virtue. The persecution being begun, and the Christians forced to eat of meats offered to idols ; certain Pagans bethought themselves of giving to their Christian relations some meat that had not been offered in sacrifice, in order to deceive the persecutors. St. Sabas not only refused to eat any, but said aloud, that whoever eat thereof was no Christian, and by this means kept many from it ; for which reason they who attempted to make use of this stratagem, drove him out of the village ; but afterwards recalled him. The persecution being renewed, some Pagans in sacrificing to the false gods, began to swear, that there were no Christians in their village : but Sabas came boldly into their assembly, and said : Let no body swear for me, for I am a Christian. Being then pressed by the persecutors, they concealed their relations, and swore that there was but one Christian in their village, who was St. Sabas. Their Prince having sent for him, asked the bystanders what wealth he had ? and being told, nothing besides the cloaths that he had on, he despised him, and drove him from his presence, saying : Such a fellow can neither do good nor harm.

THE persecution beginning again, he, being so commanded by God, went to spend the feast of Easter with a Presbyter called Sanfala. The third night after, a certain person called Atharides came down upon the village, by an order from the state, with a great company; and finding the Priest asleep in his house, he caused him to be bound together with St. Sabas, whom they had taken out of his bed. The Priest they put into a cart, but for St. Sabas, they dragged him naked as he was, over some thorns, which they had first burnt, forcing him along with whips and staves. As soon as it was day, he said to them; Did you not drag me quite naked over rough and thorny grounds, observe whether my feet are wounded, or whether the blows which you gave me, have made any impression on my body; and indeed they could not perceive any marks of them. Whereupon they took the axle-tree of the cart, laid it upon his neck, and stretching out his hands, fastened them to either end; they fastened another in like manner to his feet, and laid him upon the ground with these two axle-trees under him; he spent the greatest part of the night in this manner: But while the persecutors slept, a woman came and untied him. However he staid without any concern in the same place, and helped the woman, who had got up in the night to dress victuals for the servants.

THE day being come, Atharides ordered his hands to be tied, and caused him to be hung upon a beam of the house. Soon after there came people from him, who brought the Priest and Sabas some victuals that had been offered to idols, and said to them; See what the great Atharides hath sent you, that you may eat and not die. We will not eat any, said the Priest, it is not lawful for us; tell Artharides we will sooner be crucified, or suffer any other kind of death. Who sent that? said Sabas. Lord Atharides, replied they. There is but one LORD, said Sabas, God who is in heaven. This pernicious meat is impure and profane; as is Atharides who sent it. One of Atharides's servants incensed at these words, struck the point of his Javelin against the breast of Sabas with so much violence, that all who were present believed that he had been killed. But he said, Do you think you have slain me? know that I felt no more pain than if you had thrown a lock of wool upon me; neither did he in the least cry out, nor was any sign of the blow to be seen upon his body. Atharides being informed of these particulars, ordered, that he should be put to death. They let the Priest go, and carried away St. Sabas, in order to throw him into the river Musæus, now called Muffons in Walachia. What harm has the Priest done, that he may not die with me? said he. That is not your business, replied the officers. Whereupon he began to pray, and praised God with out ceasing all the way. Being come to the river side, the officers said among themselves: Why do we not let this man go? he is innocent; and Atharides will never know any thing of it. St. Sabas said, What do you stay for? why do you not do what you are ordered? I see what you cannot: behold on'tother side, those who shall receive me into glory. Whereupon they brought him to the water-side, and he continued praising God to the last: Having thrown him into the river, they strangled him with a piece of wood they had fastened about his neck. He was thirty eight years of age, and suffered martyrdom on the Tuesday of Easter-week, the day before

before the ides of April, under the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus, that is, the twelfth of April in 372.

XLIV.
The relicks of
St. Sabas.

Ep. 241. p.
1. 15. B.

Ep. 338, 339

P. 1113. C.

XLV.
St. Basil's
union with
Eustathius of
Sebastia.
Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 1.

Ep. 370. ad
Hilar.
ep. 79. P.
895. A.

Epist. 82.
ad Patroph.
Ep. 187. p.
967. ad
Terent.

THE executioners drew his body out of the water and left it unburied; but neither the birds nor beasts touched it; the faithful preserved it; and Junius Soranus Duke of Scythia, that is, commander of the Emperor's troops appointed for the guard of that frontier, caused his relicks to be brought into the Roman dominions. And afterwards, desiring to oblige his country, which was Cappadocia, he sent them thither with the consent of the Priests. With these relicks was sent a letter from the Church of Gothia to that of Cappadocia, and to all Christians throughout the world. This letter contains an account of the martyrdom of St. Sabas, and concludes in this manner: Wherefore offering up the holy sacrifice on the day whereon the martyr was crowned, impart this to our Brethren, that the LORD may therefore be praised throughout the Catholick and Apostolick Church. Salute all the saints; they who are persecuted with us, salute you. It is believed, and that with reason, that this duke of Scythia is the same to whom St. Basil wrote a letter; at the end whereof he says: You will do well to send some relicks of martyrs to your country; if it be true, as you have sent me word, that the persecution that reigns in your parts, hath even at this time produced martyrs. It is likewise supposed, that the letter from the church of Gothia, to that of Cappadocia, which was sent with the relicks of St. Sabas, was composed by St. Ascholius Bishop of Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia; for we have two letters from St. Basil to St. Ascholius on this subject, the first whereof seems to be an answer to the letter of the church of Gothia. He thanks him for the relicks which he had sent him of a new martyr, from a barbarous country beyond the Danube, bordering upon the Romans; and for the lively and faithful account sent with them. He observes likewise herein, that this martyr was consumed by wood and water, which are the very terms used in the relation; and he congratulates St. Ascholius for having honoured his country with so fine a present; for he likewise was a Cappadocian.

ST. Basil, besides his continual distempers, was exposed at that time to many attacks of the enemies of the Church, both within and without. What gave him the most trouble was Eustathius Bishop of Sebastia's breaking with him. St. Basil had been long united to him by a strict friendship, looking upon him as a person of remarkable piety. Since his promotion into the Bishoprick, he had received several who had been recommended to him by Eustathius, to assist him in his labours. In the mean time Eustathius, by his inconstancy in the faith, had rendered himself suspected to several Catholicks, especially to his metropolitan Theodotus Bishop of Nicopolis, the capital of the lesser Armenia, wherein Sebastia was situated. He refused to communicate any longer with Eustathius; but St. Basil could not prevail upon himself to forsake him, being persuaded of his innocence, especially since he had professed the Nicene Faith at Rome and Tyana. Theodotus having sent to St. Basil to assist at a council he was going to assemble, St. Basil thought that he was obliged in charity to be present thereat; and Sebastia being on the road, he was willing by the way to confer with Eustathius. He layed before him those points upon which

Theodotus

Theodotus accused him of Heresy; and desired him to tell him plainly what he believed: For, said he, I will remain in communion with you if you believe as the Church does; otherwise I am obliged to separate myself from you. They discoursed a long time on this subject; but the night interrupted them before they had concluded on any thing. The next morning they renewed the conversation, a Priest of Sebasta called Pemenius being present, who strongly opposed St. Basil; but at length they agreed in every particular. And about the None they got up to pray together, in order to render thanks to God. St. Basil saw very well that he must still get a confession of Faith in writing from Eustathius; but he was resolved, for the greater security, to draw it up in concert with Theodotus, and to receive the form of it from him. In the mean time Theodotus having been informed that St. Basil had been to see Eustathius, without enquiring any farther, did not invite him any more to come to his council; so that St. Basil was obliged to go back again, after having proceeded half way on his journey, very much grieved that he had in vain taken so much pains for the peace of the Church.

SOME time after he went to Getafa, an estate belonging to St. Meletius, who was there at that time. Theodotus was there likewise, and complaining of the intimacy between St. Basil and Eustathius, St. Basil told him the consequence of the visit which he had made to him, and how he had found him entirely of the same opinion with himself as to the Faith: But, said Theodotus, he certainly did renounce it as soon as you was gone. He is not capable, answered St. Basil, of so much double dealing, he who abhors any thing that has but the appearance of a lye; but to convince you of it, let us offer him a writing wherein the Faith is clearly expressed; which if he rejects, I will separate myself from his communion. St. Meletius, and a Priest called Diodorus, who was present, approved this proposal: Theodotus likewise assented to it, and intreated St. Basil to come and visit his Church of Nicopolis. Whereupon he left him at Getafa: But when St. Basil arrived at Nicopolis, Theodotus refused to pray with him, without giving any other reason for so doing, than that he had received Eustathius to communion with him.

Ep. 187.

P. 966. D.

P. 968. D.

ST. Basil bore this affront patiently, looking upon it as a punishment for his sins. However, he proceeded from Nicopolis to Satala in Armenia; for he was ordered, together with Theodotus, to settle Bishops in that province. The Emperor concerned himself in this matter, and the Count Terentius, who was a Christian, and very much esteemed by St. Basil, had recommended it to him. The injustice and the capricious humour of Theodotus made it more difficult; for there were persons in his diocese of piety and great abilities, and who were well versed in the language and manners of the country. However, St. Basil undertook it alone: He pacified the Bishops of Armenia, and admonished them to quit that dangerous indifference in which they lived, directing them to the proper means for this purpose. The Church of Satala had continued vacant from the time that Elpidius the Bishop thereof had been deposed by the Arians, in the council of Constantinople, in the year 360. All the magistrates and people having, by a publick decree, demanded a Bishop of St. Basil, he gave them one called Pemenius: He was one of his relations, who was very necessary to him in the govern-

Sup. lib. xiv.
n. 22.

Ep. 183. & 296. ment of his Church of Cæsarea, and very dear to him and all his people; but he parted with him, believing him necessary for this Church.

Ep. 82. C. IN the mean time he observed, that the faith of Eustathius of Sebasta was still suspected by others, although for his part he had as yet, no distrust of it; he saw that these suspicions reflected upon himself; and that, notwithstanding all his care to justify himself, they were still renewed. Finding therefore this to be the case, and happening to be again at Nicopolis, he undertook to carry a confession of Faith in writing to Eustathius, which Theodotus and he composed together, and is still extant. The principal design of it is, to confirm the authority of the Nicene Creed, which is there inserted at length. It explains how the Nicene Creed admits but one *Essence* in God in opposition to the Arians, and several *Hypostases*, contrary to the Sabellians. It pronounces anathema against those who make the Holy Ghost a Creature; Marcellus of Ancyra is therein condemned by name. Eustathius subscribed to this confession of Faith in these words: I Eustathius Bishop, have read, and notify this to you Basil, I have approved and have subscribed it in the presence of our brother Fronto, Severus the Chorepiscopus, and certain other Clerks.

Ap. Basil. cp. 78.

XLVI.
Eustathius
declares a-
gainst St.
Basil.
Ep. 80;
P. 908. D.
P. 909.

ST. Basil having received this subscription, summoned a council of the Bishops of the country, that is, of Cappadocia and Armenia, to confirm and establish a lasting union among them. Eustathius promised to assist thereat, and to bring thither his disciples also. The time and place were appointed, the place where they were to meet belonged to St. Basil, who was the first that came thither, to receive the neighbouring Bishops, and to dispatch messengers to those who delayed coming. However, no body came from Eustathius, and they whom St. Basil sent thither, brought word back that they had found his adherents alarmed; and murmuring that a new Faith had been proposed to them, and protesting that they would hinder Eustathius from going to the council. At length, after they had waited for him a long time, he sent a certain person with a letter of excuse, taking no notice of any thing that had passed. The Prelates who had made haste to repair to St. Basil, rejoicing in the hopes of a firm peace, were obliged to separate with grief and confusion. Thus did he at length discover the hypocrisy of Eustathius, and that they who had told him of it so long before, knew him better than he; and he resolved to mortify himself severely upon this occasion.

Ep. 72. p. 867. C. WHAT caused Eustathius to throw off the mask, was, that he feared, lest the communicating with St. Basil, and the confession of Faith that he had signed, should prejudice him with Euzoïus of Antioch and the court; for Ep. 73. p. 871. C. he regulated his Faith by his interest, and suited himself to the times. He Ep. 79. p. 898. D. began therefore to harangue against St. Basil in the publick assemblies, and to accuse him of errors in his doctrine. Soon after he went into Cilicia, and Ep. 196. p. 980. B. gave one Gelasius a confession of Faith entirely conformable to the tenets of Ep. 82. p. 909. the Arians. Being returned, he wrote to St. Basil, that he renounced his communion; because, said he, you have written a letter to Apollinarius, and you communicate with the Presbyter Diodorus, the same that was afterwards Bishop of Tarsus. This letter, or one to the same purpose, was sent to St. Basil by one of the Chorepiscopi of the diocess of Sebasta, who having stayed three days at Cæsarea, came to the house of St. Basil one evening

evening very late. They told him that he had lain down to sleep; he seemed contented with this answer: But he came not again the next day; and having left the letter with the officers belonging to a magistrate, he returned to his own country. Eustathius took occasion from hence to complain of the pride of St. Basil, saying, that he would not receive those who came from him, not even his Chorepiscopus. St. Basil did not answer this letter of Eustathius; not through disdain, but by reason of the excessive grief that he laboured under, to see the profound dissimulation which he used even in his extream old age. At this time Eustathius published a long discourse, full of invectives and calumnies against St. Basil, calling him *Homoousiastes*, and accusing him of having surprized him to sign a confession of Faith. This writing which St. Basil calls a Bill of Divorce, alluding to the antient law, was addressed to one named Dazizus, and in a few days was dispersed throughout Pontus; it was carried into Galatia, Bithynia, and even to the Hellespont. It had been spread about the province seven days before St. Basil was able to get a sight of it. The principal calumny contained in this writing was, that St. Basil was united with the Heresiarch Apollinarius; under pretence of a letter of civility which he had written to him about seventeen years before; at which time St. Basil and Apollinarius were both laymen; and besides, Eustathius only cited a copy of it: But he set down afterwards some errors against the Faith, saying, these were the words of the Hereticks, in such a manner, that the more simple might believe that they were St. Basil's, as well as the letter. St. Basil believed silence would be his best defence; and for full three years published no writing in his justification; only he wrote some letters to his friends, declaring against the errors of Apollinarius. He explained himself as to this matter, to one named Olympius of Neocæsarea; he wrote of it also to St. Meletius, who could not believe that this was the doctrine of Apollinarius; he wrote the same to Theodotus of Nicopolis. Eustathius made some proposals for an accommodation by the means of St. Eusebius of Samosata: But St. Basil having demanded, that he should declare plainly, whether he rejected those from his communion who did not receive the Nicene Creed, and those who called the Holy Ghost a Creature: Eustathius answered only by a long rambling harangue. St. Eusebius sent this answer to St. Basil, exhorting him to peace. He replied: I am ready to lay down my life for peace, provided it be true and lasting. If Eustathius will answer in one word, that he renounces the communion of the enemies of the Faith, I am willing to own my self guilty of all that has happened; but I cannot approach the Altar with hypocrisy. From this time the Church of Sebasta was divided; one part adhered to Eustathius their Bishop, the other to St. Basil. And this is what passed between them from the time that St. Basil entred upon the Episcopal function, to the year 373.

Ep. 82. p. 910. C.

Ibid. p. 911.

Ep. 345. ad Genethl. Deut. xxiv.

Ep. 73. p. 872. D.

Ead. ep. ad Genethl. p. 1121. B.

Ep. 382. ad Olymp.

Ep. 73. p. 869. D.

Ep. 382. Ep. 59. ad Melet.

Ep. 196. ad Theod.

Ep. 265. ad Samos.

Ep. 8. p. 793. A.

Ep. 264. p. 1037. A.

XLVII.

St. Basil before Modestus.

Greg. Naz. Or. 20. p. 348.

Theod. iv. hist. c. 19.

THE persecution likewise reached St. Basil. The Emperor Valens went himself to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; but when he came near the place, he sent Modestus the *Præfectus Prætorii* before, with orders to oblige St. Basil to communicate with the Arians, or force him to leave the city. Modestus had been Count of the East, under Constantius, having been baptized by the Arians: he seemed an idolater under Julian, who made him *Præfect*

Socr. iv. c. 26.
Sozom. vi.

c. 16.

Amm. xix.

c. 12.

—xxx. c. 4.

& ibi.

Valef.

Sup. n. 28.

n. 13.

Greg. Nyss. i.

in. Eun.

p. 51.

Greg. Naz.

p. 349.

p. 81. 6.

fect of Constantinople. Valens made him *Præfectus Prætorii* and Consul in 372. For he flattered his passions ; his slothfulness, by persuading him that the office of a judge was below his dignity ; and his cruelty, by approving it. He was the chief of those employed to find out the magicians, and contrived the burning at sea the fourscore Priests deputed from Constantinople. Modestus ordered St. Basil to be brought before his tribunal, having all the marks and ensigns of his dignity, which was the greatest in the empire, viz. the Lictors with their bundle of rods, the Criers, and the Apparitors. He called him barely by his name, and said : Basil, what do you mean by resisting such a power, and being the only person who is so presumptuous ? As how, answered St. Basil, and what is this presumption ? It is, said Modestus, that you are not of the religion of the Emperor, although every body else hath complied with it. My Emperor forbids it, replied St. Basil ; and I cannot resolve to adore a creature, I who am a creature of God, and whom he has commanded to be a God. He alluded to the passages of Scripture where men are called Gods, and particularly Priests. Modestus said to him : And what do you take us to be ? Do you reckon it nothing to have our communion ? Basil replied : It is true, you are Præfects and illustrious persons ; but you are not to be respected more than God. It is much to have your communion, since you are his creatures, but not more than that of those who obey you ; for it is not their condition but Faith that distinguishes Christians. The Præfect Modestus rose in a rage from his seat, and said : How ! Art not thou afraid, lest I should be transported with anger, and that you feel the effect of my power ? What is it, replied Basil ; let me know it ? Modestus answered ; Confiscation, banishment, torments, and death. Threaten me with something else, said Basil, if you can ; for none of these things concern me. Why so ? replied Modestus. Because, answered Basil, he that has nothing is not in danger of confiscation, unless you have a mind to these rags, and some few books, which is all that I am worth. Banishment I value not ; another land is the same to me as this ; I shall find my native country every where, since all places belong to God. What effect will torments have upon me, since I have not a body ? The first blow only will be felt by me. Death will be a kindness, since it will send me sooner to God, for whom I live, and whom I have long earnestly sought after.

THE Præfect surprized at this discourse, said : No body has yet spoke to Modestus with so much boldness. Basil replied : Perhaps then you have not met with a Bishop ; for on the like occasion he would have said the same. In every thing else we are the most gentle, and most submissive of all men ; because we are commanded to be so. We are not haughty to the least private man, much less to one so powerful : But when the matter in question relates to God, we regard him only. Fire, sword, wild beasts, and talons of iron, we take pleasure in : Therefore treat us ill, threaten us, use the utmost of your power : The Emperor himself ought to know that you shall not prevail. The Præfect finding that St. Basil was not to be overcome, spoke more mildly to him, and said ; Esteem it some advantage to see the Emperor in the midst of your people, and in the number of your auditors ; in order to this you need only take from the Creed the word *Con-*
substantial.

Greg. Nyss.
in Eun. p. 50.

substantial. Basil answered, I think it a great advantage to see the Emperor in the church; it is always a great matter to save a soul; but as for the Creed, so far am I from taking from, or adding any thing to it, that I would not suffer even the order of the words to be changed. I give you, added Modestus, the night to think of it. I shall be the same to-morrow, replied St. Basil, as I am to day.

THE Præfect Modestus dismissed St. Basil, and went speedily to find the Emperor, and said to him: My Lord, we are overcome. This Bishop despises all threatnings, we must expect to do nothing but by force. The Emperor forbade offering him any violence; and not being able to prevail upon himself sincerely to accept his communion, through the shame of changing his party, he however seemed outwardly to do so, by coming to church. He entered it on the day of the Epiphany, surrounded with all his guards, and joined for form with the Catholics. When he heard the singing of the Psalms, saw such a multitude of people, and the order which was observed in, and round about the sanctuary; the holy ministers who resembled angels rather than men; St. Basil before the altar, with his body immovable, his looks fixed, and his mind united to God, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and every place full of awe and reverence: When Valens, I say, saw all this, it was a sight so new to him that his head turned round, and his sight failed him. It was not perceived at first, but when he was to bring his offering to the holy table, which he had made with his own hand; seeing that no body received it according to custom, because they knew not whether St. Basil would be willing to accept it, he staggered in such a manner, that if one of the ministers at the altar had not stretched out his hand to support him, he had fallen down. This account taken from Gregory of Nazianzum, contains several remarkable circumstances. We see that to be in perfect communion with the Church, it was not enough to assist at the prayers, or to offer even gifts at the altar; the receiving of the Eucharist was wanting; that every body made the bread, which he offered with his own hands, and the Emperor himself was not excused from it. For it does not appear that these gifts could be any thing else. In short, although Valens was a professed Arian, and a persecutor of the Church; St. Basil not only does not excommunicate him, but suffers him to enter into the assembly of the faithful, and receives his offering. It is true, we do not know if he is permitted to assist at the Holy Sacrifice.

XLVIII.
St. Basil receives Valens into the Church.
Greg. Naz. P. 350, 351.

ANOTHER time the Emperor came again to assist at the assembly of the faithful. He entered even within the veil into the Deaconry or Sacristy, and joined in discourse with St. Basil, as he had long desired. St. Gregory Nazianzen was present, and testifies that St. Basil spoke in a Divine manner, according to the judgment of all who were present. In the Emperor's train there was one of the stewards of his household, named Demosthenes, who attempting to reproach St. Basil, used a barbarous word. St. Basil smiling said to him: An ignorant Demosthenes! Demosthenes incensed threatened him: And St. Basil said to him; Let it be your care to see the table well served, and do not talk of Divinity. The Emperor took so much pleasure in the excellent discourses of St. Basil, that he began to relent, and

Greg. Naz. P. 351. D. & ibi. Nicet. Theod. iv. c. 19.

and became more gentle and compassionate towards the Catholicks. And he gave a very fine estate that he had in those parts, for the use of such of the poor as were leppers.

XLIX.
St. Basil pro-
sected by
heaven.
Soz. vi. c. 16.
Socr. iv. c. 26.
Greg. Naz.
p. 352.

S. Eph. in
Basil. p. 65.
edit Coreler.

BUT the Arians, who beset the Emperor Valens, soon got the upper hand again. They persuaded him still to press St. Basil to come into their communion, and upon his refusal to banish him. All things were ready for the execution of this order. The horses were put to the chariot, St. Basil surrounded by his friends, and ready and willing to depart. It was night, and the Empress Dominica, who was the cause of all this mischief, was disturbed by frightful dreams, and tormented with cruel pains. At the same time the son which she had by the Emperor, called Galates, who was then a child, was seized with a violent fever, which reduced him to the last extremity: it increased so fast, that the Physicians knew not what remedies to apply. The Empress represented to the Emperor, that these accidents were without doubt a Divine judgment. They had recourse to prayers, and the Emperor, prostrate on the ground, begged of GOD to preserve his child. He sent his favourites to entreat St. Basil to come speedily: When he was come into the palace, the sickness of the child abated so plainly, that they began to have some hopes of him, and St. Basil promised his recovery, provided that they would permit him to be instructed in the Catholick Doctrine; the Emperor accepted the conditions, and St. Basil by his prayers obtained the recovery of the child. But afterwards Valens gave himself up again to the Arians; and, remembering the oath which he had sworn to Eudoxius at his baptism, he permitted them to baptize his son, who relapsed, and died soon after.

Greg. Naz.
p. 353.

Epist. 274,
275, &c.

Greg. Naz.
ibid. &

Nicet. n. 79.

VALENS did not submit to this stroke; and the Arians, who could not suffer the presence of St. Basil, prevailed with him again to banish him. The order for it was prepared, and in order to sign it Valens took one of those small reeds which the ancients wrote with, as we do with quills, and which are still used in the Levant; but the reed broke, as if it had refused to write. He took another which broke in the same manner; however, still persisting, he took a third, which broke likewise. Then he perceiving that his hand trembled, and being seized with horror, he tore the paper, revoked the order, and left Basil in peace. The Præfect Modestus was also overcome. Being taken ill some time after, he desired St. Basil to come and see him, and entreated the assistance of his prayers with great humility. He was accordingly cured, and publickly declared that he owed his recovery to him, and ceased not to recount his wonderful works. They became friends, and Modestus had a very great regard for the recommendations of St. Basil, as appears by many of the saints letters, expressing no less respect than confidence.

ANOTHER Præfect named Eusebius, uncle to the Empress Dominica, and an Arian as well as her self, persecuted St. Basil on account of a widow of distinction, whom an assessor belonging to this magistrate would have married by force. She fled for refuge into the church, to the holy table; the Præfect demanded her, and St. Basil refused to deliver her up. The Præfect in a rage sent some of his officers to search, even in the chamber of the holy Bishop, for this woman, in order to affront him; although he

he was so far from admitting women there, that they dared not so much as to look at him. He went farther; for he ordered St. Basil to be brought to defend himself as a criminal before him. Being then seated on his tribunal, and St. Basil standing, he commanded them to strip off the poor mantle which he wore. St. Basil said, I will pull off my tunick also, if you require it. Then the Præfect ordered them to strike him, and to tear his flesh with iron talons. St. Basil said, If you tear out my liver, you will do me a great kindness; for you see how troublesome it is to me. In the mean time all the city were moved when they heard the danger of their Bishop. They who worked in making arms and stuffs for the Emperor, were the most zealous. Each took those tools for arms, which he found nearest at hand: The women armed themselves with their spindles; and these people being exasperated, fought for the Præfect, in order to pull him to pieces: So that he was forced to become a suppliant even to St. Basil, who by his authority secured him from this danger.

BESIDES these attacks from without, St. Basil had great struggles to defend himself against the Bishops his neighbours. The purity of his belief was one occasion of their aversion; for most of them professed the true Doctrine no further than the people obliged them to it. The glory which raised him above them, caused a jealousy which increased the more, as they were obliged to conceal it: They therefore willingly embraced the occasion that presented it self of giving him disturbance, by the dividing of Cappadocia into two provinces. St. Basil opposed as much as he was able this innovation, for the interest of his city of Cæsarea, which would be a great sufferer thereby. But his resistance was in vain, Cappadocia was divided into two provinces: Cæsarea remained metropolis of the first; Tyana was capital of the second. Anthimius Bishop of Tyana, pretended that the Ecclesiastical ought to follow this division, that made for the civil government: That the Bishops of this second Cappadocia ought to acknowledge him for their metropolitan; and that St. Basil had not now any more jurisdiction over them. St. Basil was willing to preserve the ancient customs, and the division of the provinces as he had received it from his fathers. The new metropolitan disturbed the councils, drawing to his interest part of the Bishops, who acted with regard to St. Basil, as if they had never known him. Anthimius gained one part of the Presbyters by his persuasions, and changed the rest. He got into his hands the revenues of the church of Cæsarea; and especially that part which came from the church of St. Orestes in mount Taurus, and which passed by Tyana, as it was carried to Cæsarea. He even stopped St. Basil once in a narrow passage, and took away his mules. To cover his injustice, he accused St. Basil as guilty of errors in the Faith, and said that Tythes ought not to be paid to hereticks. Anthimius ordained a certain person, called Faustus, Bishop of a church of Armenia, whom St. Basil had with reason refused, ridiculing his exact observation of the canons.

BUT far from being discouraged by the conduct of Anthimius, St. Basil turned it to the benefit of the Church, by creating many new Bishopricks in the country. Sasima he made one of them, a little city in the middle of

L.
St. Gregory
ordained Bi-
shop of
Sasima.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 20. p.
355.
Epist. 379.
ad Martin.
361. ad
Abyrt. 337.
ad Sophron.

Greg. p. 356.
Basil. ep. 195.
ad Theod.
313. ad
Pamen.

Or. 7. p. 143. C. of the road which leads through Cappadocia, on the confines of the two new provinces, and appointed St. Gregory Nazianzen the Bishop. He who feared this office at first refused it, and seemed very averse to it, alledging the inconvenience of the place, which was a thorough-fare, inhabited by none but such rabble as could be got together, who were very tumultuous and miserable, and destitute of water, trees, or grass, or any thing that was pleasant or agreeable; and where he would be continually engaged in disputes with Anthimius; and giving way a little too much to the natural heat of his temper, he said: A much greater degree of virtue than I am possessed of is necessary for such a course of life. Afterwards, making use of the liberty allowable with friends, he reproached St. Basil with having deceived him, in advising him to retreat, in order afterwards to engage him in business.

Greg. orat. 20. p. 356. D. Or. 5. p. 135. D. Orat. 5. p. 134. Orat. 7. Greg. ep. 32. Id. ep. 33. Carm. p. 9. Most people moved with the complaints of St. Gregory, joined with him in blaming St. Basil: However he was not staggered by it, but continued firm in his resolution. He acted always with an eye to spiritual advantages, and had no regard to the interest of his friend, when the matter in question related to the service of God. The high idea which he had of the dignity of a Bishop, hindered him from looking upon any See as inconsiderable; he knew the humility of his friend, and feared not to put it to too severe a proof; even his father joined with St. Basil, to oblige him to accept the Bishoprick of Sasima. He was therefore ordained, submitting, as he said, rather his head than his heart; and he pronounced upon this occasion, according to custom, a short discourse, wherein he calls the constraint put upon him a tyranny, and sincerely owns the resentment he had against St. Basil, but condemns himself for it, and declares that he is now entirely reconciled to him. A little time after, in another discourse before his father, St. Basil, and the other Bishops who had ordained him, he enlarges upon the reasons which he had had to be afraid of the Episcopal office. Afterwards St. Gregory brother to St. Basil, and then Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, came to a certain place where there was celebrated a feast of martyrs, and St. Gregory Nazianzen made there another discourse before the people, wherein he again speaks of his ordination, and his concern in submitting to it, complaining that Gregory was come too late. IN the mean time, as he made no great haste to go to Sasima, St. Basil reproached him for negligence. I take great care, and it is my glory not to be so, replied St. Gregory; and if every body did as I do, the Church would not be so incumbered with business. He nevertheless prepared to take possession; but Anthimius opposed him, seizing on the marshes of Sasima, and mocking at the threatnings which St. Gregory used against him. Anthimius came afterwards to Nazianzum to visit Gregory the father, and used his utmost endeavours to oblige the son to acknowledge him as his metropolitan, promising to leave him in quiet possession of his See. St. Gregory would not hearken to this proposal, and Anthimius withdrew in anger. He afterwards directed a letter to him, to cite him in form to his council, as a Bishop of his province. St. Gregory looked upon it as an injury done to him; and Anthimius desired him at least to prevail

prevail upon St. Basil to come to some accommodation. But St. Basil was not well pleased that his friend had entred into this negotiation. All these difficulties concurred to give St. Gregory a thorough dislike of this Bishoprick. And without having ever done any duty there, he secretly withdrew, and retired to a solitary place, where he applied himself to serve, and instruct the sick in an hospital. Carm. p. 8. Vita. Greg. P. 15. A.

THE pious old man St. Gregory did not leave his son long in his solitude. He at first pressed him to go and govern his Church at Sasima; but finding him inflexible upon that head, he proposed to him to assist him in his extreme old age in the government of his Church of Nazianzum; and he pressed him with so much earnestness and tenderness, that he was not able to resist it. But he did not intend to engage himself hereby to do it after his death, being bound neither by promise, nor a canonical election. On this occasion he delivered a discourse, whercin addressing himself to his father, he said: I admire your primitive greatness of mind, which hath put you above a scruple, which might not be improper for our times. You do not fear that your spiritual motives may be taken for a pretence, and that it may be thought that we act in this matter according to the flesh, since the generality regard the government of the smallest flock as a great thing, and look upon it as a kind of royalty. He declares afterwards, that he engages himself only to assist his father; after which, he designs freely to follow the motions of the holy Spirit, and that no body should force his inclination: For, says he, our law does not constrain any one; all are free; we are not Magistrates, but Teachers: The mystery of Religion ought to be received voluntarily, and not imposed by arbitrary power. LI. St. Gregory governs Nazianzum with his father. Carm. p. 8. Or. 8. p. 148. D.

DURING the time that St. Gregory governed the Church of Nazianzum with his father, Hellenius his friend had in the same city the charge of the tribute. St. Gregory recommended to him ten or twelve Monks, whom we have mentioned before; the chief of whom were Cledonius, Eulalius, Helladius, and Carterius. Hellenius promised him to take care of them, and in return requested a work of his composing. St. Gregory sent him the next day an Elegy of three hundred sixty eight verses, in which he particularly extols a monastick life, and those who practised it at Nazianzum. He saith, that there were some who loaded themselves with chains of iron, to mortify and bring under their bodies, who shut themselves up in cells, and would not be seen by any body; fasting twenty days and nights, even half as long as our LORD JESUS CHRIST; another never spoke, praising GOD only in spirit; another passed whole years in a church with his hands stretched out without sleeping, like a breathing statue. These wonders would not be believed upon a less authentick testimony; and in the following part of this history, we shall see more examples of the like nature. St. Gregory observes with indignation, that many Monks blamed them as self-murderers. He afterwards enlarges in praise of the virgins, of whom, he says, some lived in societies; others with their relations. He boasts that his city of Nazianzum, little as it is, contains a great number of pious persons. Basil. ep. 33. 259. Sup. n. 16. Carm. 47. P. 106.

LII.
The death of
St. Gregory
the Father.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 19.
p. 313.

p. 288. C.

p. 313. C.

Pagi. an. 254.
n. 8.
Martyr.

Greg. Naz.
Carm. de
vita. p. 9.
Ep. 42. in. fi.

Id. Ep. 222.
p. 909.
Ep. 225.
Id. ep. 65.
p. 824.

Ep. 28.

Orat. 9.
p. 159.

Greg. ep. 168.
Basil ep. 304.
Censit.

L. 9. C. Th.
de Episc. &
ibi. Gothfr.

THE holy old man Gregory the Father died at last, aged near a hundred years, forty five of which he had been Bishop. During his last sickness, which was long and painful, the most certain relief he found was by celebrating the holy sacrifice. He left all his wealth to the poor, and was interred in the sepulcher he had made for himself and his son; who pronounced his funeral oration in the presence of St. Basil, who was come to visit him upon this occasion, and his mother St. Nonna, who was as old as his father, and who died a little time after. He therein takes notice of the affliction

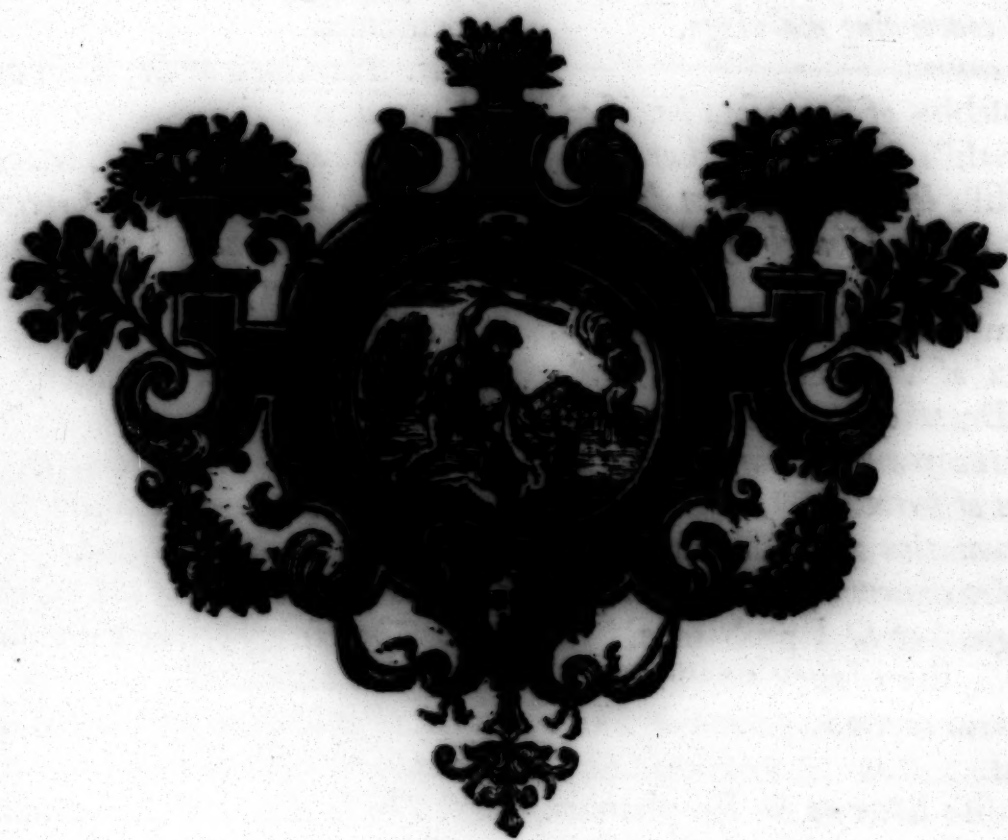
of the people for the loss of their holy Pastor, and declares, that he is persuaded that he prays for them more effectually than in his mortal life. He describes the Church which he had built at Nazianzum, almost at his own expence. It was more beautiful and spacious than most of the others; the form was an Octagon, the sides being equal, adorned with galleries, columns, and wainscot, and beautified with statues and carving after the life.

It was well lighted, and surrounded with galleries on the outside, which forming equal angles, it inclosed a great compass of ground, having Portals and Portico's which might be seen at a great distance; the whole building was of hewn stone; the Bases, Chapiters, and Cornices being marble. It is thought that Gregory the father died in the year 373. The Church commemorates him on the first of January, and St. Nonna on the first of August.

THE son was not able to retire so soon as he hoped to have done. His best friends represented to him the endeavours of the Hereticks, to get this Church into their hands; and prevailed with him to govern it some time longer; not as a titular Bishop, but as a strange Bishop, who took care of a vacant Church, which was a practice very common at that time; for he always protested that he never had been Bishop of Nazianzum; but only of Sasima; and at his father's funeral, he declared to the Bishops then present, that he would take care of it only till such time as they should provide a Pastor; which he desired them to do: he had at that time a very bad state of health. To this time wherein he governed the Church of Nazianzum, in this manner after the death of his father, is referred that discourse which he delivered in the presence of his old friend Julian, who then had the office of regulating the tribute at Nazianzum. He recommends to him the Poor, the Clergy, and the Philosophers, that is, the Monks; who, says he, have nothing here below; they possess hardly their bodies; they have nothing for Cæsar, all is God's; hymns, prayers, watchings, tears, their wealth is out of reach. Julian had invited him to come and assist him in regulating the tax; but a sickness prevented him. We have also a letter of St. Basil's, to a certain officer, wherein he desires him to exempt the Monks from publick offices, as having no possessions, and no wealth, having given all to the poor; nor bodies, for they consume them by penance. We see by this, that the Clerks and Monks were not excused from publick offices in this reign. We have, indeed, a law of Valens, which orders, that such Clerks as are thereto subjected by their birth, and of the number of those called Curiales, should be obliged to bear the publick offices of the cities, unless they have been among the Clergy ten years. This law

law is dated in the year 370, and directed to Modestus the *Præfectus Præ-* L. 63. de
torii, and, by a law supposed to have passed the same year, the like is or- Decurion.
dained with regard to the Monks. C. Th.

ST. Gregory did not continue very long at Nazianzum after the death of his father and mother: Being pressed by his continual infirmities, he made no scruple of leaving this Church; to the care of which he was not bound. He hoped also by this means to oblige the Bishops to chuse a Pastor for Nazianzum, which he had frequently requested of them. He quit-
ted it on a sudden, and retired to Seleucia in Isaura, where St. Thecla was particularly honoured; and where there was a monastery for women, and very likely one for men also. He stayed there a considerable time; and as he was accused of laziness, or a contempt for the Church of Nazian- Ep. 225;
zum, he answered, that he had not been so ill instructed as to prefer a short repose to the rewards that God prepares for such as labour according to his will.



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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XVII.

†††

THE Bishops of the East resolved to write again to the Bishops of the West, to intreat their assistance. St. Basil at the instigation of St. Eusebius of Samosata wrote hereof to St. Meletius, and said to him: What I think of greatest importance to be written to those of the West, and which hath not yet been mentioned, is to exhort them not to admit those who come from the East to communion with them, without first examining them; and to declare once for all for one party, and not to receive the rest, but on the testimony of those to whom they have granted their communion: And let them not be contented only with seeing the forms of their confession of Faith; if they are, they will find that they communicate with opposite parties, who often make use of the same words, although they differ widely in their opinions. The letter was drawn up by the Priest Dorotheus, who carried it to several Bishops, by whom it was subscribed, and he was sent with it into the West. St. Basil wrote to all the western Bishops in general upon this occasion, and to the Bishops of Gaul and Italy in particular. In his general letter he reckons that the hereticks had now attacked the Church thirteen years, which will bring us down to the year 373, if we reckon from 360, when the persecution on account of the form of Rimini, first began. In the letter to the Bishops of Gaul and Italy, he saith; We desire above all things, that you would acquaint your prince,

I.
St. Basil's
letter to the
Bishops of the
West.
Basil. ep. 58,
59 ad Melet.
P. 834. B.

Sup. lib. 14.
n. 24.

prince, with the confusion that we are in ; or if that cannot easily be done, that you would send some to us, who may be eye witnesses of our sufferings, for they are not to be described. We suffer persecution, and the bitterness of all persecutions ; and the most grievous circumstance of it is, that neither they who suffer hope for the reward of martyrdom, nor the people honour them as martyrs, because their persecutors have the name of Christians. For the crime which they so rigorously persecute, is only an exact observance of the traditions of our fathers. It is upon this account that the Catholics are sent into banishment, and conveyed into deserts, without any regard to age, or the greatest perfection in the Ascetic way of life. No criminal is condemned before he is convicted ; but the Bishops are apprehended upon bare calumny, and punished, though no evidence hath appeared against them. Nay some have not been even falsely accused ; but have been forcibly carried off in the night time, and sent into exile. The consequence of these evils is apparent ; the Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy betake themselves to flight, and the people, who see themselves deprived of their fathers, are in tears. Spiritual joy and gladness is no more, our feasts are turned into mourning ; the houses of prayer are shut up, and the altars useless. The pastors do no longer preside in the assemblies of the faithful, and give them wholesome instructions. There are no longer any solemnities, nor nightly hymns ; nor any of that blessed joy which souls receive in the communication of the spiritual graces. It is to be feared, adds he, that this conflagration will reach you, and that as the gospel began among us, so likewise the enemy will begin by us to propagate error throughout the world. He observes in what manner the Divinity of the Son, and the Holy Ghost was attacked ; and the danger that the people were in of being prevailed upon by custom to follow the hereticks ; seeing them perform all the Ecclesiastical functions. They baptize, saith he, they bury the dead, visit the sick, comfort the afflicted, and assist the poor, they bestow all sorts of relief, and they administer the Sacraments. We ought, proceeds he, to come to you in a body, but this we have not the liberty to do ; for all the while we leave our churches, they will be exposed to our enemies. We have therefore only sent to you our brother the Presbyter Dorotheus.

II.
Evagrius at
Antioch.
Ep. 8. ad
Euseb.
Sup. xv. n. 30.

THE Presbyter Evagrius of Antioch, who had been in the West with Eusebius of Vercellæ, came from Rome about this time, bringing back with him a writing sent thither by the Eastern Bishops, wherewith the most scrupulous among those of the West, were not well satisfied. They required from those of the East a letter, word for word the same with a writing which Evagrius brought to them ; and likewise required some persons of distinction to be sent as deputies from them, that they might have a specious pretence to visit them ; and this perhaps was the reason why St. Basil takes notice, how impossible it was to send a number of deputies to them.

Bas. ep. 342.
p. 1118. C.

EVAGRIUS was willing to endeavour to reconcile the church of Antioch, and agreed at first with St. Basil to communicate with the party of St. Meletius. However, when he was at Antioch, he changed his mind, and communicated only with those who adhered to Paulinus, to whom he remained so strictly united, that he afterwards succeeded him as titular Bishop of Antioch. However he wrote to St. Basil, to desire him to use his endeavours

endeavours towards this reconciliation. St. Basil replied; That by how much the more he was desirous to procure this reconciliation, so much the more impossible was it for him to bring it about. For you know, D. ep. 342. ad Evagr. faith he, that there must be time for the cure of distempers of a long standing, and sharp remedies must be used before they can be entirely removed. One single man, or a letter, will not in a moment root out of the mind self-love, jealousies, and animosities, that have arisen from disputes. There is a Bishop, whom the care of that church principally concerns, he means St. Meletius, still in exile in Armenia: But, adds he, it is impossible that he should come to us, or I go to him, by reason of the badness of the ways, and my ill state of health. I refuse not to write to him, but I do not expect any great success. To prevail upon any one, it is necessary to talk a great deal, and to hear a great deal; to answer objections, and to urge arguments; which cannot so well be done by words committed to writing. He continues speaking without doubt of Paulinus: Know in truth, now venerable brother, that, by the grace of God, I have no enmity against any person whatever. I do not seek to know of what crime any one is guilty or suspected; but have been sorry to hear that you have made a scruple of assisting at their assemblies. This, if I remember right, is not what we had agreed together.

It was Evagrius who brought St. Jerome into the East, whose merit III. The first actions of St. Jerome. soon gained him a great reputation there. He was born at Stridon in Dalmatia about the year 330. His father named Eusebius, was a man of substance, and gave him a liberal education. He even sent him to Rome, Chr. Prosp. an. 373. n. 9. vita. Hier. per. Victor. Bar. an. 372. Rosweid. init. where he studied under the celebrated grammarian Donatus. The vices of this great city drew him into some youthful irregularities. But he reformed, received Baptism, being now of riper years, and afterwards lived a strict life of chastity. He was continually employed in studying and transcribing books, of which he composed a library for his own use. Every Sunday he went with his companions to visit the relicks of the martyrs, in the subterraneous repositories of the catacombs. He afterwards travelled into Gaul, making it his constant care and study to collect books; in so much as at Treves he wrote a copy with his own hands of St. Hilary's treatise of synods. Returning from Gaul, he repaired to Aquileia, and staid sometime with the holy Bishop Valerian, who had succeeded Fortunatian, and who entirely cleared that church from Arianism, with which it had been infected under his predecessor. He drew to him so many learned Sup. lib. xiii. n. 18. Hier. Chr. an. 376, 378. and virtuous men, that the Clergy of Aquileia were famous in his time. Among them were reckoned the Presbyter Chromatius, who succeeded Valerian, and his two brothers, Jovinus Arch-deacon, and Eusebius Deacon of the same Church. Heliodorus is also set down as one of the number, who was afterwards a Bishop, and his nephew Nepotian, Niceas Sub-deacon, Chrysogonus a Monk, and Bonosus St. Jerome's country man, and foster-brother, the companion of his studies and travels, who retired to a desert island on the coast of Dalmatia, and there lived a monastick life; Rufinus who was baptized about the year 370, in a monastery whither he retired, and was instructed by the care of Chromatius and his brethren. He was Ruf. invest. at i. p. 160. D.

at first one of St. Jerome's intimate friends, and afterwards his greatest enemy.

St. Jerome afterwards undertook a journey to the East, with the Presbyter Evagrius, Innocent, and Heliodorus. He crossed Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, and Galatia, and stopped with him at Antioch, where he became acquainted with Apollinarius, who had not yet broached his heresy: He was frequently instructed by him, and heard him expound the Holy Scriptures, not entering into any dispute upon his opinions. He afterwards retired into a desert of the province of Chalcis, on the confines of Syria, and of Arabia; that is the country of the Saracens. Innocent and Heliodorus who came with him from the West, accompanied him in his retirement, and a slave called Hylas. The Presbyter Evagrius, who was rich, provided them with all sorts of necessaries, and maintained people to write for St. Jerome, to assist him in his studies, to which he continually applied himself, and conveyed to him from Antioch the letters which were directed to him from diverse parts. St. Jerome lost two of his companions, Innocent died, and Heliodorus was not long before he parted from him with a promise to return. He himself had frequent fits of sickness; and what still gave him greater trouble, violent temptations to impurity, by the remembrance of the pleasures which he had enjoyed at Rome. As fasting and other bodily severities did not drive them away, he undertook a laborious study, in order to subdue his imagination, viz. that of the Hebrew tongue, a converted Jew being his master. After having read Cicero, and the best Roman authors, he thought it hard to return to his alphabet, and to accustom himself to difficult aspirations, and pronounciations. Discouraged at the difficulty of the task, he frequently left off this work, and as often returned to it; and at length became very skilful in this language.

BUT what was the greatest hardship to St. Jerome in his desert, was the persecution which he suffered from the rest of the Monks, on account of the doctrine and schism that reigned in the church of Antioch. As he was a stranger, and came from the West, he was suspected by the Eastern Catholics, who were of Meletius's party: For he was most inclined towards those who sided with Paulinus, with whom his friend Evagrius communicated, and who was acknowledged at Rome as Bishop of Antioch. It was in vain for him to say he sided with neither party; he was pressed to declare for Meletius. They likewise urged him to acknowledge three *Hypostases* in God; but he feared this expression which the hereticks made use of in a bad sense. These difficulties obliged him to consult Damasus Bishop of Rome some time after, and at last to leave the country.

IV. BEING in this desert of Syria, he understood that his friend Rufinus, for whom he was concerned, visited the monasteries of Egypt, and that he was gone to Nitria to see St. Macarius the Egyptian, as it is supposed. St. Melania was at the same time in Egypt, she was a woman of the greatest quality among the Roman ladies, and grand-daughter to Marcellinus, who was consul with Probinus in 341. She lost two of her children and her husband in one year, being left a widow at twenty two years of age; but so great was her faith, that her loss did not draw so much as a tear from her. Being at liberty, she left her only surviving son, who was an infant, and afterwards

terwards Prætor for Rome, and embarked for Egypt. Being arrived at Alexandria, she there met with the Presbyter St. Isidore, governor of the hospital, who was well known at Rome, he having accompanied St. Athanasius in his journey thither. As he had formerly dwelt on Mount Nitria he discoursed to Melania of the virtues of the Monks who inhabited that desert, and among the rest of St. Pambo. She was desirous of going thither, and Isidore conducted her. She made Pambo a present of three hundred Roman pounds weight of silver plate. He was then working some palm leaves, but without leaving off, or so much as turning about, he said aloud, God reward you. He afterwards said to his steward, Take and distribute it to all the Brethren of Libya and the isles; for these monasteries are most needy; but as for them of Egypt give them not any, the country being richer. Melania continued standing, expecting that he would give her his benediction, or at least say something by way of commendation, for so considerable a present. But he continuing silent, she said to him: Father, do you know that there is three hundred pounds weight of silver? Daughter, replied he, without the least concern or cast of his eye upon the cases that held the silver, He to whom you have brought it needeth not to be informed of the quantity, He weigheth the mountains and forests in his balance; if you gave it to me, you would have reason to tell me the weight of it; but if you offer it to God, who did not despise two mites, say no more. St. Pambo died about twenty years after, aged seventy years; and died without any sickness, as he was making a basket, which he bequeathed to Palladius who was then his disciple, having nothing else to give him.

AMONG Pambo's disciples were reckoned four Brethren, Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who being tall of stature, were called the Great or Tall Brethren, and afterwards became very remarkable. Dioscorus the eldest was Bishop of Hermopolis; Ammonius is the same who travelled to Rome with St. Athanasius: he had the whole Scripture by heart, and was a great reader of Origen, Didymus, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical writers: They had all of them a great influence and authority in this monastery. They had three sisters, who settled in the neighbourhood a monastery of virgins. On the same mountain of Nitria, St. Melania saw St. Or, who was fourscore and ten years old, and the father of a thousand Monks. When he received a new one, he used to call all the rest together. One brought brick, another mortar, and a third wood; so that in one day they built him a cell; and St. Or himself took care to furnish it. He is commemorated by the Greek Church on the seventh of August. St. Melania spent about six months in visiting the holy Anchorites on Mount Nitria.

SHE saw likewise at Alexandria Didymus the blind, so famous for his learning, who lost his sight at four years of age, when he just began to read; notwithstanding which, having an excellent wit, and being much inclined to study, he, by hearing good masters, acquired a thorough knowledge of Grammar, Rhetorick, and afterwards of Logick, and also of Arithmetick, Musick, and other parts of the Mathematicks, even Geometry and Astronomy: he likewise studied the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. He was a kind of prodigy; many came to Alexandria on purpose to hear him, and others to see what sort of man he was, and whether what had been reported

Theod. iv.
hif. c. 29.
Cassiod. di-
vin Inftit.
c. 5.
Ruff. ij. hif.
c. 7.

iii. Vit. PP.
c. 218.
Hier. ep. ad
Castrut. 33.

Hier. de
Script. Ruff.
inveft. 2.
p. 176. B.
Id. ii. hif.
c. 7.
Socr. iv. c. 24.

VI.
Ruffinus and
Melania in
Paleftine.
Paul. ep. 10.
ad. Sever.
Ball. ad Lanf.
c. 117.
Sup. lib. 16.
n. 34.

ported of him was true ; for he had no small knowledge in all these sciences, and excelled those who had the clearest sight. He was likewise very well versed in Divinity, causing not only the holy Scripture to be read to him, but Origen, and other interpreters ; when his readers slept, he continued a long time reflecting on what he had heard, so that it remained as it were written in his memory. He added prayer to study, incessantly beseeching God to enlighten his mind, insomuch, that he became so learned in Divinity, that the Christian school at Alexandria was committed to his care, he being very much approved by St. Athanasius, and the other great men who were then in the Church. He was esteemed by the Egyptian Monks as a person of the greatest sanctity, and the great St. Anthony when he came to Alexandria to give evidence for St. Athanasius, went to visit him. He asked him if he was not troubled at the loss of his sight. Didymus was ashamed at first to own such a weakness : But he making no answer, St. Anthony repeated the same question two or three times, and at length Didymus plainly owned, that it did trouble him. I wonder, said St. Anthony, that a wise man should be troubled for having lost what is enjoyed by Gnats and Pismires, instead of rejoicing that he has what is possessed by saints and apostles. It is much better to see with the eyes of the understanding, than with those of the body, one single glance of which may destroy a man to all eternity. Didymus was likewise very much esteemed by the Western Bishops, especially by St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, St. Hilary and Lucifer : For he always powerfully opposed the Arians and the other Hereticks of those times. He composed several works which he dictated to writers in short-hand ; amongst the rest, a Treatise on the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Macedonians, which is extant in Latin, as translated by St. Jerome. He likewise wrote several commentaries upon the Scripture. He expounded Origen's book of Principles, whom he greatly esteemed, and said, that they that found fault with him, did not understand him. He had a great fluency of speech, and a particular grace in his accent : He was about sixty years old when Ruffinus and Melania were in Egypt ; for he was born about the year 308, and lived four score and five years. Ruffinus staid six years at Alexandria to be instructed by him, and suffered in the persecution against the Catholicks, especially the Monks in that city, after the death of St. Athanasius : Ruffinus was imprisoned and banished with the rest.

MELANIA did all that was in her power to comfort and relieve the Confessors upon this occasion, making use of her wealth, which was very great, to this purpose : For three days together she fed about five thousand of them ; she received them in their flight, and when they were apprehended, went along with them ; she followed those who were banished to Paleftine, an hundred and twelve in number, providing them with sustenance ; and they being strictly guarded, and none suffered to visit them, she put on the habit of a slave, and towards evening came and brought them what was necessary for their support. The Præfect of Paleftine was acquainted with it, and sent her to prison, hoping, by terrifying her, to extort money from her. She sent this message to him : I am daughter to such a one, and was formerly wife to such a one, and am now the servant of JESUS CHRIST. Do not therefore despise me, because of the condition wherein you see me.

It is easy for me to help myself if I will; you cannot terrify me, nor take away any of my wealth. I give you notice, lest through ignorance you should commit some fault that might bring you into danger. The governor frightened in his turn, excused himself to her, and paid her those honours that were due to her quality, and gave orders that she should be suffered to come to the exiles as often as she pleased. Ruffinus attended Melania in this journey, and they came together to Jerusalem, where they remained five and twenty years, assisting the strangers who came thither from all parts of the world; especially the Bishops, Monks, and Virgins. St. Jerome understanding that they were there, wrote to Ruffinus, and directed the letter to a Monk of great reputation, named Florentius, who was likewise at Jerusalem, with whom he became acquainted by letters which had passed between them. Speaking of Ruffinus, he saith, Do not judge of me by his virtues; you will see in him evident tokens of sanctity; and I am only dust and dirt. Florentius, who was very generous, assisted St. Jerome in his studies, causing books to be copied out for him. Ep. 5. ad Flor.
Ep. 6.

THERE WAS at that time in Palestine, and all over Syria, a great number of Monks, as well Hermits as Cœnobites. Hefychius or Hefychas had restored the monastery of St. Hilario, to which he had brought his relicks; and an annual festival was kept in honour of him: They likewise honoured there, three other Anchorites, Aurelius, Alexion, and Alaphion; who in the time of Constantius, had by their great virtue, very much promoted the propagation of the gospel in that country, which was wholly given to idolatry; that is, the country round about Gaza. Alaphion was delivered from a devil by Hilario, and became a convert, together with a man of learning, who was grand-father to the historian Sozomen. They were both of the town of Bethelia, near Gaza, so named from a famous temple called in Greek Pantheon, because it was dedicated to all the gods; as Bethelia in Syriack signifies the House of the Gods. These Two planted Christianity in this country; they founded churches and monasteries there, and introduced among them piety, hospitality, and charity towards the poor. About this same time, in the reign of Valens, there dwelt four famous Anchorites near Bethelia, viz. Salamanes, Physcon, Malachion, and Crispion, brethren and disciples of St. Hilario. The Abbot Sylvanus who was born in Palestine, was at that time in Egypt; afterwards, he lived on Mount Sinai; after this he erected a large monastery near the torrent of Gerara. Ever since the time of Julian the apostate, there had been a monastery at Jerusalem governed by the Abbot Philip. There was one near the Dead Sea called the *Laure* of Pharan; for the word *Laure* signifies an habitation of Monks who lived in cells, at a distance from each other, but under the direction of the same superiour. Vita Hilar.
c. 32.
Sozom. vj.
c. 32.
Soz. iij. c. 14.
Id. v. c. 15.
Soz vj. c. 32.
Ruff. ii hist.
c. 28.

THE mountains near Antioch were inhabited by a great number of Monks. VII. Among others are reckoned Macedonius, surnamed *Critopbagus*, because he lived upon barley, Peter of Galatia, and Bassus, who presided over two hundred Monks. On mount Coryphe, between Antioch and Beroœa, dwelt the Abbot Eusebius. Simeon the aged, governed two monasteries on mount Amanus. Near Cyrus there were many Anchorites, among others St. Maro the founder of several monasteries; one was in the province of Apamea, The Monks of Syria.
Theod. Philoth. c. 13.
c. 9. c. 26.
Ibid. c. 16. called

Ibid. c. 5. called *Syria Secunda*. Near Zeugma, upon the Euphrates, St. Publius founded a double monastery, which was divided into two parts, one for the Greeks, and the other for the Sirians; but they had but one church, where they came together morning and evening, and chaunted the service each in their own language. Aönes was acknowledged to be the first that lived a monastick life in Mesopotamia, and the Upper Syria near Persia; who is said to have done the same in Syria, as St. Anthony did in Egypt. His monastery was at Phadana, which was reported to be the place where the Patriarch Jacob met Rachel: Gaddanas and Aziz were his disciples. These Monks spread themselves in the country between Edeffa and Nisibis, round about mount Sigoron: They called them at first Pasturers, because they lived a wandering life on the mountains, as beasts put out to pasture; having no house, nor eating bread, nor any thing dressed. They praised God without ceasing, and sang hymns according to the custom of the Church; and when they found it convenient to receive nourishment, they spread themselves over the mountain, as it were to graze, each with a bill in his hand, and fed on such herbs as they met with. Their retreats were caverns and holes of rocks; their sepulchres were the place where death seized them; whether it were in praising God, or eating their herbs, or in wandering about the mountains. This is the account given of them by St. Ephrem.

Gen. xxix. 10. He speaks of it as a thing within his own knowledge; for he lived at the same time, and in the same country, and was himself one of the most famous Monks in the Upper Syria. He was born at Nisibis, or somewhere thereabouts, his parents being poor, having nothing but their labour to maintain them; but they had been Confessors; and he reckoned martyrs in his family, though obscure in the eye of the world. His name is the same as Ephraim; and in general, the names of the Old Testament were common in Syria, and the remotest parts of the East. Entertaining in his youth some doubts concerning the Providence of God, God was pleased to convince him by his own experience. Having lost his way in the woods, he stayed all night there with some shepherds. The wolves that night broke in upon the flock; the masters charged the young man Ephrem with the loss of their sheep, and put him and the shepherds in prison. After having lain there some time, he was admonished in a dream, to acknowledge the Providence of God, and call to mind what he had done. Awaking, he remembered, that, some time before, he had met in the woods a cow big with young, belonging to a certain poor man, which he had hunted by throwing stones at her till she dropped down dead: That having afterwards met the owner, and being asked of him whether he had seen the cow; instead of telling him where she was, he gave him ill language; so that the cow was eaten by the wild beasts. Ephrem recollected this sin, and believed it to be the cause of his imprisonment. There were in the same prison with him, two other persons accused likewise unjustly, upon supposition, one of manslaughter, the other of adultery; but both guilty of other crimes. Three others also, under the same circumstances, were afterwards brought to them; but all five were at last cleared, and those who were really criminal found out and punished. Ephrem was set free, being known by the judge, who was convinced of his innocence. This was the beginning of his conversion; and from

Soz. vj. c. 33.

Gen. xxix. 10.

Soz. vj. c. 34.

Ephr. Serm. in SS. PP. p. 771.

VIII. St. Ephrem.

Soz. iij. c. 16. Ephr. Conf. p. 605.

Ibid. p. 599.

from that time he betook himself to an Ascetick life, and was, among others a follower of St. James of Nisibis. He was with him when he delivered the city then beleagured by the Persians. Sup. lib. 13. c. 2.

ST. Ephrem, although he had never studied, became on a sudden very learned in Philosophy and Divinity, which had been shewn by miraculous visions, to his relations and other holy persons, upon his account. He spoke the Syriack his native language very eloquently; his discourses were nervous and pathetick, and retained a great part of their beauty in the Greek, into which they were translated, even in his time. We have still a great many of them, being Latin versions from the Greek, which express a great deal of sorrow and compunction, and the warmest and most affectionate piety. In St. Jerome's time, and a little after the death of St. Ephrem, his works were publickly read in the Church, after the holy Scripture. He likewise composed some poems, which he put in the room of those of Harmonius son of Bardesanes: For as Harmonius had composed hymns set to agreeable tunes, but which contained errors in points relating to the Faith, concerning the soul, the formation and corruption of the body, and regeneration; St. Ephrem composed hymns set to the same music in honour of GOD and the saints, which the people accustomed themselves to sing with pleasure: He was ordained Deacon of Edessa; but he was always fond of a solitary life. Soz. iij. c. 16. Greg. Nyss. Or. in S. Eph. p. 10. 37. c. 10. 2. Hier. Scrip. Sup. lib. 4. n. 9.

AMONG his works, there are many rules and instructions for those that are engaged therein. We may see by them that there were three sorts of Monks; Recluses, who shut themselves up in their cells; Hermits dispersed in the desert; Cœnobites, who lived in societies. We also see the different labours wherein they were employed; the making ropes, baskets, matts, paper, cloath; transcribing books, working in the garden, dressing victuals, turning the mill. He said he had seen an Anchorite, who lived upon the top of a pillar; which was afterwards practised by several others, who were called in Greek for this reason *Stylites*. Notwithstanding the esteem that he had for the Monks whom he had seen wandering about the mountains, and who were called Pasturers, he admonishes the Cœnobites not to listen to the temptations, which they might have to follow their example, and to expose themselves rashly to the horror of the desert, the dangers of famine, robbers, wild beasts, evil spirits, and their own uneasiness; neither would he have any too easily resolve upon the solitary life of Anchorites, who lived dispersed in cells in a much more austere manner than the Cœnobites. Paræn. 47. p. 434. Paræn. 24. p. 374. 375.

ST. Ephrem came to Cæsarea to pay a visit to St. Basil; of which visit he gives the following relation: Being on a charitable account in a certain city, I heard a voice which said to me, Arise Ephrem and eat thoughts. I replied, very much confounded, Where shall I find them, LORD? Behold, said he to me, a royal vessel in my house which will supply you with food. He alludes to the name of Basil, which signifies Royal. And continues: Being greatly surprized at these words, I arose, and came to the Temple of the Most High; and I ascended gently to the porch; I looked earnestly through the portal, and I beheld, in the Holy of holies, the chosen vessel adorned with Divine words, magnificently set forth before the flock, the eyes of them all being fixed upon him: I saw the Temple receive from him the spiritual food. I beheld rivers Orat. in Basil. Coteler. Mon. Grato. 3. p. 58. Greg. Nyss. de vita Ephr. to. 2. p. 1037. A.

Vita S. Eph.
c. 6.

Ep. ibid.
p. 59.

Soz. vi. c. 26.

IX.
Monks with
St. Basil.
Gaudent.
Serm. 17.
Const. Mon.
Rev. Brev.
Art. 108,
109, 110,
111.

Ep. 302.

Orat. 20.
p. 359. A.
Ep. 319.
Innocent.

rivers of tears streaming round about him, while he lifted up prayers for us on the wings of the spirit, and sent down words; that is, the Doctrine of St. Paul, the Law of the Gospel, and the dreadful mysteries. In fine, I beheld all this assembly shining with the splendour of grace; and I praised the goodness and wisdom of God, who thus honoureth those that honour him. St. Ephrem gave these praises publicly to St. Basil; which occasioned some of the congregation to say: Who is this stranger, who commendeth our Bishop in this manner? He flatters him to get something of him. But after the congregation was broken up, St. Basil knowing him by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, sent for him and demanded of him, by an interpreter; for St. Ephrem did not understand Greek: Are you Ephrem, who have so freely taken upon you the yoke of our SAVIOUR? I am Ephrem, replied he, who run the last in the heavenly race. St. Basil embraced him, and saluted him with the holy kiss, and made him eat with him: but the feast consisted chiefly of spiritual conversation. He asked him, why he commended him in that manner, aloud: Because, said St. Ephrem, I saw upon your right shoulder a dove of a surprizing whiteness, which seemed to prompt you when you spoke to the people. St. Basil, among other things, related to him the history of the forty martyrs, and was astonished at his understanding and knowledge. St. Ephrem, on his side, afterwards composed a discourse in praise of St. Basil, wherein he gives a particular account of this visit.

ST. Basil when a Bishop, still continued his affection to a monastick life. He educated people in this way, whom he kept under his eye at Cæsarea, and joyned a monastery to the hospital which he erected there. There was also at Cæsarea a monastery of virgins governed by a niece of St. Basil; the church being dedicated to the forty martyrs, wherein some of their relics were preserved. The Nuns of this monastery, and the others which were under his care, are called in his writings *Canonesses*, or Canonical, as living according to rule; and this name was given to the Cœnobite Monks. We meet with many articles in his rules relating to the virgins, and with penances designed particularly for them, which almost all relate to sins of words. Among the letters of St. Basil written to religious women, that to Theodora is remarkable, which contains in short all that is to be chiefly practised in the Ascetick life; especially those things which seem to be inconsiderable, till experience has discovered their advantage.

HE likewise built monasteries in frequented places, that those whom an active life drew thither, might not be wholly deprived of the benefits of solitude; and that the Monks might not grow vain on account of their retirement. Thus doth St. Gregory Nazianzen speak of this matter, intimating, that St. Basil's Clergy profited by the example and conversation of the Monks. And indeed, the Clerks of St. Basil, even the Presbyters, lived in very great poverty, and laboured with their own hands. A Bishop of a large See had asked him for one who might be proper to succeed him; he proposed to him, as the man of the greatest merit among his Presbyters, one who had held that rank several years, of sound morals, well versed in the canons, and entirely orthodox, and who lived up to the Ascetick way of life; his body being wasted by austerities, but so poor and so destitute of worldly

worldly wealth, that he had not bread but what he got by his labour, in like manner as the brethren that were with him. In another letter he excuses himself to St. Eusebius of Samosata, for not having been able a long time to send any one to him. For, saith he, although our Clergy is numerous in appearance, it consists of such as are not used to travel; they not dealing in merchandize, and their occupations being mostly sedentary, from whence they receive their daily subsistence. We see here by the way, the same custom to be met with in St. Cyprian, of committing Ecclesiastical letters to the care only of Clerks.

Ep. 263.
p. 1035. D.
Sup. lib. vi.
n. 24.
Cypr. epist.
29. Presby.
X.
Care in Ordina-
tions,
Ep. 131.

THE care of St. Basil in the forming of his clergy, is no where so observable as in the following letter to his *Chorepiscopi*, where he complains that the strictness of the ancient discipline is no longer observed. He saith, That it was not the custom to receive the inferior ministers, till they had been examined, when their whole conduct was strictly inquired into: as whether they were not slanderers, drunkards, and brawlers; if they had lived soberly and religiously in their youth. The Priests and Deacons who lived with them, gave an account thereof to the *Chorepiscopi*, who having informed the Bishop, admitted the said minister among the Clergy. Now, saith he to the *Chorepiscopi*, you assume all the authority. You do not advise with us, but leave this choice to the Priests and Deacons, who introduce into the Church, at their pleasure, their friends or relations, though insufficient and incapable to bear any office therein. Whence it comes to pass, that though there are said to be many ministers in every small town; yet there are none fit to serve at the altar, as you your selves do testify, confessing when any election is to be made, that you are at a loss how to proceed to a choice: So that seeing this evil becomes past cure, especially now when many undertake the ministry for fear of being obliged to bear arms; I thought it my duty to enforce the antient Canons. I order you therefore to send me a list of all the ministers of each town, setting down by whom each was admitted, and what manner of life he leads. And lay up such a number of these lists by you, to the end they may be compared with ours, and that none may be added. If any have been admitted by the Priests, after the first warning, they shall be accounted no other than laymen. You shall examine them over again; and if you testify that they are capable, they shall be admitted. Purge therefore the Church, expelling such as are unworthy; and for the future, examine such as are worthy, and them receive; but do not look upon them as Clerks till we are informed; otherwise know, that he who hath been received into the ministry without our order, shall be esteemed a meer layman. This is the sum of St. Basil's letter.

I call ministers, or inferior ministers, those who are in Greek termed *Hyperetæ*, that is all who are under the degree of Priests or Deacons, or Readers, and Porters, and often Sub-deacons in particular. We see here, but more clearly, the same discipline, that is delivered in some of St. Cyprian letters. The Bishop with his Priests examined those who were worthy to be admitted among the Clergy, and appointed them to the ministry; then he made them Readers and Sub-deacons; and when they had still been farther tried in these lower orders, he preferred them to the office,

V. Suicer.
Thesaur.
Sup. lib. vi.
n. 44. Cypr.
Presbyt. &
Diacor.

fice of Deacons, and lastly to the Priesthood, with the advice of his Clergy : and this is what St. Basil here calls election. St. Basil did not introduce any novelty, but only restored the antient discipline, delivered down
 1 Tim. iii. 10. by his fore-fathers. And we see that St. Paul ordereth the Deacons to be proved before they are intrusted with the ministry.

NECTARIUS a person of distinction, recommended a man to St. Basil, to supply a certain cure. St. Basil at first expresses a great deal of respect and affection towards him ; but afterwards he gives him to understand that he cannot grant any thing to him in this case. I should not be, saith he, a faithful steward ; I should be a marchant if I exchanged the gift of GOD for the friendship of man. We give our suffrages only upon the testimony given us of the outward man ; we leave it to him who knows the secrets of hearts, to judge who are the most worthy. It is the best way therefore to give one's testimony without passion or prejudice ; and to beseech GOD to make known unto us what is most expedient, and to be thankful whatever happens. On the contrary we hazard a great deal, when we will have our own way, since we are answerable for the faults of these whom we recommend. If ordinations are made according to the will of man, it is nothing ; it is but an imitation of the truth. If it is men who bestow this power, what occasion is there to seek it from us ? why do they not assume it themselves ? If it be received of GOD, we ought to pray without being angry, and not to require our own will be to performed, but refer the matter to GOD.

Ep. 39. HE wrote in this manner to the Bishops under his jurisdiction concerning Simony. The subject of this letter, saith he, is so extraordinary, that my soul is filled with grief, because you are so much suspected of it. It is said that some among you take money for ordinations, and that they disguise this crime under the name of piety ; which makes it still worse. For he who commits evil under the pretence of goodness, is doubly wicked. We must
 Aa. viii. 2c. say to him who receives the money, what the Apostles said to Simon ; Thy money perish with thee. For he who through ignorance would buy the gift of GOD, is less guilty than he who sells it. If you sell what you have freely received, you shall be deprived of Grace, as sold into Satan. You introduce traffick into spiritual things, and into the Church, where the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST is committed to our trust. But here is the artifice, they think that they have not sinned because they take nothing till after ordination ; however it is still taking. I conjure you then not to defile your hands, nor render yourselves unworthy to celebrate the holy mysteries. Forgive me if I use threats ; at first I did not believe this evil ; but now I do ; and if any body after this letter doth any thing of the like nature, he shall be separated from our altar ; and let him then seek where he may buy and sell the gift of GOD ; that is to say, this simoniacal Bishop shall not be admitted to the celebration, or participation of the holy mysteries, if he should come to Caesarea.

XI. A Presbyter named Gregory or Paregorius, who was a man of seventy
 The purity of St. Basil's Clergy. years of age, kept a woman to wait upon him. One of the *Chorepiscopi* gave St. Basil notice of it ; who wrote to Paregorius to put away this woman, according to the ordination of the council of Nice : But Paregorius instead

instead of obeying, wrote to St. Basil, accusing the *chorescopus* of malice, Ep. 198. and St. Basil of giving ear too easily to calumnies; who answered him: I have read your letter with a great deal of patience, and am surprized, that instead of justifying your self by doing as you ought, which was a short and easy way, you chuse rather to persist in your fault, and vainly endeavour to repair it by long discourses. And afterwards: The more you pretend to be free from all passion, you ought the more easily to yield to my advice. For I believe, at seventy years of age a man does not much regard the beauty of a woman; and what I have ordered in this matter, is not because I think there hath passed any thing criminal between you; but we have learnt from the apostle not to give any cause of offence to our brethren. He continues: Send then this woman out of your house, place her in a monastery of virgins, and be attended by men; until you have done it, all that you can write to me, will avail nothing; you will die under suspension, and shall give an account to God of it; if you venture to perform the functions of the Priesthood without amendment of your fault, you shall be anathematized by all the people, and they who receive you shall be excommunicated by the whole Church. We see here the order of the canonical penalties, suspension or interdiction; and the excommunication of the Priest who does not observe it; and of those who communicate with him.

THE letter to the chorepiscopus Timothy, sheweth, that disingagement from all worldly things, which was required by St. Basil, of those who entred into the service of GOD. Is this, saith he, the same Timothy whom we have seen, from his childhood, labouring to attain perfection, with so much earnestness, that he was censured as guilty of excess in it? Now you regulate your manner of life, according to the opinion of others, and your only study is to be of no use to your friends, and not contemptible to your enemies. You do not consider, that by stopping here, you inadvertently neglect the true way of life. It is impossible at the same time, to find sufficient leisure for the things of this world, and for that life which we ought to lead. Let us withdraw our selves from any disturbance of business, and retire within ourselves; let us actually practise that piety which we have so long resolved upon, and let us not give any handle to those who are desirous to cast reflections upon us. Ep. 340.

By thus retreating from business, St. Basil did not mean that men should forbear assisting their neighbours, by recommendations and prayers, as we see by a great number of his letters, directed to magistrates and persons in power, in behalf of private people, especially the poor. There are likewise several written to comfort widows, and persons in affliction. If he recommended others, neither did he forget his Clergy; and there is a letter of his to the Præfect Modestus, in order to preserve to them their privilege of being exempted from bearing publick offices, which had been granted them so long before; and which the inferiour officers did not enough regard. In his recommendation of him who had the management of the lands belonging to the Church, he saith: The goods of the poor are of such a nature, that we always apply to some person to take this burden upon him; because the Church rather addeth to, than taketh ought from their stock. Ep. 229. p. 1008.

Baf. ep. 372.
p. 1147. C.
Ep. 392.
p. 1179. A.
Ep. 394.
p. 1179. A.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 16.
Or. 20.
p. 359 B.
360.

Soz. vi. c. 34.
Greg. Nyss.
in Basil.
p. 925. D.
D. ep. 370.

XII.
St. Amphilochus
Bishop of
Iconium.
Baf. ep. 8.
ad. Euseb.
Sam.

Theod. iv.
hist. c. 11.
Hier. epist.
84. ad Mag.
Greg. Naz.
ep. 140. ed.
Them. 159.
160.
Id. ep. 106.
ad Cæsar.
110. ad
Soph. Baf.
ep. 393.
Greg. ep.
161.
Ep. 393.
ad Amphil.
P. 1178. A.

Ep. 394.

Ep. can. 1.
Præf.

THE more poor and mean St. Basil was in what regarded his own person and manner of life, the more magnificent was he in what related to the poor. He built near Cæsarea, in a place before uninhabited, an hospital, which was afterwards an ornament to the country, and as it were another city. Passengers were lodged here, and hither were brought all sorts of persons who wanted relief, especially the lepers, who before were dispersed about the town, and were a loathsome spectacle to every body. All persons who were necessary for the assistance of the poor, had lodgings here; such as physicians and surgeons, attendants porters, labourers; and here were also shops, and workhouses, for the trades that depended on it. The reveueues of this hospital, which continued a long time in great reputation, under the name of Basilias, arose out of the lands granted by the Emperor Valens, to the church of Cæsarea. St. Basil frequently went to this hospital to comfort and instruct the poor, and did not scruple to touch, and even to embrace the lepers, to set an example to others. He likewise built a magnificent church, having lodgings round it; one higher, and more retired from the rest, for the Bishop; and the others underneath, for the servants of God, that is the Clerks.

ABOUT the same time that Evagrius came back to Antioch, the church of Iconium became vacant by the death of the Bishop Faustinus, and St. Basil was desired to come and visit it, and to appoint a Bishop; but he made some scruple whether he ought to concern himself with ordinations out of his own province. For Iconium was in Pisidia, formerly the second city of the province; and then metropolis of that part of it, which they had made a separate province, under the name of the second Pisidia, otherwise called Lycania. Amphilochus a friend of St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, but much younger than they, was chosen Bishop of this place. He was likewise a native of Cappadocia, and of a noble family; he studied oratory, pleaded at the bar, and decided causes, and, though young, had acquired a great reputation for his probity. He afterward retired to a solitary place in Cappadocia, called Ozizala; keeping a correspondence with St. Gregory Nazianzen; but he durst not live with St. Basil, lest he should engage him in any Ecclesiastical Office; of which he believed himself very unworthy. At length he providentially came into Pisidia, where he was, against his will, elected Bishop of Iconium. His father also was extremely greived thereat, being deprived of the comfort and support of his old age; and he laid the blame thereof on St. Gregory Nazianzen. St. Basil wrote to St. Amphilochus upon his ordination to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him to oppose the hereticks, and correct ill customs; and not to suffer himself to be led, since he was to guide others. And not being able to visit him by reason of infirmities, he invited him to come to him.

St. Amphilochus came accordingly, and preached, as was usual for Bishops that were strangers, before the people of Cæsarea, who were better pleased with him than any they had heard. They had from that time frequent correspondence by letter. St. Amphilochus looking upon St. Basil as his master, advised with him on divers points of doctrine and discipline; and St. Basil took delight in instructing him, punctually answering his questions; but with an extraordinary modesty, and as if he had hereby met

with

with an opportunity to receive instruction himself. There is a long letter, Ep. 391. wherein he solves several propositions: the first relating to this passage of the gospel, to which the Anomeans gave a false interpretation; That day and hour [*viz. of the end of the world*] knoweth no man, but the Father Matth. xxiv. 36. only. St. Basil proves that it is elsewhere certain from Scripture, that the Son of God knoweth the day; and that as to what is said, That the Father only knoweth it, this is mentioned with regard to the angels; and as to its being said, that even the Son knoweth it not, hereby is meant no more than that he knoweth it only by the Father. There are also three other letters from St. Basil to St. Amphilocheus, on mere speculative Divinity, in answer to the sophistry of Aëtius, on the nature of the mind of man; on the difference of Faith, and of natural knowledge; on the manner of our knowing God; and on his Essence and Attributes. Mark xiii. 32. Ep. 399. 400, 401.

He also wrote his treatise concerning the Holy Ghost, at the desire of St. Amphilocheus. What gave occasion to it was, that St. Basil praying with the people, gave glory to God sometimes in these words: Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost; and sometimes in these: Glory to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. Some who were present took offence at it, saying that he made use of new and contradictory expressions; and St. Amphilocheus desired his reasons for so doing. St. Basil replied, That Aëtius pretended to prove the dissimilitude of the Divine Persons, by this passage of St. Paul: There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one LORD JESUS CHRIST, by whom are all things; and one Holy Ghost, in whom are all things: He condemns him for explaining these particles *of*, *by*, and *in*, according to the distinction of the Philosophers, and maintains that their human learning is not to be applied to spiritual doctrine; because the holy scripture doth not observe these distinctions. He doth not admit any thing in the nature of the Divine Persons, that may carry in it the idea of inequality: XII. St. Basil's treatise concerning the Holy Ghost. cap. i. p. 144. C. He explains the doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Ghost, and answers the objections of the hereticks, proving chiefly by the form used in Baptism, that he ought to be placed in the same degree with the Father and the Son. He explains the nature and effects of this Sacrament, and the mysterious signification of the three immersions then used. He describes the procession of the Holy Ghost, which cometh from God, not as creatures by creation, nor as the Son by generation, but as the breath from one's mouth, in an ineffable manner. He sheweth that the Holy Ghost ought to be glorified in the same manner as the Father and the Son; that in scripture he speaketh as master in the same manner as the Father; and that he is styled LORD. cap. ii. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Rom. xi. 36. c. 34. c. 6. c. 9. c. 10. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 177. D. c. xviii. p. 189. D. c. 19, 24. p. 193. c. 21.

In order to shew the original of the form of the Doxology or Glorification, which was censured as a novelty, he discourses in this manner: Among the precepts which are preserved in the Church by instruction or preaching, some we have from the Scripture, others from tradition of the Apostles, whereby we have received them in secret: Both have the same force in religious matters. And this nobody will dispute, if he hath any knowledge of Ecclesiastical maxims. For if we took upon us to reject such customs as are not committed to writing, as being of no great weight, we should,

should, without considering, give mortal wounds to the Gospel; or rather, we should reduce preaching to nothing but a name. For instance, to begin with what is first observed, and most common: From what writing have we learned to mark with the sign of the cross, those who hope in the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST? He means the catechumens. What scripture hath taught us to turn towards the East when we pray? Which of the saints has left us in writing the prayers which are said at the consecration of the bread of the Eucharist, and of the cup of Blessing? For we do not content our selves with what is said in St. Paul, or the Gospel; but we use other words both before and after, as being of great efficacy in the Sacrament; and we have received them from the unwritten doctrine. We bless also the water in Baptism, the oil of unction, and him who is baptized; by what scripture is this authorized? Is it not by tacite and secret tradition? And the very anointing with oil, by what written word are we taught it? And as to dipping a man three times, whence have we taken that custom? And so of many other ceremonies used at Baptism, such as the renouncing the devil and his angels, from what scripture do we borrow them? Is it not from the secret instructions which our fathers have preserved by a respectful silence, free from all curiosity? He afterwards enlarges on the reasons of the secrecy of the mysteries, as being persuaded that this custom was as ancient as the Church.

c. 29.

Euseb. vii.
hist. c. ult.
Sup. lib. viii.
n. 13.

AFTER this, to prove the tradition of the Doxology, he cites the authorities that confirm it. First the person by whom he was baptized, and admitted among the Clergy, that is Eusebius of Cappadocia; and afterwards the doctors of greatest antiquity, St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenæus, St. Dionysius of Rome, St. Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Palestine, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes an ancient martyr, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, whom he highly commends; Firmilian; Meletius, not the Bishop of Antioch then living, but him who had lived in Pontus some time before, and whom Eusebius extols. St. Basil says that those of the East have the same custom, as he had been informed by a very eminent person of Mesopotamia, who is thought to be St. Ephrem. He saith that all the west observed the same custom; that is, they every where said, as it is at present; Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

XIV.
Canonical
Epistles to St.
Amphilochus.

St. Basil wrote likewise to St. Amphilochus three canonical epistles, which are greatly esteemed by the antients. These canons are reckoned in order, one after another, as belonging all to one work, so that the first epistle contains sixteen; the second thirty four, as far as the fiftieth; the third thirty five, to the eighty fifth. They are answers to St. Amphilochus, concerning sundry points of discipline; chiefly relating to penances, on account of several particular cases. St. Basil decideth all of them according to the ancient rules, and the custom established in his church. The first canon relates to the Baptism of hereticks, particularly of the *Catbari*, or the Novatians. St. Basil saith, that the antients make a difference between heresy, schism, and unlawful assemblies; that they called a separation for an article of Faith, Heresy; and for a point of discipline schism; and they named that an unlawful assembly, which was held by a disobedient Priest who had been condemned for some crime, but who did not publish any particular error: So that they

they called the Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, the Pepuzenians or Montanists, Hereticks; but the Cathari or Novatians, they reckoned only Schismatics; the Encratitæ, Apotactitæ, Hydroparastatæ or Aquarians, they place in the same degree. This being pre-supposed, the antients entirely rejected the baptism of Hereticks, and admitted that of Schismatics. St. Basil saith, that the custom of each country is however to be followed, because there have been different customs; that is, it is to be examined, in what manner every sort of Hereticks administer baptism, in the country where it is disputed; for that is to be rejected which is not administered according to the form which the Church hath received from JESUS CHRIST. Thus he pronounces that the Baptism of the Pepuzenians is void, because they baptized in the name of the Father and the Son, and of Montanus or Priscilla; for which he refers to custom, because the Hereticks having no certain rule among them, might baptize differently in different places. He likewise gives it as his opinion, that the Encratitæ ought to be re-baptized; because they had perverted the form of baptism, that they might not be reconciled to the Church: But, however, he still refers to custom; which must always be supposed, for the proof of the fact which he mentions; as whether the baptism of such particular Hereticks was administered according to the form observed by the Church. This is what seemeth most clear in this canon of St. Basil. He adds in the second canonical epistle, that the Encratitæ and the Apotactitæ ought to be rebaptized, as being a branch of the Marcionites, and condemning marriage and the use of wine through hatred to the Creator: By which it appears, that there were many sorts of Encratitæ; some properly Hereticks, others only Schismatics. In short, this discipline is agreeable to that prescribed by the council of Arles; which decrees, that in order to judge of the validity of the baptism of an Heretick, he should be required to rehearse the Creed, and that if in his answer he did not express his belief of the Trinity, he should be re-baptized. St. Basil would have those Hereticks received who should be converted at the point of death; but not before they had been examined as to the sincerity of their conversion.

V. Inf. lib. 18.
n. 8. Cant.
47. & Innoc.
1. ep. 2. c. 5.

Conc. Arel. i.
c. 8.
Sup. lib. 10.
n. 15.

can. 5.

THE greater part of the canons contained in these letters to Amphilo-
chus, relate to homicides, or to offences against the marriage-bed. A wo-
man who has willingly destroyed her fruit, without considering whether the
Fœtus was formed, is accounted guilty of homicide, and she is to undergo
a penance of ten years. A woman who being delivered upon the road, for-
sakes her child, is punished in the same manner. He is guilty of homicide
who hath mortally wounded his neighbour, whether by assaulting him, or
defending himself against him. But we must carefully distinguish the vo-
luntary from the involuntary act: and we may here see these distinctions
explained very clearly in instances setting forth every kind and degree. The
penance prescribed for voluntary homicide is to last twenty years: He shall be
four years weeping without the Church, five years among the auditors, seven
years lying prostrate during prayers, and four years praying standing. The
penance for involuntary manslaughter, is to last ten years; two years weeping,
three years among the auditors, four years prostrate, and one year standing.
He who being attacked by robbers attacketh them again, if he is a lay-

can. 2.
c. 33. 52.

c. 43.

c. 8.

c. 56.

Sup. lib. 7.

n. 58.

x. n. 16.

c. 57.

c. 59.

man,

- man, shall be deprived of the communion; if a Clerk he shall be deposed.
- c. 13. Killing of a man in battle is not esteemed a crime, though it be a voluntary act, being done in a lawful defence; but perhaps it is good, saith St. Basil, to advise such to refrain three years from the communion, their hands being defiled. Poysoning and magick are punished in the same manner as manslaughter. He who openeth a tomb ought to perform ten years penance, as well as he who is guilty of involuntary homicide.
- c. 65.
c. 66.
- XV. *Canons concerning marriage.*
c. 38.
c. 34.
c. 21.
- The penance for adultery is to continue fifteen years: four years the criminal is to remain weeping, five years an auditor, four prostrate, and two standing. Adulteresses are not obliged to publick penance, for fear of exposing them to capital punishment; but they are to be deprived of the communion till the time of their penance is ended, and during this time are to stand at prayers. A married man who committeth sin with an unmarried woman, is not punished as an adulterer; so that this crime is not punished alike in man and woman. The wife cannot leave her husband in case of adultery, but the husband must leave his wife. It is not easy, says St. Basil, to give an account of this distinction; but it is an established custom.
- c. 22, 80. The penance for fornication is four years: one year in each sort of penance.
- c. 9. A woman was not allowed to leave her husband, either for ill usage, or for squandering of her wealth, or for adultery, or difference in religion; at least she was not to marry another. But the husband so left was excused, and she whom he afterward married was not looked upon as an adulteress; nay, if she had married him through ignorance, and he should be reconciled to his former wife and leave her, this his second wife was at liberty to marry again.
- c. 48. *Palavic. hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 22. c. 4.*
c. 35.
c. 46.
- This custom is still practised by the Eastern Church; and they permit a husband who has left his wife, she being guilty of adultery, to marry again in her life time. The Western Church hath ever observed a stricter discipline, maintaining, that the bond of marriage cannot be dissolved but by death; however, she allows of this custom of those of the East, without censuring it.
- c. 77. The husband who had left his lawful wife and married another, was esteemed an adulterer; but his penance lasted no longer than seven years.
- c. 31. The wife who marries in the absence of her husband, without having proofs of his death, is an adulteress. The wives of soldiers are comprehended in this rule; but they are to be allowed more indulgence, because the death of their husbands may be more easily presumed.
- c. 36.
- c. 4.
c. 2. 53.
- Those who enter into a second marriage are obliged to perform a penance, according to some, of one, and according to others, of two years. Such as marry a third time, of three or four years. Our custom, saith St. Basil, is to separate them who marry a third time, five years, which was not however, properly speaking, a publick penance. As to polygamy, it was looked upon as a brutality unbecoming a man; and offenders of this kind were to be one year weeping and three prostrate. By this polygamy, some mean marrying a fourth time or more. A criminal conversation with a woman cannot be termed a marriage in any respect; wherefore it is better to dissolve such an union; however, if the parties have a great affection for each other, they may be suffered to marry, to prevent a greater evil; but they are to perform penance for their fornication. Incestuous marriages are punished after the same manner as adultery. It is to be observed, that
- c. 26.
c. 25.
c. 68.
- St.

St. Basil reckons the marrying two sisters one after another, incest. He wrote a letter upon this subject to Diodorus a Priest of Antioch, and afterwards Bishop of Tarsus; wherein he saith, that custom, which is as binding as a law, is to separate those who have contracted such marriages; and till they be so separated, not to admit them into the Church. He afterwards explains the Mosaic law, by which they pretended to authorize this practice. The council of Neocæsarea had already condemned the woman who had married two brothers; and we see here the power of the Church in determining the validity of marriages. The marriage of persons who are in the power of another, that is, the children and slaves in any family, are null, unless the father or master give his consent. A ravisher is not to be admitted to penance till he has restored the person ravished; he may afterwards marry her, with the consent of those on whom she depends. The maid who has suffered her self to be seduced, having obtained the consent of her parents or relations, shall perform three years penance. She who hath been forced is not liable to any penalty.

Epist. 197. ad
Diod. c. 40.

a 42.

Deut. xxv. 5.

conc.

Neoc. c. 2.

c. 22.

c. 38.

c. 49.

A Priest who before his ordination hath, through ignorance, contracted an unlawful marriage, shall not be degraded: However, he shall not perform any of the sacerdotal functions, not being any longer in a capacity to sanctify others. The Deacon who hath been guilty of fornication since he hath been made Deacon, shall be deprived of his office and reduced to the degree of a layman, and this shall be all his punishment. According to the antient rule, deposed Clerks were not obliged to perform penance, that they might not be punished twice; besides, the laity were restored after the time of their penance was ended, whereas deposed Clerks were never restored: However, he who hath offended in the flesh, ought to labour and mortify the flesh, if he would effectually cure his malady, although he is not obliged by custom to any canonical penance. We ought, saith St. Basil, to know both what belongeth to perfection and what to custom, and be satisfied with the rule for such as are not able to arrive at perfection. A Deaconess having consecrated her body, was not permitted any longer to converse with a man. If she had prostituted her self to a Pagan, she was excommunicated, and not re-admitted till she had performed seven years penance. As for virgins who had fallen after they had consecrated themselves, the antient custom was to receive them in like manner as the bigamists, after one year's excommunication: But St. Basil is of opinion, that the Church being strengthened and confirmed, and the number of the virgins increased, more severity is to be used; and that any virgin who hath fallen, is to be punished as an adultress: But then she must have made her vow of virginity with her full and free consent, and at years of discretion, that is, at sixteen or seventeen years of age; after having been thoroughly examined, having waited a long time, and frequently desired to be admitted; for there are many, saith he, whom their parents present before they are of a proper age, out of regard to their own worldly interest and advantage. This opinion of St. Basil is observable, both on account of the age at which the maid was to profess her self; and for his saying, that the Church had gathered strength since its beginning, far from acknowledging that its discipline ought to be less strict. The Monks at that time did not make any particular vow

c. 27.

c. 3.

c. 32. 51.

69. 70.

can. Apost.

25.

c. 4.

c. 18.

c. 19.

of

c. 20. of continence; but it is his opinion that they ought to make such a vow, to the end, that if they do transgress it, they may be obliged to perform the penance prescribed for fornication. Such young women as had made vows of virginity being Hereticks, and had afterwards married, were not punished; and in general, there was no canonical penance for sins committed before baptism; nay, not during the time that they were catechumens: For these are Hereticks who are spoken of in this place, whose baptism was void, as hath been already said. The union of persons consecrated to GOD, was esteemed fornication, and was to be broken: St. Basil styles them canonical persons, † which includes Clerks and Monks. Unnatural sins are punished in the same manner as adultery. The incest between brother and sister ought to be punished with eleven years penance; that is to say, the criminals shall be three years weeping, three auditors, three prostrate, and two standing, eleven in all. Incest with a daughter-in-law, is punished in the same manner.

XVI.
Other canons.

c. 73.

c. 81.

c. 72.

c. 83.

c. 64.

c. 72.

c. 29.

Ep. 388.

p. 1164. C.

e. 10. & ep. 3.
init. p. 774.
D.

c. 27.

c. 61.

c. 14.

c. 71.

HE who hath apostatized and hath renounced JESUS CHRIST, shall be all the days of his life weeping; but at his death shall be admitted to penance and the communion may be given him, in confidence of the mercy of GOD. Those who in an invasion of the Barbarians have taken prophane oaths, or eaten of meat offered unto idols, shall perform a longer or shorter penance, according as they were a longer or a shorter time before they complied. He who hath addicted himself to magick, shall perform the same penance as if he had committed manslaughter. Those who make use of divinations, after the manner of the Pagans, or send for persons to dissolve charms, shall be enjoined six years penance. Perjury shall be punished with ten years penance, or six only, if the party hath violated his oath by constraint. He who hath sworn to hurt another, not only is not obliged to perform such his oath, but penance ought to be inflicted on him for having taken it. St. Basil wrote to the same purpose to a person of quality called Callisthenes, who had sworn that he would severely punish his slaves; and represents to him, that the penance inflicted by the Church will be as good a means to chastise them, as an open and publick punishment. But to return to the canons directed to St. Amphilochus: Some persons swore that they would not be ordained Priests or Bishops. St. Basil is of opinion, that they should not be forced to it contrary to their oath, saying, that it had been found by experience that such had not succeeded well; but he would have the form and words of the oath examined, as likewise the disposition that the person was in when he made it. A trifling vow, as for instance, abstaining from swine's flesh, was not binding.

As to larceny, if he who committed it accuseth himself, he shall be for one year deprived of the communion; if he is convicted, two years, part whereof he shall continue prostrate, and part standing. An usurer may be admitted to the Priesthood, if he amends his life, and bestoweth upon the poor what he hath gained by his crimes. The accomplice in any sin, who doth not accuse himself, but is convicted, shall perform as long a

† These are Mons. Fleury's words; but his inference does not follow from what St. Basil says, who is speaking of such as had made vows of observing a state of Continence; and it is beyond dispute, that Bishops, Priests, &c. married at this time, and long after.

penance, as the principal agent. In general, if the sinner laboureth with great earnestness, to comply with the penance prescribed him, the time may be shortened; on the contrary, if he is hard to be reclaimed, the time only of the penance shall not avail him; for it is appointed only to make trial of the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us take care then, saith St. Basil, that we do not perish with them, let us set before our eyes the terrible day of judgment, admonish them day and night, both in publick and private; but above all things, let us beseech God, that we may gain them: If we cannot, let us at least endeavour to save our own souls from everlasting damnation. This is the conclusion of the third canonical epistle of St. Basil to St. Amphilochus.

THERE are some other letters of St. Basil's remarkable for discipline, among the rest three concerning general censures. The first is against a ravisher, or one that took away a woman by force. It seems to be directed to some Bishops of St. Basil's jurisdiction, or to some of his *Chorepiscopi*. He in general complains of their want of zeal in restraining of this pernicious practice, and orders this person particularly to whom he writes, to cause the maid to be restored to her relations, to prohibit the ravisher from coming to prayers, and to pronounce him excommunicated, with his accomplices, and all his family, for the term of three years. He likewise orders him to exclude from publick prayers all the people, of the town which hath received the person ravished, who have detained her, and hindered her from being rescued. The second letter is against a tricking lawyer, who found means to turn the prosecutions against him to his own advantage. St. Basil orders that he and all his house be excluded from prayers, and prohibited from any communication with the Clergy. In these two letters we find general censures. The third is concerning a man who had been admonished several times, according to the precept in the Gospel, without any amendment. St. Basil orders that he be excommunicated, and declared to be excommunicate to the whole town where he lives, that no body may have any correspondence with him, upon any account. So that we may perceive that at that time excommunication affected mens civil affairs. St. Basil in this particular followed the examples of St. Athanasius.

THE letter to Cæsaria upon frequently receiving the communion, is too important to be omitted: St. Basil expresses himself therein as follows; It is good and profitable to communicate every day, and to partake of the sacred body and blood of JESUS CHRIST. As for us, we communicate four times a week; viz. on sundays, wednesdays, fridays, and saturdays; and on other days when we commemorate any martyr. But it is needless to prove that in times of persecution people are obliged, there being no Priest or minister to whom they may apply themselves, to give the communion to themselves with their own hand, without any scruple, since it has been established by an ancient custom and continual practice: For all the monks in the desert where there are no Priests, have the communion by them, and give it to themselves. At Alexandria, and in Egypt, most part of the laity keep the communion in their houses. For the Priest having once celebrated the Sacrifice, and distributed the elements, he who hath taken it all at one time, and who afterwards communicates of it at several times, ought to

believe that he communicates from the hand of the Priest, by whom it was first given him. Since even in the church the Priest gives to each a small part, and he who receiveth it, hath it in his power, before he conveyeth it with his hand to his mouth. It is therefore the same thing in effect whether you receive from the Priest one single part, or many parts at the same time. St. Basil speaks here, according to the usage of the Church in his time, when the Priest distributed the Eucharist to every person with his own hand, who put it into their mouths themselves. He very plainly intimates, that people did preserve the Eucharist in order to communicate, out of the time of Divine service, and out of the Church, even at a great distance from it, as in the monasteries in the desert; which cannot be easily understood of the element of wine.

XVII.
The banishment of St. Eusebius of Samosata.
Theod. iv.
c. 13, 14.

THE persecution against the Catholics did at length reach to St. Eusebius of Samosata, who by his extraordinary zeal became insupportable to the Arians. As he knew that several churches were deprived of their pastors, he passed through Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine, in the habit of a soldier, wearing a Persian Tiara upon his head: He ordained Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks for such churches as wanted them; and when he met with Catholick Bishops, he also ordained Bishops. It was therefore resolved to banish him to Thrace. The person who brought the order for his banishment arrived towards the evening; and St. Eusebius said to him: Make no noise, but conceal the occasion of your journey; for if the people know it, they will throw you into the river, and your death will be laid to my charge. Having spoken thus, he performed, as usual, the evening service, and when all the people were asleep, he went out on foot with one of his servants, in whom he most confided, and who followed him, carrying only a pillow and a book. When he came to the banks of the Euphrates, which runs close by the walls of the city, he went into a boat, and caused himself to be carried to Zeugma, another city seventy two miles, or twenty four leagues, lower upon the Euphrates. When it was day the city of Samosata was in a great consternation: For the servant had acquainted the friends of St. Eusebius with the orders which he had given, concerning the persons who were to follow him, and the books that were to be carried to him. They all lamented the loss of their Pastor, and the river was soon covered with boats; being come down to Zeugma where he still was, they conjured him with sighs, and floods of tears, not to leave them to the mercy of the wolves. In answer to them he read that passage of the Apostle, which commands obedience to those in authority. When they saw that they could not prevail with him, they offered him gold, silver, apparel, and slaves, which he might have occasion for, in so long a journey. But he contented himself with a very few things, which he received from his particular friends; and comforted all who were present by his instructions and prayers, exhorting them to contend for the Catholick Doctrine. After which he took the road to the Danube, in order to go to the place of his banishment.

Rom. xiii.

THE Arians sent to Samosata a man, named Eunomius, of a modest and peaceable temper, to succeed him. But no body of what condition soever, would come to church to him; so that he was left alone, and none would

either

either see him or speak to him. One day when he was in the bath, seeing his servants had shut the door, and that many people were waiting without, he caused the doors to be opened, and invited them all to come freely, and bathe with him: But observing that those who had entered, stood still, without attempting to come into the water, he desired them to go in with him; and they continuing silent, he imagined that it was through respect; and that he might not put any restraint upon them, he made haste to withdraw, whereupon they let out the water in which he had bathed himself, as polluted with his heresy, and caused other to be brought. Eunomius being informed of this, he left the city, judging that it would be folly and madness to continue there, when the inhabitants had such an aversion to him. To supply his place the Arians sent one called Lucius, of a bold and violent spirit. As he passed through the street, a ball which the children were playing with run between the legs of the ass whereon he rode. Upon which they cried out aloud, thinking their ball was defiled: Lucius perceived it, and commanded one of his attendants to see what they would do; the children kindled a fire, and cast their ball through it, in order to purify it: Such was the hatred of the people of Samosata to Lucius. This had no effect on him; upon the contrary, he caused several Ecclesiasticks to be banished; among others the Deacon Evolcius, whom he sent to the uninhabited city of Oasis beyond Egypt; as he did the Priest Antiochus, Nephew to St. Eusebius, being his brother's son, to a corner of Armenia: But all this was not done at the same time; for Antiochus stayed some time with his uncle, and St. Basil writing to him, congratulates him, upon his having an opportunity by his banishment to enjoy his company with more ease than while he laboured with him in the government of the Church. Ibid. c. 15.

St. Eusebius in his way to the place, whither he was banished, went through Cappadocia; and St. Gregory Nazianzen, not being able to see him by reason that he was extremely ill, wrote to him, recommending himself to his prayers as to those of a martyr. St. Basil likewise wrote to him, and received many letters from him during the time of his banishment, and took care to convey to him the letters that came from Samosata. He kept a correspondence with Otreus Bishop of Melitine, in the lesser Armenia, who probably succeeded Uranius. He wrote to him, that they should comfort each other for the absence of Eusebius: You, says he, by writing to me what passes at Samosata, and I by letting you know what comes to me from Thrace. He wrote to the publick council of Samosata, to comfort and encourage the city; of whom he gives this testimony, that no city in Syria had signalized itself so much in the persecution. But there happened a division among the clergy of Samosata; upon which St. Basil sending them a letter from St. Eusebius, wrote to them himself, very earnestly exhorting them not to sully the glory of their church. XVIII.
St. Basil's
care of the
Churches.
Greg. ep. 28.

Thus did he take care of those churches that were destitute of pastors, notwithstanding his frequent and violent sickness, which he did not expect would end but with his life, and which he saw could not be long. St. Amphilocheus wrote to him concerning the province of Isauria, not far from the place where he was, which had not then one Bishop, whereas formerly it had several. It would have been better, saith St. Basil, to divide

the care of that church among several Bishops; but since it is not easy to find men worthy of such a trust, care must be taken that by desiring to add authority to the church by a multitude of pastors, and to make it be served more diligently, we do not unawares debase religion, and bring the people to an indifference, by calling to the ministry such as have not been sufficiently tried. Perhaps then it is better to place in the capital city a person of merit, and charge his conscience with the government of all the rest; enjoining him however to take labourers to assist him, if he finds the work more than he is able to go through with. But if it is not easy to find such a one; let us first endeavour to set Bishops over the little cities, or small towns, which have had them in former times, before we appoint one for the metropolis; for fear least he whom we should settle there should afterwards be troublesome to us, by endeavouring to enlarge his jurisdiction, and refusing to approve the ordination of the other Bishops. And if, as things now stand, this too is difficult; endeavour to limit the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, by obliging him to ordain some Bishops in his neighbourhood. We reserve the rest in our own power, to appoint at a convenient season, over other places, such Bishops as we shall judge most proper.

Ep. 303.

SOME time after he wrote to St. Amphilochus to send some body, on whom he could depend, into Lycia, to discover such as were orthodox in the Faith. For, saith he, I have learnt from a certain person of piety, that they do not assent to the opinions of the Asiatics, and are disposed to accept of our communion. He afterwards sets down the particular Bishops and Priests, who were to be applied to in each city of Lycia, and adds: Let us visit them first without writing to them if it be possible; and when we are sure of them, we will send a letter to them, and will endeavour to persuade one of them to come and confer with us. Those whom St. Basil here calls Asiatics, are the inhabitants of that part of Asia-Minor, which was properly the diocese of Asia, the greatest part of which was infected with heresy. We have a letter of St. Amphilochus's, which seems to be the effect of this advice of St. Basil. It is a synodical answer of St. Amphilochus to some Bishops, whom he exhorteth to unity and constancy, in the belief of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: To demonstrate which he makes use of no other proofs than the Nicene Creed, and those words of our SAVIOUR, Go, teach all nations, &c. He saith, that St. Basil had been hindered from assisting at this council, by a grievous fit of sickness; and to supply the place of what he might have written, he sent them his book concerning the Holy Ghost.

Coteler.
Mon. eccl.
Greg. to. 2.
p. 99.

XIX.
St. Basil's
letter in his
own defence.
Ep. 77.

ST. Basil was himself suspected by several Bishops, chiefly on account of Eustathius of Sebasta, with whom he had not yet come to an open rupture. The maritime Bishops, who are supposed to be those of Pontus, being grown cold towards him, had long forbore to write to him; but he prevented them by a letter, which is a pattern of humility and charity. He first excuses himself for not having been to see them, by reason of his ill state of health, the care of the churches, and the persecution, from which they to whom he writes were free. He saith, that it would have become their charity to have written to him, to comfort and correct him if there was occa-

sion.

tion. He offers to clear himself, provided that his adversaries are present. p. 386. C.
 If we are convicted, saith he, we shall be acquainted with our fault; and you shall be blameless before the LORD, for having withdrawn your selves from our communion; and they who shall convince us shall receive the reward for having detected our secret malice. If you condemn us unconvicted, all that we shall lose by it will be your friendship; which indeed is the most valuable thing in our possession. Afterwards, to shew them the necessity of continuing in unity, he saith; We are the children of those who made it a law, that by small characters the tokens of communion should pass from one end of the earth to the other; he speaks of Ecclesiastical letters, or letters in form. He afterwards proposes a conference to be held either in their own province, or in Cappadocia, to treat of every thing with charity; and saith, that although the letter comes only from him, he wrote it with the advice of all the brethren of Cappadocia. He wrote also on the same subject to Elpidius, one of these maritime Bishops, desiring him to let him know exactly the time and place appointed for the conference; to the end, adds he, that every one may know when to leave what they are about. p. 388. A.

ST. Basil was likewise obliged to defend himself against the scandalous reports spread concerning him, in his native country of Neocæsarea. XX. If my sins, saith he, are not past remedy, comply with that precept of the apostle: Reprove, rebuke, exhort: if my malady is incurable, let it be made known for the benefit of the Church. There are Bishops, let them be summoned to take recognizance of it; there is a body of Clergy in every church, let the most considerable among them be called together; let any one that pleases speak his mind freely, provided it be a judiciary examination, and not a combat of injurious language. If my fault relates to the faith, let the writing be shewn to me, and let it be examined without prejudice; if it is not the ignorance of the accuser, that makes it appear criminal. As a proof of the purity of his Faith, he sets down the great number of churches with which he was in communion. Those of Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria, both the Phrygia's, the nearer Armenia, Macedonia, Achaia, Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Africk; and all the Catholics that were left in Egypt and Syria. Know then, adds he, that whoever refuses our communion, separates himself from the whole Church; and do not force me to take a resolution that may be dangerous, against a church so dear to me. Inquire of your fathers, and they will tell you, that however distant the churches might be by the situation of place, they were united by the same sentiments, and governed by the same mind; the people continually visited each other, and the Clerks were always travelling to and fro; the mutual charity of the pastors was so great, that each regarded his fellow-labourer as his master, and his guide in the service of GOD. His letter to the church of Neocæsarea. Ep. 75. ad Neoc. p. 380. B. 2 Tim. iv. p. 382. A.

HE afterwards wrote two other letters in more severe terms, one to shew how absurd it was to excuse themselves on account of their distance; the other to give them instructions concerning the errors with which they were infected, and which were the true occasion of this their aversion to him. We are accused, saith he, of having amongst us men who exercise them- Ep. 63. & 64. Ep. 63. p. 342. D.

A. D. 374. themselves in piety, after having renounced the world. I would prefer the guilt of this crime to life itself. I understand, that in Egypt there are men of this strict virtue; there are some such in Palestine; and it is said, that there are some likewise in Mesopotamia; we are but children in comparison of those perfect men. If there are women who live up to the precepts of the Gospel, preferring virginity to a married state, they are happy, whatever part of the world they inhabit; these virtues do but begin to dawn among us. St. Basil was likewise accused of having introduced the singing of Psalms, and a form of prayer different from that used at Neocæsarea. To which he replies, that the practice of his Church is agreeable to that of all the rest. Among us, saith he, the people rise in the night to go to Church; and after having confessed themselves to God with tears, they get up from prayers, and sit down to sing Psalms: being divided into two companies, they answer and relieve each other by turns; afterwards, one alone begins to sing, and the rest answer him. Having passed the night in singing thus in different manners, and praying from time to time, at break of day they all offer up to God with one voice, the penitential Psalm. If you shun our Communion upon this account, shun also that of the Egyptians, the inhabitants of the two Libya's, Thebais, and Palestine; of the Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, those who inhabit near the Euphrates; in a word, all those who observe watchings, prayers, and psalms, which are repeated by the whole congregation. The nocturnal prayers of the Greek Church do at present agree with this form; they begin with the sixteenth psalm, *Miserere*, and go on with the hundred and nineteenth, *Beati immaculati*. As for the morning prayers, called by us *Laudes*, the Latin Church comes nearest of any to the practice of St. Basil.

Ep. 64. THE errors taught at Neocæsarea, and which were the true reason that
P. 347. B. St. Basil was so much decried there, were those of Sabellius. St. Basil maintaineth, that they are nothing but judaism disguised, which destroyed the pre-existence of the Word before all ages, the Incarnation and its consequences, and the operations proper to the Holy Ghost. He saith that the different names of the Divine persons are unnecessary, if there are not distinct ideas answering thereto: and as Sabellius admitted the word *Persons* in Greek *πρόσωπα*, saying, that God took upon himself several persons as occasion required; St. Basil is not satisfied with reckoning three different persons; he would have it be acknowledged, that each doth subsist in a true *Hypostasis*. They perverted a passage of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus; not observing that in this place he did not speak dogmatically, and that he was only disputing against a Pagan, in order to bring him over to the Faith.

XXI.
St. Ambrose
Bishop of
Milan.
A. D. 374.
Sup. lib. 13.
n. 18.
Hier. Chr.
an. 376.
Ruff. ij. hist.
c. 11.
Paul in vit.
Ambr. n. 6.

IN the midst of so many afflictions, St. Basil received great consolation, by the news of St. Ambrose's being ordained Bishop of Milan in the room of Auxentius of Cappadocia, a famous Arian, who died after having sat in this See twenty years, from the year 355, and the banishment of St. Dionysius, till the year 374. The people of Milan were divided on the election of a Bishop; the Catholicks and the Arians were each of them resolved to have one of their own chusing; the people were stirred up to a sedition, and the city was in danger of being ruined. Ambrose was governour of the province, as president of Liguria and Æmilia. He was son of Ambrose the

Præ-

Præfectus Prætorii in Gaul; and after having gone through his studies at A. D. 374. Rome, where he had been educated after the death of his father, his eloquence and capacity made him appear with reputation in the court of justice of *Probus Præfectus Prætorii* of Italy, who made him one of his counsellors, and afterwards sent him to this government, saying to him, among other things: Go, act not like a judge, but a Bishop. Ambrose, therefore, being informed, that a sedition was ready to break out, went with haste to the Church to appease the people, and discoursed a long time according to political maxims, in praise of peace and publick tranquillity. Whereupon all the people lifted up their voice, demanding him for their Bishop. It is said, that a child first began to cry out thrice, Ambrose Bishop, and that the people followed him, joyfully repeating the same words. It is certain, that all parties were in a manner miraculously reconciled, and that the Arians, as well as Catholics, did agree in requiring him for their Bishop, though he was as yet but a catechumen.

AMBROSE went out of the Church, greatly surprized, and ordered his tribunal to be erected, and contrary to his custom, put several to the torture, who had been accused, that he might appear in the eyes of the people a severe and cruel magistrate: But the people were not hereby imposed upon, but cried out: We take your sin upon our selves. He returned in great disorder to his house, and would have professed the philosophick way of life; but he was dissuaded from it. Then in order to give the people a mean opinion of him, through a mistaken zeal, he publicly sent for prostitutes to his house: but the people cried out the louder; We take your sin upon our selves. Seeing therefore that all his attempts were to no purpose, he resolved to steal away secretly. Accordingly he left the city at midnight, intending to repair to Pavia; but he found himself in the morning at the gate of Milan, called the Roman Gate. The people having found him again, set guards upon him: And an account of what had passed was sent to the Emperor Valentinian, intreating him to give consent to his ordination; which was necessary, because of the office wherewith he was invested. The Emperor, then at Treves, declared, that he was very glad that he whom he had sent as a judge was desired for a Bishop, and commanded that he should be ordained with all speed; adding, that this sudden reconciliation of the divided parties could proceed only from God. While they stayed in expectation of the Emperor's answer, Ambrose fled away a second time, and concealed himself at an estate of a certain person called Leontius, one of those senators who have the title of *Clarissimi*: But the answer being arrived, Leontius himself was obliged to discover him; for the Vicar of Italy having received orders to see this rescript put in execution, fixed up an order, enjoining all persons, under severe penalties, to discover Ambrose. Being therefore discovered and brought to Milan, he found it was the will of God that he should be made Bishop, and that he could no longer oppose it.

As he was yet but a catechumen, he desired to be baptized by a Catholic Bishop, being very apprehensive of falling into the hands of the Arians. Having received baptism, he still used all possible means to put off his ordination, that he might not break through the rule that forbids a Neophyte to be ordained. But as the reason given by St. Paul for this rule, is left the Neophyte

Paul. n. 7.

n. 8.

Ambros. ep. 21.
n. 7. ad
Valent.Amm. lib. 30.
c. 4.Ep. 63. n. 6.
1 Tim. ii. 6.

A. D. 374. Neophyte should be puffed up with pride, the humility of Ambrose, and the pressing occasions of the Church, prevailed for the dispensing with it; only they first made him perform all the Ecclesiastical functions, and he was ordained Bishop the eighth day after his baptism, which is supposed to have been the seventh of December, in the year 374. All the people were extremely rejoiced at his ordination, and all the Eastern and Western Bishops approved it. He might be then about thirty four years old.

Paul. n. 38.

Ambr. m.

de Virg. c. 1.

De excels.

Satyr. n. 20.

1 Of. 6. i.

n. 1. iv.

Aug. Confess.

vi. c. 3.

Ambr. epist.

29. Iren.

Hier. i. in

Ruff.

Aug. ibid.

Ambr. ep. 20.

n. 15.

Hier. Chr.

an. 376.

Theod. iv.

hist. 6, 7.

Bas. ep. 35.

He was no sooner made Bishop but he gave the Church and the Poor all the gold and silver which he had. His lands too he gave to the Church, reserving the income of them for the use of his sister Marcellina, who lived at Rome and had made a vow of virginity before Liberius the Bishop. He committed the care of his family to his brother Satyrus, who was come to visit him at Milan. Thus being disengaged from all temporal concerns, he gave himself up wholly to his ministry. He first applied himself to study the Scriptures, continually labouring therein; for till that time he had read little else but prophane authors. He employed all the time in reading which he could spare from business, and spent part of the night in it; besides the Scriptures, he read Ecclesiastical writers; among others, Origen and St. Basil, to whom he more particularly applied himself. He taught in proportion as he studied. He preached every Sunday, and every day administered the holy Eucharist. His diligence in teaching and instructing proved so successful, that he brought all Italy back to the orthodox faith, and put Arianism to flight. Soon after his ordination he complained to the Emperor Valentinian, of some irregular proceedings of the magistrates; to which the Emperor replied: I was long since acquainted with your freedom of speech, which did not hinder me from consenting to your ordination; therefore continue to apply to our sins the remedies prescribed by the Divine law. About the same time St. Ambrose wrote to St. Basil, who expressed in his answer, a great satisfaction in being acquainted with him; and hearing that God had trusted his flock to a person taken, as his phrase is, out of the governing city, appointed to govern a province, who was considerable on account of his high family, the magnificence of his living, the force of his eloquence, and his experience in temporal affairs, who had forsaken all the advantages of life, and who had counted them loss, that he might gain JESUS CHRIST. Be bold then, proceeds he, O man of God! since you have received the Gospel, not from men, but from the LORD himself, who hath taken you from being one of the judges of the earth, to set you in the Chair of the apostles; fight the good fight; heal the distempers of the people, if there are any infected with Arianism; and maintain charity with us, by a frequent correspondence, which may make amends for the distance of place.

XXII.

The council of

Valence.

St. Ambrose was not the only person in that time who was desirous of avoiding the Episcopal office, by giving the world a bad opinion of his morality. It therefore became necessary to put a stop to this over strained humility, in a council which was held in Gaul the same year in which he was ordained. This was the council of Valence, bearing date the fourth of the ides of July, under the consulship of the Emperor Gratian and Equitius; that is, on the twelfth of July, 374. There were present at least twenty

Bishops,

Bishops, namely, nineteen who are named in the subscriptions, among whom A. D. 375. Florentius of Vienna is the first, besides Fegadius whose name is first set down at the top of the letters, who seems to be St. Febadius of Agen. We also meet with Concordius Bishop of Arles, Artemius of Embrun, Vincent Bishop of Digne, Eortius, supposed to be St. Evortius or Euverte of Orleans; the Sees of the rest are not known. What we have remaining of this council, are two letters and four canons. The first letter is addressed to the Bishops of Gaul and the five provinces. It is supposed, that these five provinces divided from the rest, were those which before the conquest of Cæsar, composed the antient province of Gaul; that is, Gallia Viennensis, the two Narbonnenses, and the Gallia Alpium Maritimarum, and the Gallia Alpium Graiarum. V. Pagi. an. 374. n. 17. The first canon decrees, that, for the future, bigamists shall not be ordained Clerks, whether they have fallen into this crime before or after their baptism. As for what is passed, the ordinations already made are not to be called in question. A virgin who hath married, after having dedicated her self to God, shall not be immediately admitted to penance; and when she hath received her penance, she shall not be admitted to the Communion till she hath made full satisfaction for her crime: They, who after their baptism have sacrificed to devils, or suffered themselves to be baptized by Hereticks, shall be admitted to penance, according to the council of Nice, that they may not become desperate; but it shall be continued to their lives end. can. 2. can. 3. Conc. Nic. n. 12, 13. can. 4. They who, when being to be ordained Deacons, Priests, or Bishops, shall declare themselves guilty of some deadly sin, must not be ordained; for they are indeed guilty either of the crime they confess, if what they say is true, or of lying if otherwise; since we are allowed no more to bear false witness against our selves, than against any one else.

THE second letter of the council of Valence is addressed to the Clergy and people of the Church of Frejus, concerning Acceptus, whom they all demanded for their Bishop, and who had accused himself of some great crime, that he might not be ordained. The fathers of the council say, that having resolved to reject such ordinations, they could not dispence with their rule: although we are not ignorant, add they, that many have acted in this manner out of reverence to, and fear of the priesthood, which are signs of sanctity; however, not to give a handle to any one to judge, or speak ill of the Bishops, we have resolved, that the testimony which every one gives of himself shall be credited.

THE Emperor Valentinian having spent the winter at Treves, set out from thence in the spring of the year 375, which was reckoned by the consulship of Gratian and Equitius, because the war had hindred the creation of consuls this year. He marched into Pannonia to curb the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who had made incursions into the Roman territories, and there remained the greatest part of the year. Being at Bregitio, the deputies of the Quadi came to him, to intreat him to forget what was past, and to offer him advantageous terms. He was hardly prevailed upon to give them audience, and, far from being mollified by their submissions, began to reproach them in a violent passion with the ingratitude of their nation, and in a very loud tone. He was growing calm again, when he was suddenly seized with an apopleck tick fit, his face turned red, and he lost his speech and his breath; whereupon he was immediately carried into his chamber and laid upon his bed; they

XXXIII.
The death of
Valentinian.
Valentinian
the younger
Emperor.
Amm. xxx.
c. 5.

D. 375 they attempted to bleed him, but could not get a drop of blood from him. At length, after violent strugglings and convulsions, he expired on the fifteenth of the calends of December, that is, the seventeenth of November, in the year 375, in the fifty fifth year of his age, having reigned eleven years and nine months. He is accused of having been all his life time inclined to anger; but the Pagans themselves have acknowledged, that he was endued with great virtues; valour and knowledge in military affairs, prudence, and an indefatigable vigilance in securing the Empire against the Barbarians, and filling the great offices with persons of suitable abilities. He was eloquent though he spoke but little, and polite and elegant in his entertainments, without superfluity, and so chaste, that he restrained his court by his example. Ammianus, more especially commends him for the liberty of conscience which he allowed to all, and for his not forcing any one to follow the religion which himself professed, nor giving them any disturbance upon that account. His body was embalmed and sent to Constantinople.

Idæc. Fast.
an. 375.
Hier. Chr.
an. 376.
Amm. xxx.
c. 9.

Amm. c. 10. THE generals of the army fearing the attempts of the gaulish troops, who would have taken the disposal of the Empire upon themselves, sent forthwith for the young Valentinian the son of the deceased, who was not above four years of age, and had staid about a hundred miles, or thirty leagues, from that place, with his mother Justina. They caused him to be brought in a litter into the camp, and solemnly proclaimed him Emperor on the sixth day after the death of his father, that is, on the twenty second of November. They did not stay for the consent of Gratian his elder brother, who had stayed at Treves by his father's order. But this Prince was of so good a disposition, that he never complained of it, and always treated his younger brother with the affection of a father. He divided the Empire of the West with him in this manner; Valentinian had Italy, Illyricum, and Africk; Gratian had Gaul, Spain, and Britain; but as long as he lived he governed all the West; and all the laws published in the West, till the death of Valens, are dated from the place where Gratian resided, that is, at Treves or Mentz, as decreed by his sole authority; though, according to custom, they bear the name of the three Emperors, Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian.

Idæc. Fast.
an. 375.

Zosim. lib. 4.
p. 746. l. 30.

XXIV.
Laws of Gratian.
L. 4. C. Th.
de Har.

L. 23. C.
Th. de Episc.
& ibi. Gothofr.

WE have two laws of Gratian extant, in behalf of the Church, published at Treves in the following year 376, in the fifth consulship of Valens, and the first of Valentinian the younger. The first is against the Hereticks, renewing the prohibition of their assembling; ordering all the places in town or country, where they erected Altars upon a religious pretence, to be confiscated. The other law of Gratian relates to Ecclesiastical sentences, and decrees, that causes of least moment, which related to religion, should be determined upon the place, and by the council of the respective diocesses; but that criminal causes should be referred to the cognizance of secular judges. This law is addressed to several Bishops, some of whom are named; by which it appears, that it was some council assembled in Gaul. Now, by the word Diocess, we are not to understand, according to its present meaning, the country within the jurisdiction of an Episcopal city, but a large district, including several provinces, under the government of one single Primate or Patriarch; so that it is supposed what this law terms a Judgment upon the place, is the sentence given by a Bishop assisted by his Clergy, or of the metropolitan, with the Bishops of the province; and what is there called the council

cil of the Diocesis, is the council of many provinces assembled together, of A. D. 375. which we see several instances, as of Gaul, Spain, and Africk.

IN the mean time Valens finding himself more at liberty, by the death of his brother, to persecute the Catholick doctrine, and knowing that the Monks were one of the greatest supports of it, he made a law, commanding, that they should be obliged to bear arms. Whereupon tribunes were sent with troops into the deserts of Egypt, where they slew a great number of these holy Monks. These outrages were also exercised in other provinces, particularly in Syria, where immediately after Easter, probably in the year 376, the persecutors attacked their cells, burned what they were at work upon, and put the Monks themselves to flight.

GRATIAN refused the habit of High-Priest, offered him by the Pagans, saying, that a Christian was not allowed to wear it. The Pagans did nevertheless give him the title of it, as they had done to his predecessors ever since the time of Constantine; as may be seen by inscriptions; for the Christian Emperors did not think it as yet convenient, entirely to put a stop to their proceedings. However, from the beginning of Gratian's reign, Gracchus Præfect of Rome, as yet a catechumen, laboured powerfully to ruin idolatry. He destroyed the cave of Mithra, and broke in pieces and burned the monstrous idols it contained.

PETER Bishop of Alexandria, who was driven by force from his See by the Arians, still continued at Rome, and about the same time assisted at a council held there by Damasus the Bishop, where he condemned Apollinarius and his disciple Timothy, who called himself Bishop of Alexandria, and deposed them. This was the first time that the Heresy of Apollinarius was condemned. The main of it consisted in maintaining, that CHRIST had not a humane understanding; that is, what the Greeks call *νους*, *Nous*, and the Latins *Mens*; but only the flesh; that is, the body and sensitive soul, as beasts had; and that the Divinity was to him instead of an understanding. He insisted upon these words: The Word was made flesh; and said, that the reasonable soul being the fountain of sin, it was not fit our SAVIOUR should assume it. He accused those who acknowledged the whole humane nature to have been in CHRIST, of dividing him into two parts; and maintained, that two whole Beings could not be truly united. He said, that the body of JESUS CHRIST came down from heaven, and consequently that it was of a different nature from ours, and that it was dissipated after the resurrection; so that he had been man rather in appearance than reality. Apollinarius likewise held some errors concerning the Trinity, making it to consist of a great, greater, and greatest; and said, that the Holy Ghost was as it were, the splendour, the Son the rays, and the Father the Sun. He was accused also of saying with Sabellius, that they were only different names, and that the same person was Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He taught the ancient error of the Millenaries, that CHRIST should reign upon the earth, and that all the ceremonial law should be again observed, viz. Circumcision, the Sabbath, the distinction of meats, bloody sacrifices, &c. bringing back the type and figure, after the real fulfilling of the truth.

THE errors of Apollinarius were long tolerated, by reason of the esteem that the most holy Bishops of the East had for his person; for his morals and behaviour were very regular; and he had been the intimate friend of St. A-

Hier. Ch.
an. 376.
Oros. vij.
c. 33.
V. Pag.
an. 375. n. 10.
&c.

Basil ep. 200.

Zosim. lib. 4.
p. 761. l. 30.
V. Pag.
an. 372. n. 15.
16, &c.

Hier. ep. 7.
ad Lat. Prud.
adv. Symm.
l. v. 562.

XXV.
Apollinarius
condemned.
V. Pag.
an. 373. n. 2.
Theoph.
an. 566. p. 53.
Hier. Chr.
an. 376.
Sozom. vi.
c. 25.
Ep. Damasi.
ii. to. 2.
Conc. p. 866.
ex. Theod. v.
hist. c. 10.
Epiph. hæc.
77. Dimær.
Greg. Naz. i.
ad Cled.
Or. 51.
Id. 2. ad.
Cled. Or. 52.
p. 749. A.
Epiph. ibid.
2. c. 14.
Greg. ibid.
p. 744. D.
Basil ep. 293.
p. 1050. C.
Ibid. & ep.
74. p. 876.
Greg. Naz. ii.
ad Cled.
p. 747. C.

A.D. 376. thanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Basil, and even of St. Gregory Nazianzen. At first, saith St. Epiphanius, when some of his disciples talked to us in this manner, we did not believe that it could proceed from so great a man; and said that, not understanding the depth of his doctrines, they invented tenets which he never taught them. So that the council of Antioch, and the letter of St. Athanasius to Epictetus, afterwards cited by St. Epiphanius, condemned these errors, without mentioning Apollinarius. But about this time, that is the years 375 and 376, they made so much noise, that they could be no longer suffered. The Bishops of Egypt, who were banished into Palæstine on account of the Faith, strenuously opposed him: and St. Basil wrote to them thereupon, explaining to them his errors, cautioning them likewise against the errors of Marcelas of Ancyra, whom Paulinus of Antioch was accused of favouring.

THE followers of Apollinarius proceeded so far as to separate themselves, and he set over them a particular Bishop at Antioch; who was Vitalis a Priest of St. Meletius's communion, of great reputation for the purity of his morals, and his great care of the people under his government; which had gained him a great authority over them. It is said, that he suspected that he was contemned by the Priest Flavian, and that he hindered him from having access as usual to their Bishop Meletius. However that be, he separated himself, and became the head of a fourth party at Antioch. For two parties of the Catholics, that of Meletius, and that of Paulinus, besides the Arian party were still in being. Euzoius, who was their chief, died about the time, and in his room they elected Dorotheus called by others Theodore. This happened under the consulship of Valens and Valentinian the younger, that is in the year 376. Vitalis and Apollinarius himself did always pretend to be Catholics, and boasted that they were in communion with St. Damasus. They took great care to conceal their doctrine from such as were not of their party, and affected to talk to them in the language of the Church. St. Epiphanius relates that he was deceived himself.

BEING at Antioch, said he, I conferred with the chief of them, of whom Vitalis the Bishop was one. He had separated himself from Paulinus, although they both seemed to teach the Orthodox Faith; but each pretended some excuse for his schism. Vitalis accused Paulinus of Sabellianism; for which reason I intirely forbore communicating with Paulinus, till he had given me his confession of Faith, the original of which he had by him, written by the hand of our blessed father Athanasius. They of Paulinus's party accused Vitalis of saying that CHRIST was not a perfect man. Vitalis immediately replied, We confess that JESUS CHRIST hath assumed perfect man. Whereat all who were present were surprized, and rejoiced exceedingly. For my part knowing their artificial manner of stating the Question, I pressed him to declare whether JESUS CHRIST had taken upon him natural flesh? He replied, Yes. Whether of the virgin Mary without the participaaion of man, by the operation of the Holy Ghost? To which he likewise agreed. Then, the Word, GOD the Son of GOD, came to take of the virgin the natural flesh? which he granted with a serious air. I was very glad of it, for I had been told in Cyprus that he maintained the contrary. I asked him likewise, whether the Word had assumed a soul. He assented with the same gravity, saying,

ing, that no body could say otherwise. Having questioned him concerning the soul and the flesh, I asked him at length, whether JESUS CHRIST had an human understanding? this he immediately denied. How then, replied I, do you say that he was perfect man. Whereupon he laid open his whole mind to me as follows; We say that he is perfect man, by putting the Divinity for the understanding, with the flesh and the soul. The dispute lasted some time longer, but to no purpose; and St. Epiphanius at length departed very much grieved to see men of so great worth maintain such an error.

FROM some of the sect of Apollinarius came the Antidicomarianitæ, that is, the adversaries of Mary, who affirmed that she had not remained a virgin, and that after the birth of JESUS CHRIST she had children by St. Joseph. St. Epiphanius hearing this error obtained in Arabia, wrote a long letter against it, directed to all the faithful of the province, not only to the Bishops but to the laity, and even to the catechumens. Herein he relates several traditions concerning St. Joseph, supposed to be taken out of some apocryphal writings; however he gives solid answers to the arguments which the hereticks pretended to bring from Scripture, to disprove the perpetual virginity of Mary. There was at the same time, and in the same country, another erroneous opinion quite contrary to this, the followers of which looked upon the virgin Mary as a kind of Divinity. These sectaries were called Collyridæ, because the worship which they payed to the virgin consisted in the offering her certain cakes, called in Greek *κολυβιδες* Collyrides. This superstition had its first rise in Thrace, and the upper Scythia; whence it afterwards spread into Arabia, and there were few of their women who were not infatuated with it. They dressed up a chariot, wherein they placed a square seat which they covered with a linnen cloth, and at a stated time of the year, during certain days, presented a loaf which they offered in the name of Mary, and afterwards divided it among themselves. St. Epiphanius argues against this superstition, proving that women never have any part in the Priesthood in the true Religion. And that this was an idolatrous worship, Mary only being the object of it; who, however perfect she may be, is not more than a mere creature, born of Anne and Joachim, according to the common course of nature. St. Epiphanius in discoursing of this, and the foregoing heresy, records several traditions concerning the relations and birth of the holy virgin, concluding that she ought to be honoured, but God alone ought to be adored.

XXVI.
Heretics relating to the holy virgin.
Epiph. har. 77. n. 26.
har. 78.

Id. har. 79.

ST. Epiphanius always adhered to the communion of Paulinus, and was his principal support in the East. He was then sixty years old at least, he was born at Besanduc a small town in Palæstine, in the territory of Eleutheropolis. From his youth he inclined to a monastick life, in which he was instructed by excellent masters, being, among others, very conversant with St. Hilario. He continued near the place of his birth, and likewise spent much of his time in Egypt, for his instruction and improvement; so that he became famous for the monastick discipline in Palæstine, and Egypt. Being in Egypt, and as yet very young, he conversed with the Gnosticks, and learned their infamous mysteries from their own mouths. Being tempted by some of their women, who were not able to corrupt him, they said in their canting way; We have not been able to save this young man. He was preserved from their inticements, by the peculiar favour of heaven, and did even give information of it to the Bishops of the place, who caused fourscore of them to be sent into banishment. After

XXVII.
The first remarkable actions of St. Epiphanius.
Sozom. vi. c. 321.
Synops. ancor.
Epiph. har. 26. n. 17.

Epiph. init.
heres.

Ancor. init.

Ancor. n. 60.

ter having governed a monastery some time, which he had founded in his own country, he was ordained under the reign of Valens, contrary to his desire, Bishop of the metropolis of the isle of Cyprus, called before Salamis, but then Constantia; being a maritime town, and a place of great resort, his application, even in temporal affairs, discovered his virtue, and in a short time rendered him famous throughout the world. In the year 374, he composed his ancorate, at the desire of certain Priests, and virtuous laymen of the church of Saedra in Pamphylia; who desired him to expound to them the belief of the Church concerning the Trinity, especially concerning the article of the Holy Ghost. He called this discourse *Ancoratus* in Greek ἀγκύρα, it being, as it were, an anchor to fix and settle the mind, fluctuating with doubts. He therein treateth at large the mystery of the Trinity, and of the incarnation, in opposition to the heresies lately set on foot, intermixing some digressions, among others an abstract of chronology, from the beginning of the world to his own time, concluding thus: This is the ninetyeth year from Dioclesian, the tenth of Valentinian and Valens, the sixth of Gratian, under the third consulship of Gratian, and Equitius his colleague, and the second indiction; which points out to us the year 374.

Two years after he entred upon his long work against heresies, at the desire of Acatius and Paul, Priests and Archimandrites, that is superiors of the monasteries of Carchedon and Beroëa, in Syria; whose letter is dated the ninety second year from Dioclesian, the twelfth of Valentinian and Valens, and the eighth of Gratian, that is the year 375. St. Epiphanius called this work *Panarion*, signifying, as he himself says, a little box full of divers antidotes, against several sorts of poisons. He therein reckons fourscore heresies, giving the history of each, with the arguments against them, concluding with the Massalians. At the end he places an explication of the tenets of the Catholick Church, and an account of the principal points of its discipline, which deserves a place in this history.

XXVIII.
The discipline
of the Church.

IN the first place, saith he, virginity is observed by many persons, and is had in esteem: next to this cœlibacy, chastity, widowhead, then marriage, especially if the parties are married but once. However a man is allowed to marry after the death of his wife, and a woman after the decease of her husband. The fountain from whence all these blessings are derived, is the Priesthood, which is conferred upon virgins for the most part; or such as have lived in a state of cœlibacy, or do not cohabit with their wives, or who are widowers, having been married but once. But he who hath married a second time cannot be admitted to the Priesthood, either as a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon. After the Priesthood cometh the order of Readers, which are chosen out of men of all conditions, virgins, such as live a single or a married life, who are widowers, or profess chastity, even, in case of necessity, such as have married a second time; for the reader doth not perform any of the sacerdotal functions. There are likewise Deaconesses appointed for decency's sake, for the service of women only in Baptism, and on the like occasions. They are likewise to live a life of chastity, either such as have made a vow of virginity, or become widows, after the death of one husband. After these are the exorcists, the interpreters, who translate what is read or preached out of one language into another. Last of all are the *Copiatæ*, who bury the dead, the porters, and all who are concerned in looking after the Church.

THE assemblies appointed by the Apostles are those holden on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays; in some places also they meet together on Saturdays. On Wednesdays and Fridays it is usual to fast till the None, because on the first of these days our LORD was betrayed, and crucified on the other. Our fasting is an acknowledgment that he suffered for us, and an atonement for our sins. Fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, till the None, is observed by the Catholick Church throughout the year, except the fifty days after Easter; wherein it is forbidden to bend the knee, or to fast. During this time they meet together on Wednesdays and Fridays in the morning, and not at the None as they do the rest of the year. On the Epiphany, which is the birth of our SAVIOUR, according to the flesh, it is not lawful to fast, although it should happen on a Wednesday or a Friday. They who live an Ascetick-life, do voluntarily fast all the year round, except on Sundays and the fifty days after Easter; they in like manner always observe the Vigils. The Catholick Church counts every Sunday a day of rejoicing; she holds her assemblies in the morning and doth not fast thereon; she observes the forty days before the seven days preceeding Easter Sunday, fasting every day; but doth not fast on Sundays even in Lent. As for the six days preceeding Easter Sunday, every body, during this time, observeth the *Xerophagia*, i. e. live only upon dry meats, such as bread, salt, &c. drinking nothing but water; neither do they take this till evening. The most zealous are two, three, or four whole days without eating, and some fast all the week round till Sunday morning at cock crowing. These six days the Vigils are observed, and the people meet together every day, as they do all Lent from the None till Vespers. In some places they observe the Vigils only of Friday and Sunday. In some places the sacrifice is offered on holy Thursday, during which they continue to observe the *Xerophagia*; in other places it is celebrated only the night before Easter Sunday; so that the office concludes at cock crowing on Easter day. Baptism, and the other secret mysteries, are performed according to the precepts of the Gospel and the Apostles.

THE dead are commemorated, by mentioning their names, reading the prayers, and offering the sacrifice. The morning prayers in the Church are constantly accompanied with hymns of thanksgiving, and those of the evening with psalms. There are Monks who inhabit the cities; there are others who dwell in remote monasteries: there are some who wear long hair out of devotion; but this practice is not conformable to the precept of St. Paul. There are many other particular things observed out of devotion in the Church, as the abstaining from the flesh of all sorts of animals; from eggs, and from cheese. Some abstain only from quadrupeds; others likewise deny themselves the eating of fowl, and others, fish: Some refrain even from eggs, and others from cheese; nay others even from bread, or from fruit, or any thing dressed. Many lie on the ground, and many walk barefoot; others wear sack-cloth under their other garments, for penance; but it is indecent to wear it in sight, or to load the neck with chains, as is the custom of some. The greatest number forbear the use of the bath. Some having renounced the world, have invented plain and easy trades, that they may not be idle, or be burthensome to any person. Most of them do continually exercise themselves in singing of psalms, praying, reading, and repeating the holy Scripture.

THE Catholick Church teacheth to be hospitable, to bestow alms, and to perform all deeds of charity to all men. She will not communicate with any kind of Hereticks; she banishes adultery, fornication, lewdness, idolatry, murther, and all kinds of crimes; Magick, Poysoning, Astrology, Auguries, Sorcery, Enchantments, and mystical characters. She forbids the being present at stage-plays, horse-races, combats of wild beasts, and musick meetings; she prohibits all sorts of censure and dafamation, quarrelling and contention, disputing and injurious language; all acts of injustice, avarice, and usury. She doth not approve of publicans, but placeth them in the lowest rank of mankind; she doth not receive any offerings from those who live in any habitual act of injustice: Such was the discipline of the Catholick Church, according to St. Epiphanius. He concludes his book of Heresies, by recommending Anatolinus, who had taken down the minutes in short-hand, and the Deacon Hypatius, who had written it out at length.

XXIX.
The dispute
concerning one
or three Hy-
postases.
Basil ep. 349.
ad Terent.
Ep. 122. ad
Melet.

Sup. lib. 15.
n. 55.

Ep. 349.
p. 1129.

PAULINUS's party at Antioch was then encouraged by letters from Rome, which granted him the title of Bishop of Antioch, and rejected St. Meletius. Whereupon the followers of Paulinus addressed themselves to Count Terentius, who was then at Antioch in great authority, and very zealous for the Church; intreating him to endeavour to reunite to them the followers of St. Meletius, who still continued in exile; which St. Basil understanding, wrote to Count Terentius, not to interest himself in this affair. I am not surprized, saith he, at the proceedings of those of the West; they are absolutely ignorant of what passes in these parts; and the account which they receive from those who pretend to be acquainted with it is fuller of prejudice than truth. They know not, or would seem not to know, the reason why the blessed Bishop Athanasius resolved to write to Paulinus; but you have those who can relate to you what passed between the Bishops in the time of the Emperor Jovian, and I intreat you to inform your self of it. Now we rejoyce with those who have received these letters from Rome; and if they contain any testimony to their advantage, we wish it may be true; but this will never prevail upon us to reject Meletius, or to believe that the disputes which were the occasion of this division, are of small importance: For my part, I do not think that I ought to give way, because a man hath received a letter, which makes him arrogant: if it came from heaven, unless he walked according to the holy doctrine, I could not admit him to my Communion.

CONSIDER, I beseech you, that the Arians have no other pretence for not receiving the doctrine of our fathers, but the wrong interpretation they have fixed to the word *Consubstantial*, by saying, that we acknowledge the Son to be consubstantial according to the *Hypostasis*. We give them a handle if we suffer ourselves to be led away by those who hold a language little different, out of simplicity rather than malice; for they only endeavour to cry down our doctrine, instead of establishing their own, and what can furnish them with more dangerous matter for calumny, than seeing some of our own party affirm, that there is but one *Hypostasis* of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? It is to no purpose for them expressly to maintain the difference of persons; Sabellius did the same, saying, that God is one in *Hypostasis*; but that the Scripture represents him under different persons, as particular occasions require; some times making him speak as Father, some times as Son, and

and some times as Holy Ghost. If therefore it appear that some who side with us do likewise affirm, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one, as to the subject, and three as to their persons, will they not seem clearly to make out what is reported of us? Now that the *Hypostasis* and Essence is not the same thing, our brethren of the West themselves seem, in my opinion, to have shewed, since the poorness of their language, hath obliged them to admit of the Greek word ὑπόστασις, that by the distinction of words they might save the difference that there might be in the sense. St. Basil afterwards explains how by Substance, οὐσία, he means what is common to the three persons, and by (ὑποστάσεις) *Hypostasis* the properties of each; and concludes by intreating Count Terentius, to leave the care of this reconciliation to the Prelates, especially to those who were banished, and stood up in defence of religion, by whom he means St. Meletius, and Eusebius of Samosata.

By this letter of St. Basil, we see what deterred those of the East from communicating with Paulinus; and St. Jerome in one of his epistles, (for even in his desert of Syria he was disturbed with this schism at Antioch,) acquaints us with the reason why those of the West were afraid to communicate with Meletius. They asked him who he was for, Vitalis, Meletius, or Paulinus. The Bishop of the Arians, and the Catholics of Meletius's party asked him if he held three *Hypostases* in the Trinity. Being tired with these questions, he wrote to St. Damasus Bishop of Rome in these terms: Following no other leader but JESUS CHRIST, I adhere to the Communion of your Holiness; that is, of the Chair of Peter. I know that the Church was built upon this rock; he who eateth not the lamb in this house is prophane: whoever is not in the Ark of Noah, perisheth by the flood. Not being able always to consult you, I apply myself to the Egyptian Confessors, your brethren, as a small bark sheltereth itself under large vessels. I am not acquainted with Vitalis; I reject Meletius; I know not Paulinus. Whoso gathereth not with you, scattereth; he that is not for CHRIST is for Antichrist. They ask me whether I admit of three *Hypostases*; I desire to know the meaning of the words; they reply, that they are three persons subsisting; I tell them I do believe so: they answer, this is not sufficient, and would have me mention the word *Hypostases*. I fear that by *Hypostases* they mean Substances; because in the secular schools the word *Hypostases* signifies nothing else but ὄντα *Ousia*; so that I fear, lest I should acknowledge three natures with the Arians, and the more they press me with the word *Hypostasis*, the more I mistrust them. Wherefore I conjure you, by your letters, to give me authority to say, or not to say *Hypostases*. I desire you also to let me know with whom I ought to communicate at Antioch; for the Campenses joyned with the Hereticks of Tarsus, endeavour to give a sanction to their tenets by your Communion, in order to maintain three *Hypostases* in the old sense. By the *Campenses*, St. Jerome means the followers of St. Meletius, as hath been said; and by the Hereticks of Tarsus, he means the disciples of Silvanus the Semi-Arian, who had been Bishop of that city; or perhaps Diodorus, who was then Pastor of that Church, after having been long a Priest of Antioch, of St. Meletius's Communion. St. Jerome was prejudiced against them, by the Presbyter Evagrius, and others of Paulinus's communion; to which he always adhered. Receiving no answer

Hier. ep. 57.

Matt. xvi.

Ex. xii.

Sup. lib. 16.
n. 3.

Epist. 58.

to this letter, he wrote a second to St. Damasus, wherein he saith: On one side the Arians rage, supported by the temporal power; on the other side, the Church, which is divided into three parties, endeavours to draw me over; and the Monks who are about me exercise their former authority over me. In the mean time I tell them, that if any one is joyned to the chair of Peter, he is on my side. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say, that they are joyned with you. I might believe it if but one of them said so; but two of them do not speak truth, and perhaps the third. Wherefore I beseech your holiness to set down in your letters who I am to communicate with in Syria. Do not despise a soul for whom CHRIST died. These letters of St. Basil and St. Jerome do clearly explain the point concerning the scruples relating to one or three *Hypostases*. Those of the East feared lest they should be taken for followers of Sabellius, if they said that there was one *Hypostasis*, and three persons, *Tria Prosopa*; they were not satisfied with the distinction of persons, they would have it acknowledged, that each person subsisted in a true *Hypostasis*. Those of the West durst not say that there were three *Hypostases*, for fear of speaking like the Arians, because they rendered the word *Hypostasis* into Latin by the word *Substance*; and the word *Person*, with which those of the East were not satisfied, they thought sufficient, because they had none other so proper. St. Athanasius being satisfied of the sense, was above troubling himself about the words; but at this time the minds of men were exasperated; and they were divided from each other; which was the reason that this schism at Antioch continued so long.

Basil ep. 64.
p. 850. A.
ep. 391.
p. 1172. B.
Aug. v.
Trinat. c. 9.

Greg. Naz.
Orat. 21.
p. 395. D.

XXX.
St. Basil's
letter to St.
Epiphanius.
Basil epist. 325.
p. 1100. B.

Jo. vii. 51.

ALTHOUGH St. Basil had declared himself entirely for Meletius, he did not separate from St. Epiphanius; on the contrary he had a great respect for him, and looked upon him as a singular example of charity at that time. Coming to the division of the Church of Antioch, he gives this account of his proceedings: As the venerable Meletius was the first that stood up in defence of the truth in the time of Constantius, and my Church was in communion with him; I have continued in his communion; and hope by the Grace of God still to continue therein: For the blessed Pope Athanasius being come from Alexandria, had fully resolved to enter into his Communion, had he not been persuaded by some malicious advisers to defer this union, which is much to be lamented. As for those who came last, we have not admitted any of them to our communion: not that we judge them unworthy, but because we have no reason to condemn Meletius. Not but that we have heard many things to their disadvantage; but we did not much regard them, because we had not heard the two parties personally; as it is written: Doth our law judge any man before it hear him? It would be an action becoming your pacifick conduct, most venerable brother, not to reunite on one side, and to separate on the other, but to bring back those who are separated to those who are already united: Moreover, I have been extremely comforted that you have written according to true and sound Divinity; that it is necessary to confess *three Hypostases*. Teach this, therefore to our brethren of Antioch: but, doubtless, you have already taught them; for you did not embrace their communion before you was sure of them, especially as to this point. By these brethren of Antioch who came last, St. Basil means Paulinus and perhaps Vitalis.

HE afterwards gives an account of a certain people, in answer to a letter of St. Epiphanius, who probably intended to mention them in his treatise of Heresies, where he does indeed say something of them: These were the *Magi* or *Majonfes*, as they are still called in the Levant. We have a great number of them, says St. Basil, dispersed all over our country, who came formerly from the parts near Babylon. Their manners are peculiar to themselves, neither do they converse with other people. The devil holds them in such bondage, that it is impossible to speak to them; for they have neither books nor teachers, but are bred up in an unreasonable custom, which they deliver down from father to son. This is apparent to every body, that they abhor the killing of animals, causing such as they use to be killed by others; their marriages are not consistent with sound morality; they hold the fire, and every thing that has the resemblance of fire, for GOD. They have not told us as yet, that they descend from Abraham, but derive their nation from one Zarnouia; for which reason I can give you no further information of them. Our modern travellers acquaint us, that there are still some of these worshipers of fire in Persia, who call their legislator Zerdoust; and they themselves have the name of *Gauris* or *Parfis*.

Piet. Val.
ut. 18 Dec.
1617.

St. Basil could not suffer the bad impressions that the Bishop of Rome had received against St. Meletius and St. Eusebius of Samosata. This is the letter which he wrote on this subject to Peter of Alexandria, who was still at Rome: I am very much concerned, that our brother Dorotheus hath not spoken to you with all suitable moderation. He related to me the discourse which he had with you at his return, in the presence of the most venerable Bishop Damasus; and he hath much grieved me, by relating to me, that our most holy brothers Meletius and Eusebius, are accounted Arians. Although there were no other proof of the purity of their faith, the opposition which they meet with from the Arians is sufficient for those who judge equitably: and you ought still to live in a stricter bond of charity with them, you who suffer as they do for JESUS CHRIST. Be assured that there is not one word of the orthodox faith, but they have taught with full liberty in our presence; GOD is witness thereof, and that we would not have been a moment in communion with them, if we had not seen them walk uprightly in the faith.

XXXI.
St. Basil complains of those of the West.
Epist. 321.
P. 1094. C.

HE complains still in stronger terms to Eusebius of Samosata, writing to him in his banishment: You may suppose, saith he, that you have yourself spoken to those of the West, having heard the account of our brother Dorotheus. What letter must we give him when he returns? for my part, what Diomedes says comes into my mind; you should not intreat Achilles, he is too haughty. And indeed, when they are flattered they only grow more insolent. If the anger of the LORD against us be appeased, what further help do we stand in need of? and if his anger continueth, what assistance can we hope from the pride of the Western Bishops? They are prejudiced by groundless suspicions, and do now, as they did formerly in relation to Marcellus. They are angry with those that tell them the truth, and they establish herself. For my part I would write to their Head, but not in the form of a general letter, and without entering into the business of the Church; only observing to him, that they are not acquainted with the truth of what passes here, nor take the right way to inform themselves; that those ought not to

Ep. 10.
P. 795. C.
Id. ix. v. 694.

be insulted who are brought low by temptations, and that they should not mistake pride for dignity; a sin of itself sufficient to make us at enmity with God. What St. Basil says here, that the Western Bishops established Heresy, cannot imply any suspicion of their doctrine; he hath frequently borne witness of the purity of their faith; he only means that their prejudice against the defenders of the Catholick faith, as St. Meletius and St. Eusebius, gave the Hereticks a great advantage; and as for the ignorance whereof he accuses them, it was only ignorance of matters of fact, and of what had passed in the East. The hard expressions that he uses against the Bishop of Rome relate only to the person of St. Damasus, whom he knew only by the report of others. As for the authority of the holy See, and the necessity of having recourse to it, he shews this sufficiently in his letters to St. Athanasius, and those of the West.

Sup. xvj.
n. 19.
xv. 1. 1.

XXXII.
The persecution in Cappadocia by Demosthenes.

Ep. 10. p. 794.

Ep. 264.

p. 2036.

Ep. 10.

p. 794.

Ep. 79. p. 870.

Ep. 72. p. 867.

Ep. 264.

Ap. Basil. ep. 385.

Greg. ep. 142. 34. 35. 36.

Ep. 264. A. p. 1037.

Ep. 405. ad Amphil.

Ep. 264.

Ep. 85. ad Patroph.

Ep. 72. ad Evel.

Ep. 82. p. 913. A.

Ep. 10. p. 795. A.

Ep. 395. ad Amphil.

IN the same letter to St. Eusebius of Samosata, St. Basil complains of many unworthy Bishops chosen by the Arian faction; for which we must look back a little. Demosthenes lieutenant to the *Præfæctus Prætorii*, protected the Hereticks; he was a Christian; but misinformed, both of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and pretended to direct arbitrarily all matters relating to it. He assembled in the midst of winter a council of Hereticks at Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia: Hypsius, successor of Athanasius was by them deposed, and Ecdicius put in his place; he immediately embraced the communion of Basilides Bishop of Gangres in Paphlagonia a declared Arian. Demosthenes afterwards made an attempt upon St. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of St. Basil; and ordered that he should be brought prisoner to him, on pretence of an accusation against him, concerning some money belonging to the Church, which he was said to have imbezzled; but he made it appear, that his predecessor had made use of it, and in what manner, and the Bishops of the province assured him that the treasurer of the Church was ready to answer for it. St. Gregory of Nyssa was not apprehended, but left the country; a wretched slave was put in his room, as corrupt in the faith as they by whom he was ordained. St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote several letters from his retreat at Seleucia to St. Gregory of Nyssa, to comfort him during this persecution, which was the most glorious part of his life; for the neighbouring Churches sent for him to restore peace to them, and to settle them.

DEMOSTHENES afterwards came to Cæsarea, where he obliged all Ecclesiastical persons to bear publick offices, notwithstanding their priviledges. He afterwards went to Sebasta, where he treated those who were of the communion of St. Basil in the same manner. They proceeded very outrageously against them, and one of those Clerks named Asclepias was beaten so violently that he died. Demosthenes afterwards summoned a council at Nyssa, of the Arian Bishops of the provinces of Galatia and Pontus; from Nyssa they went to Sebasta to joyn themselves to Eustathius, who had invited them by a solemn deputation, and who received them with all possible honour. They held assemblies there; they preached, they offered the holy sacrifice, and distributed the Eucharist. In short, Eustathius shewed them all marks of communion, but could not prevail with them to acknowledge him as Bishop, because he had been deposed by the heads of their party, at the council of Constantinople in the year 360. Demosthenes also disturbed the

the Church of Doares, a small town in Cappadocia, empowering the Arians to make a fugitive slave Bishop, being persuaded thereto by means of a woman who had no sense of religion.

IN the mean time Theodotus Bishop of Nicopolis died, and Demosthenes Epist. 264. had endeavoured to persuade that Church to receive a Bishop from Eustathius P. 1037. C.; but they resolutely refused it. The Arian Bishops whom he had assembled at Nyssa, endeavoured with Eustathius to overthrow the Catholick Faith at Nicopolis, but succeeded no better in that city. However, they Ep. 10. gained over to them Fronto a Priest of this place, who had always seemed p. 795. A. uncorrupt in his Faith and pure in his manners; he betrayed the truth at that time, which he had before maintained, and delivered himself up to the Arians, to be made Bishop of Nicopolis. He immediately became odious Ep. 191. to all Armenia; and the report of his fall was soon spread in the neighbouring provinces. The people of Nicopolis left him, and held their assemblies in the open fields, and there was not above one or two Ecclesiasticks who remained in the Church with Fronto. To retain the people, he promised not to separate from the Catholick Faith. Some were staggered at this; and some Ecclesiasticks wrote concerning it to St. Basil, who exhorted them to suffer this beginning of persecution, remembering that they were the children of the Martyrs and Confessors; he recommends to them more especially not to put any manner of trust in the words of Fronto, and declares Ep. 192. that they could not acknowledge him for Bishop, nor those for Clerks whom p. 976. D. he had ordained. This persecution afterwards became very violent. For the people were dispersed, the Clergy put to flight, the houses pillaged, the Ep. 190. city was deserted, and the whole country destroyed; nay, there were some who were beaten and suffered other outrages. St. Basil solicited the magistrates who were present, and wrote to the friends whom he had at court to suppress these disorders.

PEMENIUS Bishop of Satala, being come to Nicopolis to comfort this afflicted Church, found no better way for the support thereof, than to appoint a Catholick Bishop over it; and proposed to translate thither Euphro- XXXIII. The translation of Euphro-nius of Colonia. nius a native of that very city, and at that time Bishop of Colonia, a small city in the farthest part of Armenia. This translation, although contrary Sup. lib. 16. n. 45. to the canons, was approved by all the Bishops, and the magistrates of Nicopolis, and Pemenius pressed the execution of it, that the Hereticks might not have leisure to hinder it. St. Basil approved his conduct, and wrote concerning it to the Clergy of Nicopolis in these terms: When the saints Id. ep. 293. act, without having any worldly motive before their eyes, or proposing any personal interest, but only with regard to the good pleasure of God; it is manifest that it is he who guideth their hearts. And when godly men propose a matter, to which the faithful unanimously agree, who can question but that it proceedeth from our LORD? He wrote thereof likewise to the Ep. 294. magistrates of Nicopolis, and beginneth his letter with these words: The Churches are disposed of by those to whom the government of them is intrusted, but such disposal is confirmed by the people.

THE church of Colonia could not be persuaded to part with their pastor; and some threatened to separate from the Church, and carry this matter before the secular tribunals. They wrote hereof to St. Basil, who blamed them that used such threats, commending however the zeal which they expressed

Ep. 195.
P. 978. B.

pressed towards their Bishop, provided it was moderate ; and not designed to oppose what the Bishops had done by the order of God, for the common good of the province. He assures them that Euphronius will not forsake them, and that at the same time that he governs the church of Nicopolis, he will take care of theirs ; nay, he shews that this translation is an advantage to them, because if Nicopolis was in the power of the adversaries of the Church, Colonia could not support it self. At the same time he exhorted the clergy of Nicopolis, not to resent the opposition which they met with from the faithful of Colonia ; because the most inconsiderable easily suspect themselves to be contemned ; and their anger might incline them to extremities, which the misfortune of the times might render dangerous. Thus did St. Basil authorize the translation of Euphronius.

XXXIV.
St. Basil's
apology
against Eu-
stathius.
Sup. lib. xvi.
n. 46.
Ep. 79. P.
893. B.
Ep. 80. P.
900. C.

Ep. 345. P.
1121. C.
Ep. 73. P.
869. D.

Ep. 79. P.
893. D.

It was now three years that St. Basil had endured the calumnies with which he was aspersed by Eustathius of Sebasta, without taking any other notice, than by some private letters which he wrote to his friends in his own defence. At last he thought it time to speak, and to justify himself after a publick manner. His enemies far from being appeased, grew but the more incensed against him, and forebore not to defame him : When he silenced one of their calumnies, that they might not seem to have a groundless aversion to him, they invented another. They falsely accused him sometimes of believing three gods, and sometimes of believing that there was but one person ; and then cast reflections upon what he did really say with the Catholick Church ; viz. that there are three *Hypostases* in God, and one Goodness, one Power, and one Divinity. Their outward appearance of piety, gave credit to their false reports ; and his silence was attributed to the weakness of his cause. He found that he had got a reputation much against his will, but such a one as was not to his advantage, and he became odious to good men, who were prejudiced by his adversaries. He thought himself therefore at last obliged to speak, and take advantage of the unwary steps which they had lately taken, in joyning with the Arians and the vicar Demosthenes ; and he began to write against Eustathius about the year 376. He published an apology addressed to all the faithful, which is to be found amongst his letters. He saith, that at the beginning of his conversion, having seen the Monks of Egypt, and being much affected with their example, he desired to follow it ; and meeting with certain people in his own country, who seemed in their outward appearance to resemble them, by the meanness of their habit ; these were Eustathius and his disciples ; he conceived a great esteem for them, and believed that it would be for his advantage if he joined with them ; notwithstanding all that was said to deter him, and which he looked upon as scandal. When he was Bishop, he began to perceive their artifices, by the spies that they set over him, under pretence of assisting him in his functions ; so that almost every body became suspected by him. They twice attacked him on points of Faith ; but always found him stedfast in the doctrine which he had learned from his childhood, and received from his mother, and his grand-mother Macrina ; and he challenges them to shew him wherein he hath ever departed from it, either in his writings or discourses, either private or publick.

P. 896. B.

THE main point of the accusation was, that Apollinarius had taught an erroneous doctrine in Syria, and that St. Basil had written a letter to him

him about twenty years before : Consequently, said Eustathius, you are in communion with him, and an accomplice in his crime. How do you know, saith St. Basil in his answer, that this letter is from me ? And suppose it should, whence does it appear that this writing, now fallen into your hands, was written at the same time with my letter, or where it belongs to him to whom that letter is directed ? What proof have you that I am of his opinion ? Ask your selves how often have you come to see me, at my retirement on the river Iris, my brother Gregory being present ? how many days have we spent at my mother's, discoursing as good friends night and day ? And when we went together to visit the blessed Silvanus of Tarsus, was not our discourse during the whole journey upon this subject ? When you called upon me at Eufinoë, being ready to depart to Lampsachus with several Bishops, was not the Faith discoursed of ? Were not your writers in short hand always with me, to write what I dictated to them against heresy ? Were not the most faithful of your disciples always with me ? Where I visited the monasteries of our brethren, and spent the night in prayer with them, conversing continually on things pertaining to God, without disputing ; did I not plainly declare my sentiments ? How hath a light suspicion been able to get the better of an experience of so many years ? Have I not always said the same things ? except that I have added by length of time something to my imperfect knowledge. Besides, every one ought to be answerable for his own conduct. I am neither the master, nor the disciple of Appolinarius ; and if one person was to be called in question on another's account, it would be more reasonable to impute the doctrine of Arius to his disciples, and the doctrine of Aëtius to his master. For Eustathius had been one of the most faithful disciples of Arius, as St. Basil else-where declares, when Arius was in greatest credit at Alexandria ; and afterwards had been master to Aëtius. St. Basil at length discovers the true cause of this rupture ; which is, says he, that these good people believe the being in communion with us, hinders them from reassuming their authority ; because of the confession of Faith which we have obliged them to subscribe, and which may be prejudicial to their interest with those who are now in power ; that is, the Arians : And he speaks of what passed between him and Eustathius, three years before at Nicopolis. This is the apology of St. Basil ; to which he refers the Priest Genethlius, writting to him on the same subject.

P. 897. C.

Ep. 82.

P. 910. B.

Ep. 74. P.

875. A.

P. 898. D.

Sup. lib. xiv.

n. 45.

Ep. 345.

P. 1123. A.

Ep. 73.

P. 870. C.

Sup. lib. xiv.

n. 22.

V. ep. 72.

P. 867.

He wrote likewise to the monks who were under his government, enlarging upon the inconstancy and double dealing of Eustathius, who always joined with those in power. They, says he, who have written those famous letters against Eudoxius and all his party, and who have sent them to all the churches, exhorting them to shun their communion, and protesting against the sentence by which they were deposed, as decreed by hereticks ; (he speaks of what had passed at Constantinople in 360,) these very persons are now with them. They cannot deny it, since they have embraced their communion at Ancyra. He speaks of the Synod convened by Demosthenes. Ask them, adds he, if Basil who communicates with Ecdicius, is now orthodox. Therefore, when they came from Dardania, why did they overturn his altars to erect their own ? and why do they still visit the churches of Amasea and Zela, to ordain in them Priests and Deacons by their own authority ? If they communicate with them as orthodox, why do they persecute them

them as hereticks? Lastly he exhorts the Monks to be quiet and not interpose in these disputes, nor suffer themselves to be prejudiced against any person.

Ep. 72. p. 866.
D.

p. 868. D.

Homil. 29.
p. 620.

p. 622. B.

HE wrote a letter to the church of Evesium, wherein he saith that it was not quite seventeen years since the council of Constantinople, which having been held in the beginning of the year 360, this will bring us to the end of the year 376. The letter ends thus: Continue in the Faith; cast your eye over the whole world, and reflect how small a part is distempered. All the other churches who have received the Gospel from one end of the earth to the other, do preserve the doctrine sound and uncorrupt. He speaks on this manner in the time of Valens, when Arianism triumphed in the East. A homily of St. Basil is supposed to be written on the same subject, that is against the calumnies of Eustathius, and those who accused him of admitting three gods. He doth not therein speak against the authors of this scandal; he at first contents himself with complaining in general, and in very pathetical terms, that charity and unity did not reign in the Church as heretofore. He afterwards explains his doctrine, and after having protested against what was thus falsely charged upon him, of acknowledging three gods. He adds: If it proceeds from my not rejecting the Holy Ghost, and not placing him in the rank of creatures, let me undergo this calumny; do not make me say what I do not; say plainly, that I do anathematize those who say, that the Holy Ghost is a creature. I allow of this accusation, and upon this account will expose my self to the flames, to the wheel, and to the torture; and I will receive them with the same confidence, as the rest of the martyrs who rest in this place. This discourse was made at a festival held in honour of some martyrs, before an assembly of Bishops.

XXXV.

The council of
Gangra.

Socr. ii. c. 42.

Sozom. vi.

c. 24.

Libell.

Synod. to. 2.

Conc. p. 414.

Sozom. iii.

c. 14.

p. 424. B.

can. 2.

c. 4.

c. 9.

c. 10.

c. 14.

c. 15.

c. 16.

c. 3.

THE hyporisy of Eustathius was discovered and condemned at the council of Gangra, the time of which is not known; but as St. Basil maketh no mention of it, it is probable that it was not held till after all these letters were written, viz. towards the end of the reign of Valens; and perhaps after the death of Eustathius: For this council is rather against his disciples than himself; and St. Epiphanius in his book of heresies, written about the year 376, speaks of Eustathius as dead. This council was held in the city of Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, and we have twenty canons of their composing, with a synodical letter addressed to the Bishops of Armenia, which contains a brief account of the reasons of the meeting of this council, which are delivered more at large in the canons, expressly attributes these abuses to the disciples of Eustathius. The canons anathematize first those who condemn marriage, and who say that a woman who lives with her husband, cannot be saved: Those who separate themselves from a Priest who hath been married, and who will not partake of the oblation, that he hath consecrated: Those who live in a state of virginity or of chastity, not for the sake of this virtue itself, but out of aversion to marriage, or insult such as are married: Those women who forsake their husbands through hatred to marriage: Those parents who abandon their children under a pretence of leading an ascetick life; not taking care of their conversion to the Faith, nor to provide food for them: Those children who under the same pretence forsake their parents, without paying them the honour that is due to them: Those who teach slaves to leave their masters, and withdraw themselves

selves from their service under pretence of devotion. The council likewise c. 2.
 forbids those to be condemned who eat flesh, provided they abstain from Sup. lib. i.
 blood, from meat strangled, or offered to idols, according to the custom n. 32.
 observed even at that time. It likewise prohibits fasting on sundays, or ne- c. 18.
 glecting the fasts of the Church, which are observed by tradition; despi- c. 19.
 sing the house of God, and the assemblies held therein; holding private as- c. 5.
 semblies; performing the functions of the Church therein, without the pre- c. 6.
 sence of a Priest, or consent of the Bishop. It does also prohibit the con- c. 7, 8.
 verting the offerings made to the Church to their own use, or dispo-
 sing of them without the consent of the Bishop, and of them to whom he
 hath intrusted them: The neglecting the *Agapæ*, or feasts of charity, which c. 11.
 were kept in honour of God: The condemning the commemorating of c. 20.
 martyrs, the assemblies that were holden, and the offices that were perfor-
 med upon this occasion. Lastly, the council condemns those who, under a c. 12.
 pretence of leading an ascetick life, were singular in their habit, and censu-
 red those who were dressed like other people: And condemns women who c. 13.
 on the same pretence wore mens clothes, or cut off their hair. The Church c. 17.
 hath since allowed the religious women to cut off their hair, and in these
 indifferent things the custom hath varied in different ages and countries:
 But vanity and a stubborn affectation, have always been condemned.

AFTER these twenty canons the council adds: We do not ordain this c. 21.
 to cut them off from the Church, who are desirous to live in acts of piety
 and holiness, conformable to the doctrines of the Scripture; but those whom
 these practices tempt presumptuously to exalt themselves above those who
 live in greater simplicity, and to introduce novelties repugnant to the scrip-
 ture and the canons. We admire virginity, we approve chastity, and re-
 tiring from the world, provided they be attended with modesty and humili-
 ty: But we honour marriage; and do not despise wealth, when attended
 with justice and liberality. We commend plainness and simplicity of habit,
 clothes being only for the conveniency of the body; and do not allow of
 effeminacy, or niceness in apparel. We honour the house of God, and the
 assemblies held therein, not however confining piety to walls; we likewise
 approve of the great sums which are bestowed by the brethren upon the
 poor, by the ministry of the Church. In a word, we desire that all may be
 practised therein that is taught us by the Holy Scriptures, and by the apo-
 stolical traditions. These are the words of the fathers of the council of
 Gangra.

THE Goths, who had persecuted their Christian subjects, were punished XXXVI.
 for it by the Huns, who having passed the Palus Mæotis, attacked and de- The Goths
 feated them. A party of the Goths surnamed *Thervingi*, sent to the Empe- turn Arians.
 ror Valens to demand leave to pass the Danube, and to settle themselves in Sup. lib. 16.
 Thrace, upon condition of their serving in the Roman armies; the chief of n. 42.
 this embassy was the Bishop Ulfilas, who had a very great authority among Marc. Amm.
 the Goths, having taken abundance of pains to polish, civilize, and instruct 3. 4. xxxi. c.
 them in Religion, and had suffered much from those who still remained Pa- Sozom. vi
 gans. Being arrived at Constantinople on this embassy, he conferred with c. 37.
 the chief of the Arians: And whether he hoped to succeed in his negotia-
 tion by their credit, or whether he was really convinced by their persuasi-
 ons, he came over to them, which was the reason that the Goths likewise A. D. 378.

A. D. 378. fell into Arianism, and afterwards spread it all over the East. Till this time they had followed the Apostolical Doctrine which they had at first received; and even at that time they did not wholly forsake it. For they, by whom they were seduced, persuaded them, that the dispute between the Catholics and the Arians was only about words which did not alter the fundamental points of Doctrine. Thus in the time of Theodoret the Goths did indeed confess that the Father was greater than the Son; but however they did not say that the Son was a creature, although they communicated with those that said so. Ulfilas first brought in the use of letters among the Goths, which he formed from the Greek characters, and he translated the Scripture into their language: The Gospel is still extant, and printed in that language, by which may be seen what the language of the Germans was at that time. Ulfilas, it is said, did not translate the book of Kings, for fear the relations of battles, with which they are full, should seem to authorize that warlike disposition, which was but too predominant among the Goths. There were likewise Arians among the Goths: For their chief being banished into Scythia, laboured in the conversion of the Barbarians, and established monasteries even among the Goths, where they lived in great purity; and what was worst among them, was their obstinate persisting in their schism. The greater part were driven from among the Goths, at the same time with the Catholics, in the persecution of the year 372.

XXXVII. THE embassy whereof Ulfilas was chief, produced the desired effect; and the Emperor Valens granted the Goths permission to settle in Thrace. But though they had been received as friends, they were ill used by the Roman officers, who out of avarice suffered them to want provisions; and fearing lest they should grow desperate, caused some of them to be slain. Whereupon all the barbarians joined together, and began to ravage Thrace, in the year 377, under the consulship of Gratian and Merobaudius. Valens received this news at Antioch, and having soon concluded a peace with the Persians, he resolved to march to Constantinople, where he accordingly arrived the following year 378, on the thirtieth of May; that is the third of the calends of June, under his own consulship, and the second of Valentinian. At his departure from Antioch, he gave orders to put a stop to the persecution against the Catholics, and to recal the exiled Bishops and Priests, and the Monks who were condemned to the mines. Whereupon the Catholics assumed fresh courage in every city, but particularly at Alexandria. Peter returned thither with letters from Damasus Bishop of Rome, which authorized his election. The churches were again delivered to him, and the usurper Lucius was driven away, who withdrew to Constantinople, hoping that Valens would re-establish him: but he was at that time busied in affairs of greater importance.

HE had sent Trajan and Profuturus before with troops, to oppose the barbarians. There were several battles fought, in which the Romans had some disadvantage; and Valens being come to Constantinople, removed Trajan from his command, and reproached him severely, accusing him even of cowardise; but Trajan replied: It is not I, my lord, who have been vanquished, it is you, who have forfeited all pretence to victory, by arming your self against God, and procuring his protection to the barbarians. Know you not those whom you have driven from the churches, and those

Theod. iv.
c. ult.

Socr. iv.
c. 33.
Valafr. de
divin. offic.
c. 7.
Philost. ii.
c. 5.

Epiph. hær.
70. n. 14.
Sup. lib. 10.
n. 44.
Sup. lib. 16.
n. 42.

XXXVII.
The death of
the Emperor
Valens.

Id. Fast. an.
377.

Id. an. 378.

Socr. iv.
c. 35.
Ruf. xii.
c. 13.
Hier. Chr.
an. 379.
Sozom vi.
c. 39.

Theod. iv.
c. 33.

to whom you have delivered them? Arintheus and Victor, two famous A.D. 378. captains, seconded this discourse. Arintheus had been consul in the year 372. He was a good soldier, and had obtained great advantages against the Persians; but however was zealous for the Christian Religion, and for the Catholick Church. He died soon after, having been baptized at his death, and St. Basil for whom he had a great friendship, wrote consolatory letters to his widow. We have also two epistles of St. Basil's to Trajan, which shew the friendship that was between them. His wife Candida lived in great piety, and bred up her daughter with an affection for virginity and mortification. The count Terentius, who was likewise a friend to St. Basil, had expressed the same generous disposition some time before; for being returned victorious from Armenia, Valens bid him ask what reward he would have. Terentius presented a petition, wherein he besought him to grant a church to the Catholicks. The Emperor having read the petition, tore it, and bid Terentius ask something else; but Terentius gathering up the pieces, said; I have what I desire, my lord; for God judges by the intention.

THE Emperor set out from Constantinople for the camp, on the eleventh of June 378. The Monk Isaac, whose cell was near the place by which he was to pass, seeing him go back with his train, cryed out to him; Whither go you Emperor? you have fought against God, he is not on your side. It is he who hath stirred up the barbarians against you. Forbear waging war against him, if you persist you shall lose your army, and shall not return. The Emperor in a rage, ordered him to be kept in prison till he came back, and said to him; I will return, and punish you with death for prophesying falsely. Isaac replied, raising his voice; Yes, put me to death, if you find me a liar.

VALENS had advanced as far as Adrianople, when he received news of the Emperor Gratian his nephew, who having obtained great advantages over the Germans, was marching to his assistance, and desired him to stay till he came up to him; but Valens, who envied the victories of this young prince, resolved to give battle before he joined him. While they were preparing for an engagement, Fritigern king of the Goths sent a Priest with a letter, declaring to the Emperor, that they only desired permission to dwell in Thrace with their families, and their cattle; but this proved ineffectual. A battle was therefore at length fought between them, on the fifth of the ides (that is the ninth) of August, wherein the Romans were overthrown, scarce a third part of their army escaping. The Emperor himself perished in this battle; but his body was not found, and it was reported as an undoubted truth, that being wounded by an arrow, he was conveyed to a hut not far distant, attended by some of his guards and his eunuchs, where, as they were dressing his wound, the enemy not knowing who was within, attempted to break open the door which they found shut, the Romans shot at them from the top of the house, and the barbarians, that they might not lose the plunder which they might get elsewhere by spending their time here, heaped wood, faggots and straw, round about the hut, to which setting fire, they burnt both it, and all that were therein, except one of the Emperor's guards, who made his escape by getting out of a window, and afterwards related the matter. Thus fell the Emperor Valens, being near fifty years old, and having reigned fourteen years, four months,

A. D. 378. and a few days. This fatal end was esteemed a punishment from Heaven for his persecuting the Catholicks. As he left no sons, the whole empire came to his two nephews, and the government of all to Gratian; for Valentinian was not yet of age to act himself.

XXXVIII. GRATIAN always sincerely adhered to the Catholick Faith. Being ready to march to the assistance of Valens, he was resolved to secure himself against the impious doctrines that obtained in the East; and upon this account addressed to St. Ambrose, and desired that he would write a treatise to prove and confirm the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. St. Ambrose, in compliance with his request, composed his two books concerning the Faith, as they are called. In the first he sheweth wherein the Catholick Faith consists, establishing the unity of the Divine nature, and the Trinity of persons: he proves the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and afterwards confutes the principal errors of the Arians; as that the Son was not like the Father, that he had a beginning, and that he was created. He proceeds in the second, to shew that the attributes of the Divinity belong to the Son: he explains in what manner he is sent by the Father, and how he is subject to him, and how he is less; he distinguishes between what belongs to him as GOD, and what as man; and among other things, the two-fold will. He concludes with assuring the Emperor, that he should be victorious over the Goths, at the same time expressing his hopes, that he would in return protect the Church. These two first books of St. Ambrose upon the Faith, were greatly esteemed by the Antients.

HE had not been now Bishop full three years, when he was looked upon as one of the chief Doctors of the Latin Church. His reputation reached even to Mauritania, and induced virgins to come from thence to Milan to receive the veil from his hands. There came also some from the neighbouring cities, as from Piacenza and Bologna, being moved thereto by his frequent exhortations on this subject. But they did not meet with that success at Milan where he preached; many complained that he too much extolled virginity; and mothers kept their daughters at home, that they might not be present at his sermons, or go to be consecrated by him. The discourses which he had composed upon this subject, having had so great an effect, St. Marcellina his sister, who had long before made a vow of virginity at Rome, wrote to congratulate him thereupon; and desired, that he would send them to her, since she could not come and hear them. It was therefore at her desire that he digested into three books, intituled *De Virginibus* or Concerning Virgins, the discourses which he had made upon this occasion; the first is a panegyrick upon St Agnes, being delivered on the day kept in honour of her. He there takes notice that there were twenty virgins at Bologna, and that they laboured with their own hands, not only that they might gain a subsistence, but have wherewithal to bestow in charity, and that they were remarkably zealous and industrious to persuade others to profess themselves. He exhorts the virgins to consecrate themselves even against the consent of their relations. In the third book, he sets down the discourse which Liberius Bishop of Rome had made to his sister Marcellina, when he gave her the habit in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas day. She did not live in a society of virgins, but with her relations, as many other virgins did at that time: They had a part of the Church to themselves, separated

separated from the rest by boards; and on the walls were written sentences out of the Scripture for their instruction.

THE book concerning widows was published not long after, occasioned by a woman, who on pretence that he had exhorted her to leave off mourning, and to be comforted for the death of her husband, would have married again, having already daughters who were married. He therein sets forth the indecency of such marriages, but takes great care to declare, that he does not condemn second marriage; as in the book of virgins, he takes care to establish the sanctity of marriage. In his book of widows he speaketh thus of the invocation of saints: We ought to pray to the angels who are appointed to watch over us, and to the martyrs whose bodies seem pledges to us of their protection; they behold our lives and actions. St. Ambrose wrote a little afterwards a Treatise of Virginity, where he defends himself against those who accused him of persuading people to embrace that state of life, and forbidding such virgins to marry as have devoted themselves to the service of GOD. He freely owns the fact; but proves, that virginity is neither bad, new, nor unnecessary. Some complain, saith he, that mankind will shortly fail. I desire to know, whoever wanted a wife, and could not find one; what wars have been waged, or what murders have been committed upon account of a virgin? the killing an adulterer, pursuing and waging war against the ravisher; these are the consequences of marriage. The number of people is greatest in those places where virginity is most esteemed. Enquire how many virgins are wont to be consecrated every year at Alexandria, all over the East, and in Africa, where there are more virgins than there are men in this country.

THE ravages of the Goths in Thrace and in Illyricum reached as far as the Alps, and gave St. Ambrose an opportunity to exercise his charity. He took care to redeem the captives, employing for this use the vessels belonging to the Church, which he caused to be broken and melted down; but such only as were not yet consecrated, reserving those which were, for a more pressing necessity. The Arians reproached him upon this account; to which he only answered, that he thought it much more expedient to save the souls of men for GOD, than gold; for by redeeming these captives, not only the lives of the men and the honour of the women were preserved; but infants and young people were continued in the Christian faith, whom the Barbarians would have forced to partake of their idolatrous worship. St. Ambrose saith upon this occasion: The Church hath gold, not to treasure it up, but to distribute it, and succour them who are in necessity. And afterwards: I find, saith he, that the blood of JESUS CHRIST shed in the gold, hath not only shone therein, but hath also impressed upon it the virtue of redemption. We find here what was his belief concerning the liquor contained in the chalice; we find that there were vessels that were consecrated, and others that were not: and we find lastly, that the churches had rich services of plate, since he only mentions vessels of gold.

THE people of Illyricum, who upon this occasion fled from the Barbarians, retreating into Italy, St. Ambrose wrote to Constantius the new Bishop of Romania; and among many other instructions he admonished him to be cautious of these Illyrians, who were most of them infected with Arianism, by reason of Valens, Ursatius, and the other heretick Bishops, who had

XXXIX.

St. Ambrose's
charity.

ii Offic.

c. 15. n. 70.

Ibid. c. 28.

Epist. ii. al.

19. n. 28.

had so long tyrannized there. He therefore earnestly exhorts him not to suffer them to come near the faithful. He adds, that it is a main part of wisdom not to believe upon slight grounds: However, he would have Constantius readily admit these who were willing to return, that they might not be wholly driven away; but that without absolutely depending upon them, he should let them think that he is satisfied with them. I commend to your care, saith he, the Church of the *Forum Cornelii*; which is supposed to be Imola; and being in the neighbourhood, I would wish you to visit it frequently, till a Bishop shall be ordained for it: my own attendance being prevented by the business I am to have upon my hands in Lent, which is now approaching. This business in Lent was no doubt the instructing the Catechumens; whereon he bestowed so much pains and labour, that when he died five Bishops could hardly go through with that which he used singly to perform.

n. 27.

Paulin. Vit.
n. 38.

XL.

The Death of
St. Satyrus.
Admonit. in.
lib. de exc.
Sat. Ambr. de
Exc. Sat.
n. 24.
Ibid. n. 42.

V. Greg. iij.
Dialog. c. 36.

n. 46.

n. 47.

n. 48. 52.

n. 17. 19.

n. 59.

n. 78.

ABOUT the same time he lost his brother Satyrus, to whom he had committed the care of all his temporal affairs. Satyrus attempted to go into Africa to oblige a certain man named Prosper to pay him a sum of money that was due to his brother, who flattered himself, saith St. Ambrose, with the hopes that my being promoted to the priesthood would be a pretence for his not paying me what he had taken from me. Satyrus embarking in winter in an old vessel, was ship-wrecked, and had like to have been lost. He had not yet received baptism, and that he might not die absolutely deprived of the holy mysteries, that is, the Eucharist, he desired those who were baptized to give it to him: But as none but the faithful were so much as admitted to the sight of it, he caused it to be wrapped in an *Orarium*; which was a kind of long handkerchief, at that time worn by the Romans about their necks: This he wrapt about him, and without other provision threw himself into the sea, not seeking for a plank to support him, and he was the first who came to land. We here see that the Christians carried the Eucharist with them in voyages, and esteemed it a preservative against danger. Satyrus having escaped in this extremity, and being persuaded that the sacrament which had thus protected him, would be of much greater benefit when received inwardly, was very desirous to be speedily baptized. He sent therefore for the Bishop of the place, and that he might be certain of what Faith he was, he asked him whether he was in communion with the Catholick Bishops, that is, with the Church of Rome. These are the words of St. Ambrose, from whom we have this whole relation: But Satyrus found that this Church took part in Lucifer's schism, and very probably it was in Sardinia. He therefore chose rather to venture upon the sea once more, than to receive baptism from a schismatick, although they who were of this schism did not hold any error in the Faith. Being arrived in a Catholick country, he received baptism, the benefits of which he did not forfeit as long as he lived. He had also resolved to live a life of chastity; but kept this resolution secret from his own brother. He died at his return to Milan, in the arms of St. Ambrose and St. Marcellina, and left his wealth to be disposed of by them, without making a will. They thought that he had only made them stewards of it, and therefore gave it all to the poor. The funeral of St. Satyrus was performed with great solemnity, and St. Ambrose made a funeral oration upon this occasion, over the body, which was exposed

exposed to publick view. The seventh day after, they returned to the grave to pray there as usual; and St. Ambrose made there another discourse, shewing, that it is our duty to be comforted for the loss of our dearest friends, by the belief of the resurrection. The Church commemorates St. Martyr Rom. Satyrus, on the seventeenth of September.

IN this interval of time, between the death of Valentinian and the election of Theodosius, a numerous council was held at Rome, consisting of the Bishops of every part of Italy, who directed a letter to the two Emperors Gratian and Valentinian. They return them thanks, that in order to stifle the schism of Ursinus in the birth, they had ordained that the Bishop of Rome should be tried by the rest of the Bishops, that he might not be brought to the bar of lay judges; and that Ecclesiastical causes should be tried according to equity and conscience, regard being had to the characters of the parties, and not by the formalities usual in judiciary proceedings, and the severity of the torture. They afterwards complain that Ursinus, although he had been banished long before, continued to stir up the common people, by means of the Clerks whom he had ordained contrary to the canons: that after his example, some Bishops who had been condemned by the sentence of the Bishop of Rome, or had reason to fear that they should be condemned, bribed the populace to assist them, and forcibly maintained themselves in their Churches. They particularly complain of the Bishop of Parma, Florentius of Puteoli, and a certain person named Restitutus in Africa: They afterwards add; You have likewise ordained, that they who baptize persons over again shall be sent into Africa; but notwithstanding that they have been thus driven away, they have ordained Claudian, and have sent him under the title of Bishop, to raise disturbances in the city of Rome. You have commanded, that he should be sent away from Rome to his own country; but though he hath been several times seized, he still continues at Rome in defiance of the judges, frequently prevailing upon the poor by money to be baptized a second time. In fine, the faction of Ursinus have proceeded so far as to suborn an apostate Jew called Isaac, to fall upon our holy brother Damasus, and oblige him who was appointed judge of all, to plead for himself, that there might be no body to try the usurpers of the Episcopal dignity. You have disappointed their artifices; you have by your sentence acknowledged and declared the innocence of our brother Damasus. Isaac not being able to make out what he advanced, hath met with the fate which he deserved; for he was indeed banished to a remote part of Spain.

THE Bishops proceed: We therefore beseech you to command, that whoever being condemned by Damasus, or the Catholick Bishops, shall still attempt to keep possession of his Church, or shall refuse to appear before the Bishops, being summoned to their court; that the *Præfæctus Prætorii* of Italy, or the lieutenant, do send him to Rome; or if the dispute should arise in a remote province, that he be brought by the judges of the place to the metropolitan, to be tried by him; or if he be himself a metropolitan that he be brought to Rome without delay, or before such judges as the Bishop of Rome shall have appointed: And that if the metropolitan or other Bishop, shall be suspected by him, he may appeal to the Bishop of Rome, or to a council of fifteen of the neighbouring Bishops. Let silence be imposed on such as shall be thus excluded, and let them who shall be deposed be removed

XLI.
The council
of Rome in
behalf of St.
Damasus.
To. 2. Conc.
p. 1001.

Sup. lib. xvi.
n. 39.

Refer. Grat.
in. fine.

A.D. 378. ved out of the territory of the city where they have been Bishops. Let not the condition of our brother Damasus be worse than that of those, above whom he is raised by the prerogative of the apostolick See, although they are equal to him in respect to his function; and having been justified by your selves, let him not be subjected to the civil judicature, from which your law hath exempted the Bishops: For if he hath willingly submitted to the judgment of the Bishops, this ought not to be a pretence for calumny against him. It was very probably in this same council of Rome, that the Bishop, although sufficiently justified by the Emperor, had also been judged canonically by the Bishops. They continue: He does but follow the example of his predecessors, according to which the Bishop of Rome may (if they will not trust his cause to a Synod) make his defence in the Emperor's council. For Sylvester being accused by sacrilegious men, pleaded his cause before your father Constantius. The Bishops call him the father of Gratian; because Gratian had married Constantia the Posthumous daughter of Constantius. Moreover this matter concerning Sylvester Bishop of Rome is remarkable, and is not to be met with any where else.

XLII.
The Laws of
Gratian in
behalf of the
Church.
To. 2.
Conc. p.
1003. & ap.
Baron. an.
381.

THE Emperor Gratian complied with this request, by a rescript directed to Aquilanus lieutenant of Rome, which doth likewise, according to the usual stile, bear the name of his brother Valentinian. By this rescript, the Emperors command the lieutenants of Rome to put the abovementioned orders in execution, and to banish to a hundred miles distance from Rome, the factious persons, taken notice of by the council of Bishops; and to drive them also out of the territories of the cities in which they raise disturbances. They continue: It is our pleasure, that whosoever shall retain possession of his church, being tried and condemned by Damasus, with the advice of five or seven other Bishops, or the sentence of the Catholick Bishops; or whoever, being cited before the Bishops, shall refuse to appear and be tried by them; our pleasure is, that by the authority of the Præfects of Gaul or Italy, or of the pro-consuls or lieutenants, he shall be brought to Rome under a strong guard, to be tried by the Bishops: That if this refractory person is in a remoter province, the metropolitan shall take cognizance of the matter: or if he be a metropolitan himself, that he repair to Rome without delay, or to such judges as shall be appointed by the Bishop of Rome, or to a Synod of fifteen of the neighbouring Bishops; commanding him at the same time, after he hath been tried by them, never to have recourse to them again. In fine, our pleasure is, that persons notoriously corrupt in their manners, or who have been noted for calumny or defamation, shall not be readily admitted to appear against a Bishop, either as accuser or evidence. Thus did the Emperor's grant the council of Rome all they desired.

A. D. 379.

L. 2. Cod.
Th. de S.
Bap.

THE Emperor Gratian the year before had made a law against the Donatists, addressed to Flavian lieutenant of Africa, and dated the sixteenth of the calends of November, under the consulship of Gratian and Merobaudius, that is the seventeenth of October 377, which condemns those who baptize a second time, ordering the churches they keep possession of to be restored to the Catholicks. And whereas being driven from the churches, they assembled in large houses in the city or the country; these houses are ordered to be confiscated, and these assemblies to be dispersed. The lieutenant Flavian, although

Aug. ep. 87.

although he was himself a Donatist, put some of the most factious to death, in execution of the laws; however the rest still communicated with him.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Valens, Gratian published a law, permitting every one safely to profess what religion he thought fit, and even to hold assemblies; except the Manichees, the Photinians, and the Eunomians. Which is to be understood with respect to the East. At the same time he recalled all whom Valens had banished for adhering to the Catholick Religion: for although Valens, when he departed from the East, had given orders for that purpose, his orders were not speedily obeyed. Gratian charged Sapor duke of the East, with the execution of his laws, to force the Arians to leave the churches, and to restore them to the Catholicks.

IN the following year 379, under the consulship of Ausonius and Olybrius, Gratian being at Milan the third of August, made a law addressed to Hesperius, Præfect of the Prætorium of Italy, whereby revoking that which he had published at Sirmium in 378, he forbids all the hereticks without exception, to propagate their errors, or administer Baptism to those who had already received it; and their Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to hold assemblies. A month before, on the fifth of July, being at Aquileia, he exempted those Clerks that trafficked from the lustral tax, provided the sum they were to pay amounted to no more than ten sols of gold in Illyricum and Italy, and fifteen sols of gold in Gaul. Ten sols of gold make about fourscore franks of our money, and fifteen sols sixscore franks. So that the Clerks were allowed to traffick, provided they had no great dealings, and used it only as a help towards a frugal maintenance, and not to enrich themselves, or employed all their time upon it. These two laws dated in the year 379, were not published by Gratian till after he had associated Theodosius to the Empire.

FOR seeing the Empire invaded on both sides by the barbarians, he thought he stood in need of a person of extraordinary merit, who might assist him to support so great a burden: So that although he had a young brother already acknowledged Emperor, he sent for Theodosius from Spain, and at Sirmium, the capital of the Western Illyricum, where he had stayed after the death of Valens, he associated him in the Empire. And accordingly he did here declare him Emperor on the fourteenth of the calends of February, under the consulship of Ausonius and Olybrius, that is the nineteenth of January 379. Gratian divided the empire with him, leaving him all the East, with Thrace, and the east part of Illyricum, which included all Greece, where Theffalonica was the capital. The West remained to Gratian and his brother Valentinian, which they thus parted between them. Gratian had Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Valentinian Italy, Africa, and the west part of Illyricum. Theodosius was then in the thirty third year of his age; he was a native of Spain, and descended from the Emperor Trajan, whom he resembled in all the extraordinary endowments of body and mind, without having any of his faults. His father's name was likewise Theodosius or Honorius, who was one of the greatest generals of that age. He defeated the tyrant Firmus in Africa, in the reign of Valentinian the father, in the year 373; but three years after in the year 376, be-

A. D. 379.
al. 164 ad
Emerit. n. 8.

Socr. v. c. 2.
Sozom. vii.
c. 1.

Theod. v. c. 2.
Theophan.
an. 371.

p. 56.
V. Pag.
an. 378. n. 6.

7. &c.
Sup. n. 35.
L. 5. C. Th.
de hæret.

L. C. Th. 11.
de lustr. col

XLIII.
Theodosius
Emperor.

Socr. v. c. 2.
Sozom. vii.
c. 2.

Theod. v.
hist. c. 5.
Zosim. lib. 4.
p. 751.

Aug. v. civit.
c. 25.
Idac. Fast.
an. 379.

Marcell. Chr.
init.
Chr. Pasch.
p. 303.

Aurel. Viñ.
Epist. in.
Theod.

Amm. lib.
xvii. c. 8.

Id. lib. xxix.
c. 5.

A. D. 379. ing falsely accused to the Emperor Gratian, he was beheaded at Carthage, having first desired, and received Baptism. Theodosius the son had likewise given proofs of his valour; and was duke of Masia when his father was disgraced: but not finding himself secure in this country, he retired into Spain, whence Gratian sent for him to be his associate in the empire; and his choice was universally approved.

THE Emperor Gratian being at Sirmium, Palladius and Secundianus, two Illyrian Bishops, and the only Bishops of all the East who still sided with the Arians, presented an address to him, complaining that they were called Arians, and beseeching him to convene a council of the whole empire, especially of the eastern provinces, from whom they expected more favour. The Catholick Bishops agreed that Gratian should judge their difference; but he referred it to their decision; and appointed Aquileia to be the place of their meeting. St. Ambrose afterwards remonstrated to him, that it was not necessary for the sake of two hereticks, to trouble so many Bishops; and that he, and the other Bishops of Italy, would be sufficient to answer them. Gratian complied with this advice, and did even excuse those from coming to the council, who could not without difficulty undertake so long a journey, by reason of their great age, or their bad state of health, impaired by their frequent fasting, or their poverty, which is so commendable in Bishops; but at the same time permitted any to come that were so disposed. But the council of Aquileia did not meet till two years after, in 381.

GRATIAN returning from Illyricum to Gaul, wrote a letter to St. Ambrose, with his own hand, wherein he calls him his father, and desires him to come to him, to give him some further instructions concerning the truth, of which he was already very well convinced; and to send him back the treatise which he had given him, adding thereto the proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. St. Ambrose in his answer, gives him the title of most Christian Prince, excusing himself for not meeting him, and assuring him, that his mind accompanied him, and that he followed him with his prayers during his whole journey. He promises to make haste to him, and in the mean time sends him the two books which he had formerly given him, that is, the two books on the Faith; but desires time for the work on the Holy Ghost. It is probable that the Emperor prevented his coming, since he was at Aquileia on the fifth of July, and at Milan the third of August; where he published the law against the hereticks already mentioned, which perhaps was drawn up by the advice of St. Ambrose. However the Emperor desired, that he would discourse of the matter more at large; and the hereticks accused him of having affected brevity, to avoid answering their objections, as being unanswerable; which obliged him to add, to the two books on the Faith, three more, making five in all; and these three last are chiefly taken up in explaining all those passages in Scripture, which the Arians perverted to support their cause; but he deferred the discourse on the Holy Ghost to another time.

THE Empress Justina stayed some time at Sirmium, probably with her young son Valentinian. The See of this capital city of Illyricum became vacant at that time; and it was very necessary to apply some remedy to the disorders that had been first caused there by the heresiarch Photinus, and afterwards

afterwards by the Arian Germinius. Photinus had been deposed, and banished in the year 351; but he did not die till the twelfth year of Valens, that is till the year 375, in his own country of Galatia, whither he had been sent. St. Ambrose repaired to Sirmium, though not in his province; it being usual for Bishops of the most approved sanctity, to assist the churches on such occasions. The Empress Justina desiring that an Arian Bishop should be elected, endeavoured to drive St. Ambrose out of the church by her own authority, and by means of the people there assembled: but he not regarding her attempts, continued on the tribunal; for so they called the raised place, at the upper end of the church, whereon were the seats of the Bishop, and the Priests who were placed on each side of him. One of the virgins who was an Arian, had the impudence to go up upon the tribunal, and laying hold of his habit, would have drawn him among the women, who intended to use him rudely, and force him to quit the church. St. Ambrose said to her: Although I am not worthy of the Priesthood, it does not become you, or any of your profession, to lay hands upon any Priest whatsoever; you ought to fear the judgment of God. The next day she was carried to her grave; and St. Ambrose returning good for evil, honoured her funeral with his presence. This accident brought no small terror upon the Arians, and it gave opportunity to the Catholics to ordain Artemius Bishop without disturbance. St. Ambrose returned to Milan after his ordination; and from this time the Empress Justina conceived that aversion to him, which was afterwards attended with such remarkable circumstances.

Paul. Vit.
n. 11.

Maurf. Chr.
c. 35.

Paul. n. 12.

IN the East the Catholick churches began to recover breath, especially upon the return of the exiled Bishops. Some finding the Arians in possession of their churches, consented to their continuing therein, provided they embraced the Catholick Faith; and they willingly yielded up their Sees to avoid schism. Eulalius Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, found an Arian Bishop in his church, who had not above fifty persons in the city that acknowledged him as Bishop. Eulalius did nevertheless offer, on condition that he would return to the Catholick Church, to govern his flock in conjunction with him, even granting him the superiority. Which the Arian refused, and was left by those of his own party, who joined themselves to the Catholics. The schism still continued in the church of Antioch. Paulinus had remained there during the persecution, and Meletius returning after the death of Valens, was received with extraordinary joy. The whole city went out to meet him: Some kissed his hands, others his feet: they who were hindered by the croud from approaching him, thought themselves happy if they heard his voice, or saw his face. Duke Sapor was then at Antioch, with commission to see the laws, made in favour of the Church, put in execution; particularly to restore the banished pastors, and to deliver the churches to those who communicated with Pope Damasus. Paulinus pleaded a right upon this account to the See of Antioch; Apollinaris affirmed also that he communicated with Damasus; Meletius sat still and said nothing: Whereupon the Priest Flavian said to Paulinus before Sapor; If you communicate with Damasus, acknowledge as he does, one essence, and three *Hypostases* in the Trinity. They of Paulinus's party were willing to have received Meletius, on condition he would govern the

XLV.

The return of
St. Meletius.
Sozom. vii.
c. 2.

Chryf. in
Melet.

Soc. vi. c. 5.
Sozom. vii.
c. 3.

Theod. v.
c. 23.

Church jointly with Paulinus; whereto Meletius, who was of all men the most peaceable, consented, and even pressed Paulinus to agree to it. Since our flocks, saith he, are of the same Faith, let us gather them into the same fold; and if the Episcopal chair is the cause of our difference, let us place the holy Gospel thereon, and seat ourselves on each side at the head of the Priests; and the survivor shall have the government of the flock after the other's decease. Paulinus would not accept of this proposal, nor admit of a person for his colleague, who had, as he said, been elected by the Arians. But the party who communicated with Meletius, which was very numerous, placed him on the Episcopal throne in a church without the city, which was probably the Pallea; and Duke Sapor authorized this their proceeding.

Hier. Script.
Sup. xvi. 31.
Epiph. Hær.
73.

St. Meletius, about the same time, placed Bishops in divers cities, which had Arian Pastors; he had before made Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, as he did also John of Apamea, and Stephen of Germanicia; both of them had governed the Catholics in the time of the persecution. John was very eminent by his birth; but more so by his eloquence and sanctity; Stephen had been educated in the knowledge of Ecclesiastical matters, and was well versed in the learning of the Greeks. He reformed the disorders occasioned by Eudoxius at Germanicia, and reconciled the Arians to the Church. St. Cyril at the same time took possession again of the See of Jerusalem in the room of Hilarion; and Gelasius nephew to St. Cyril, was restored to the Church of Cæsarea in Palestine, the Arian Euzoius being displaced and driven thence by Theodosius.

XLVI.
The martyr-
dom of St.
Eusebius of
Samosata.
Theod. v.
c. 4.
Idem. Philost.
c. 2.
p. 777. C.
Soz. vii. c. 27.

Sup. lib. xvj.
a. 33.

St. Eusebius of Samosata, being returned from his banishment, did likewise establish Bishops in many places, whether by the authority he had acquired by his age, his virtue, and his sufferings for the Faith; or that these ordinations were imputed to him, which he had procured from such as had power to bestow them. He placed therefore at Barhæa, Acatius, a celebrated man at that time, who had been eminent in the monastick way of life under Asterius, who was disciple of St. Julian Sabas, and continued the same practice of virtue during his Episcopacy, which he held fifty eight years. His doors were always open to every body, so that he could be spoken with at any hour, even during his meals, and in the night; for he permitted his sleep to be broken, so little did he fear to have witnesses of his most secret actions. St. Eusebius likewise appointed Theodotus, famous in the Ascetick life, Bishop of Hierapolis, Eusebius of Chalcis, and Isidore of Cyrus, both men of great zeal and singular merit: At Edessa he placed St. Eulogius, who had been banished into Egypt; for St. Barses was dead some time before. Eulogius made Protogenes, companion of his labours and his exiles, a Bishop, and settled him at Carrhæ to establish religion there. The last place where St. Eusebius of Samosata constituted a Bishop was Dolicha, a little city of Syria, infected with Arianism. He was willing therefore to make Maris Bishop thereof, a man of merit and great virtues. But as he himself entered into the city, an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the roof of her house, which broke his skull, of which he died soon after. But before his death, he caused them who were present, to swear they would not prosecute this woman; such was the end of St. Eusebius of Samosata. The Church places him among the martyrs, and honours his memory

mory on the twenty first of June. His nephew Antiochus succeeded him, who had followed him into Thrace during his exile, and who had been banished himself into Armenia. The council of the province being assembled, according to custom, to ordain him Bishop of Samosata, Jovian Bishop of Perga came with the rest, who had been some time in the communion of the Arians. All having given their suffrages for the election of Antiochus, they brought him near the Altar, and caused him to kneel down to receive the imposition of hands. But turning about, he saw Jovian advancing with the rest; he pushed back his hand, and desired he might retire, saying, that he could not suffer upon his head a hand which had received the mysteries solemnized with blasphemies; that is to say, the Eucharist of the Arians.

St. Basil died in the beginning of the year 379, at the time that Gratian reigned alone in the East. Before his death he laid hands on many of his disciples, in order to ordain Catholick Bishops of the Churches under his government. There was such a concourse of people at his funeral that many were smothered in the croud. Every one strove to touch the border of his garment, or the bed on which they carried him; nay, his very shadow, thinking that they received some benefit thereby. Their groans hindered the singing of psalms from being heard. The very Pagans themselves and the Jews, regretted the loss of him. The whole world lamented him as the Teacher of truth, and as the bond of peace among the Churches. All that ever had access to him, though but as servants, thought it an honour to themselves to report the most trivial of his words or actions. Many affected to imitate his outward appearance, as his paleness, his beard, and his gait, and even his imperfections; as, for instance, his slowness of speech: For he was generally pensive, and seemed lost in thought; which being ill imitated, degenerated into dulness. They were also fond of resembling him in his habit, his lying down to rest, and his diet, although in all these things he acted naturally without any affectation. His writings were the delight of all men, even of the Laity, and the Pagans themselves; they were read, not only in the Churches, but also in other assemblies.

AMONGST several Panegyrics that were composed in honour of St. Basil, we have four extant, that of St. Gregory of Nyssa his brother, those of St. Ephrem, St. Amphilochus, and of St. Gregory Nazianzen. St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Amphilochus delivered theirs on the same day he died; that is, the first of January, whereon he is still commemorated by the Greek Church; whereas he is honoured by the Latin Church on the fourteenth of June, the day of his ordination. We find by St. Gregory of Nyssa that at that time a day was kept in honour of St. Basil. St. Gregory Nazianzen did not repeat his oration till some years after, when he had left Constantinople and returned into his own country. Helladius succeeded St. Basil in the See of Cæsarea. St. Ephrem did not long survive St. Basil; it is supposed that he died about a month after; for he is honoured by the Greek Church on the twenty eighth of January, and by the Latins on the first of February. When he was near his death, he made a discourse, called his Will, wherein he expressly forbade the making a pompous funeral for him; that the same honours should be paid to him as to saints; that his garments should be preserved as relics; that he should be buried under the Altar, or in any other part of the Church.

Theod. iv.
hist. c. 15.

XLVII.
The Death of
St. Basil and
St. Ephrem.
Hier. de
Script.
Greg. Naz.
Or. 20.
p. 370. D.

Carm. 64.
p. 152. D.
Or. 20.
p. 370.

p. 362. D.

Greg. in
Bas. to. 2.
p. 911.

Gennard.
catalog. c. 3

Church. He desires to be interred in the church yard, and particularly recommends the distributing of alms, and offering up prayers and oblations for him, especially on the thirtieth day. He bestows particular blessings on several of his disciples, and pronounces curses upon some, and upon all Hereticks in general, among whom he names the Euchites or Messalians, and the Vitalians, that is, the Apollinarists, who acknowledged Vitalis for the chief of their party at Antioch. It is said also, that he admonished one of his disciples called Paulinus, not to suffer himself to be carried away by his own conceits, because he knew he was too curious, and frequently called him a second Bardesanes. This Paulinus was a Priest, and very ready at making extemporary harangues. During St. Ephrem's life, he was esteemed by the Doctors of the Church; but after his death, ambition moved him to separate from the Church, and he wrote many things inconsistent with the Faith.

XLVIII.
The Death of
St. Macrina.
Vita S. Macr.
87. D.
Sup. n. 32.
Sup. l. xiv.
c. 1.

p. 189.

Theod. 2.
p. 613.
Phot. Cod.
233.

p. 192. D.
p. 194.

p. 195. A.

NINE years after the death of St. Basil, that is, in October 379, a council assembled at Antioch, whereat St. Gregory of Nyssa was present. He returned home about the end of the year, and went to visit his sister St. Macrina, whom he had not seen in almost eight years before; being obliged to leave his country, by reason of the persecution raised by the Hereticks. Being near the monastery which she had long governed in Pontus, not far from the city of Ibora, he understood she was ill; and being arrived, the Monks, who lived in the same place under the direction of St. Peter his brother, came out to meet him, as was their custom; but the virgins waited for him in the Church; prayers being over, they held down their heads to receive his blessing, and modestly retired, not one staying behind. He found their superiour was not among them; by which we may understand they were veiled; whereupon he caused himself to be conducted in, and found his sister ill of a fever, which was already come to a great height. Her bed was nothing else but a plank laid on the ground, another plank with a hole in it, fitted to receive her neck, serving her instead of a bolster; and this bed was turned towards the East, that she might pray as she lay. Their conversation fell upon St. Basil, which renewed the sorrow of St. Gregory, whom St. Macrina comforted, by an excellent discourse on Providence, the nature of the soul, and the life to come; whereof he afterwards composed a treatise concerning the soul and the resurrection, which is still extant; but it was long ago affirmed, that it was corrupted by the followers of Origen, as well as some other writings of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

As they were talking, they heard the singing of psalms for the prayer of the lamps, *i. e.* the Vespers. St. Macrina sent her brother to Church, and in the mean time prayed herself. The next evening finding she had not long to live, she forbore talking to him, and prayed, but so low, that she could hardly be heard. In the mean time she joyned her hands, and made the sign of the cross on her eyes, her mouth, and her heart; and a light being brought, they found by the motion of her lips and eyes, that she was repeating as well as she could the evening prayers, giving notice when she had ended, by making the sign of the cross on her face; which she had no sooner done, but she expired with a deep sigh.

St. Gregory among others retained two of the principal Nuns to provide for, and manage, her funeral; a widow of quality called Vestiana, and a Deaconess

Deaconess named Lampadia, who had governed the society under the saint. He asked her whether they had not by them some precious apparel, wherewith to dress the body according to custom. Lampadia replied weeping, You see all that she had, there is her gown, the veil that covered her head, and her old shoes; this is all her wealth. St. Gregory was therefore obliged to put one of his own gowns upon her; for the habits both for men and women, were made of large pieces of stuff, and might fit several persons. Vestiana putting her head-dress in order, said to St. Gregory: See what she wore about her neck, at the same time unfastening her collar behind, and holding out her hand, she shewed him a cross and a ring both of iron, which the saint always wore next her heart. Let us divide them, said St. Gregory; do you take the cross, and I will keep the ring, whereon I see a cross also engraved. You have not chosen amiss, replied Vestiana, the ring is hollow in that place, and containeth some wood of the cross.

THE night was spent in singing of psalms, as was usual at the festivals p. 200. of martyrs: And day being arrived, a great number of people having flocked together, St. Gregory ranged them in two bodies, placing the women with the virgins, and the men with the Monks. The Bishop of the place, called Araxes likewise came thither with all his Clergy. He and St. Gregory supported the bed whereon the body was laid, at the fore part, and two of the chief of the Priests behind; and thus they marched slowly toward the place of interment, being stopped by the press of people who went before and crowded round about. Two ranks of Deacons and other Ministers marched before the corps, carrying wax torches; and they all sung psalms from one end of the procession to the other. Although they had not above seven or eight Stadia to go, that is, about a mile, it was almost night before they got thither. It was the Church of the Forty Martyrs where the father and mother of St. Macrina were buried: being arrived, they performed the accustomed devotions; but before the sepulcher was opened, St. Gregory took care to cover his father and mother with a clean white sheet, that he might not be guilty of any irreverence towards them, by exposing their bodies disfigured by death to publick view. Afterwards Araxes and he took the body of St. Macrina from off the bed, and laid it as she had always desired, near that of St. Emmelia her mother, offering up a prayer for them both. When all was ended, St. Gregory prostrated himself on the tomb and kissed the dust of it. Thus doth he himself describe the funeral of St. Macrina his sister, in his letter to the Monk Olympius, which relates the life of this saint.

A council, probably that of Antioch, had ordered St. Gregory of Nyssa to reform the Church of Arabia; and Palestine bordering upon it, he visited Jerusalem and the holy places, as well to perform a vow, as to settle peace and tranquillity among them who governed the Church of Jerusalem. For his greater conveniency in this journey, the Emperor allowed him the use of the publick carriages; so that having a waggon at his own disposal, it served him and those who accompanied him both as a Church and a monastery; they sung psalms, and observed their fasts therein as they travelled. He visited Bethlehem, Mount Calvary, the holy Sepulcher, and the Mount of Olives; however, he was not much edified by the inhabitants of the country, who, he saith, were very corrupt in their manners, and notoriously guilty

XLIX.

*The Opinion of
St. Gregory
of Nyssa con-
cerning Pilgrima-
ges.
De eunt.
Hieros.
p. 1086. C.*

P. 1085.

guilty of all sorts of crimes, especially murder. Therefore being afterwards consulted by a Monk of Cappadocia, concerning the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he declares that he doth not think it proper for such as have renounced the world, and have resolved to arrive at Christian perfection to undertake these journeys: First, because they are no way obliged to it, our LORD having ordained nothing concerning them in the Gospel. In the next place, because it is dangerous to those who propose to lead a perfect life; solitude and retirement from the world being necessary for such, that they may not fall into impurity, and that they may avoid meeting with persons of a contrary sex. And these things cannot be observed in travelling. A woman, saith he, cannot go a journey without a man to attend her, to help her to get upon, and light off, her horse, and hold her up where the way is bad; whether he be a friend, or one hired for this purpose, it is still inconvenient. Besides, in the inns and cities of the East, people have great liberty to commit sin; and they meet with such objects as may pollute the eyes and the ears, and consequently the heart. If purity of manners is a sign that God is present, we ought to believe that he resides in Cappadocia, rather than any other place: And I know not whether we can find, in the whole world besides, so many Altars erected to his honour. Advise your brethren, therefore, rather to leave the body to go to the LORD, than to leave Cappadocia to go to Palestine. This was the opinion of St. Gregory of Nyssa concerning Pilgrimages. He doth not blame them in general, and had himself performed that which we have been relating: but only lays down the inconveniences of them, which have been also taken notice of by wise men in all ages.

L.
St. Gregory
Nazianzen
at Constantinople.
Carm. de
Vita. 10 A.
Sup. xvj.
n. 13.

Sup. xvj.
n. 51.

Socr. v. c. 6.
Greg. ep.
122. ep. 14.

De episc.
to. 2. p. 301.
C.
Ep. 14.

Carm. 1,
p. 10. C.
Or. 24.
P. 439. A.

Pagi.
an. 378.
n. 15.

No Church in the East had been so desolated as that of Constantinople; the Arians had had the chief rule there for forty years together; many other heresies had obtained in it, and the few remaining Catholicks were without a Pastor; for Evagrius whom they elected in 370, on the death of the Arian Eudoxius, was soon banished by Valens. No body seemed so proper to restore this Church, as St. Gregory Nazianzen; his doctrine, his vertue, and eloquence had gained him a great reputation: He was a Bishop, but had no Church, for he had never governed that of Sasima, for which he had been ordained; and had governed that of Nazianzum only as a stranger, and till such time as a Bishop should be elected; and this he had left now six years, and lived a retired life in the monastery of St. Thecla in Seleucia. The Catholicks of Constantinople desired that he might be sent for to take care of their neglected Church; the Bishops also joyned in with this their intention, and his best friends pressed him to it, among others Bosphorus Bishop of Colonia.

ST. Gregory was loath to quit his beloved solitude, where he lived divided from all the world, and enjoyed the sweets of heavenly contemplation; nay, so averse was he to it, that every body complained of him. They upbraided him with quitting Nazianzum, and accused him of not concerning himself about the welfare of the Church: they represented to him that it was threatened with new assaults; and talked of a council that was to be held at Constantinople, to establish and confirm the Heresy of Apollinarius. He submitted at length, notwithstanding the weakness of his body worn out with age, sickness, and religious austerities; and he thought he could not conclude his life better than in labouring for the Church. He came to Constantinople in 379, if not sooner.

His

HIS appearance was not such as might draw respect from the here-
 ticks, or from wordly men. He stooped with old age, his head was bald,
 and his face withered with his tears and mortification; he was poor, and
 his habit mean; he had something harsh and foreign in his manner of
 speaking; he came from a remote country, and the place of his birth was
 hardly known: However, he had the courage to attack the heresy, which
 had so long triumphed in the capital of the Empire. Accordingly at first
 he met with a very bad reception: The Arians, who were intirely ignorant
 of the Faith of the Church, imagined that he came to preach up a plurality
 of gods, and being very zealous for their Bishop Demophilus, they could
 not endure that he should come to declare war against him. All the here-
 ticks joined together against Gregory, and loaded him with calumnies. Nor
 were they contented with insulting him with words, but proceeded also
 to deeds, throwing stones at him, though he did not receive any dange-
 rous wound; and forcing him before the Præfects; from whence it pleased
 GOD to deliver him with glory. He never resisted, but patiently bore all
 those outrages, and rejoiced to partake of the sufferings of JESUS CHRIST.
 Coming to Constantinople, he was received by some relations he had there,
 and refused the offers of several others who proffered him their houses. He
 lived with such frugality, that he was very little charge to his hosts: His
 food, as he said, was the same as that of the beasts and fowls. He seldom stir-
 red abroad, and was not seen in the publick places, nor in the most agreeable
 parts of that great city. He made no visits, but spent the greatest part of
 his time at his own house, meditating upon, and conversing with GOD.
 And this conduct was necessary at Constantinople, where the licentious
 lives of the Clergy turned religion into a jest. To preach with success a
 man could not lead too strict and serious a life, and this simple and sincere
 philosophy did at length gain St. Gregory the affection of the people. Al-
 though he might have called in the temporal power to his assistance, yet he
 did not pute the possession of the churches with the hereticks, nor of the
 wealth annexed to them which they had seized on, having turned out the
 Catholicks. He was not earnest to have the edicts they contemned put
 in execution, nor did he stir up the magistrates against them.

HE began with holding his assemblies at the house of his relations who
 entertained him. For the Arians had deprived the Catholicks of all the
 churches, not allowing them to meet in any place. This house became
 afterwards a famous church under the name of Anastasia, that is the Resur-
 rection: St. Gregory having as it were here revived the Catholick Faith.
 Some say that this name was confirmed to it by a miracle; and that a wo-
 man who was big with child, fell down from a high gallery, which was the
 place appointed for the women in the church: That she died of the fall,
 and that the people having prayed for her, both she and the child were re-
 stored to life again. This name was further confirmed under the reign of Leo
 the Thracian, about fourscore years after, when the relicks of Anastasia
 a virgin and martyr, were brought from Sirmium, and deposited in the
 same church. But we must not confound St. Anastasia of the Catholicks
 with another church belonging to the Novatians, who gave it the same
 name in the time of Julian, when they rebuilt it, after it had been demolish-
 ed by Constantius.

LI. **ST. Gregory** in a very little time was universally admired on account of his great skill in the Scriptures, his just and powerful way of reasoning, his bright and fruitful imagination, his wonderful clearness and perspicuity; and his close and correct stile. The Catholics ran to hear him as persons that eagerly thirsted after his doctrine, being exceeding glad to hear him preach concerning the Holy Trinity, which they had not heard mentioned so long before. They who had sent for St. Gregory, favoured him upon that account: The hereticks of every sect, and the Pagans themselves were willing at least to receive the pleasure of his eloquence. They forced even the rails which enclosed the sanctuary, where he preached, that they might get nearer to him, and frequently interrupted him by their applauses and acclamations; and many took down his sermons in writing. He composed two discourses on account of a schism among the Catholics of Constantinople, which had like to have ruined that Church, not yet perfectly settled. The people and the Bishops themselves were divided in favour of two Prelates, Some, saith he, were for Paul, and some for Apollos; by which it is supposed that he means the division of the church of Antioch, occasioned by Paulinus and Meletius. They covered their passions and prejudices, which were the true cause of this division, with a pretended zeal for the Faith; and he that to day was a Catholic, became, he knew not how, a heretick to morrow. This is the evil which St. Gregory laments on this occasion, saying, that virtue was decried, and that it was not believed that there was any person in the world who practised it sincerely; and that this contempt did even affect religion, it being judged of, according to the morals of those who taught it. The Catholics being reconciled, he reproached the hereticks, for having endeavoured to take advantage of this division, though it related only to the choice of their pastors, and not to any point of doctrine. He refutes in a summary way their errors concerning the Trinity, and adds: I have treated this matter in few words, designing to instruct and not to dispute, after the method of the Apostles who were fishermen, and not of Aristotle, for use and not for ostentation. He afterwards promises to answer the objections of the hereticks more at large.

LII. **THIS** he performed by his discourses entitled *Of Theology*, because they contained his doctrine concerning the nature of God, and the mystery of the Trinity: And it is supposed that it was chiefly on account of these discourses that he had *the name of the Divine*. For so the Ancients, especially the Greeks, commonly stile St. Gregory Nazianzen, to distinguish him from others of the same name: And it hath been observed, that he is the only person, except the Apostle St. John, to whom this high title hath been given. His first discourse is a kind of preface to the rest, and sheweth, how a man ought to be disposed, before he can speak suitably of God. St. Gregory condemns the itch of disputing about Religion, which prevailed so much at that time at Constantinople, even among the hereticks, who made it their chief business. The publick places rang with these disputes; they were the subject of conversation at visits, and publick entertainments: The women also forgetting the modesty of their sex, engaged in these debates, Divinity degenerated into a contemptable art, and became a trial of fallacious subtle arguments, and impertinent sophistry, like the tricks of legerdemain, with which the artist amuses the spectators.

THESE

THESE are the rules which he gives. It is not proper for every body p. 590. to philosophize upon Divine subjects, but only for those who have purified their body and soul, or have at least endeavoured to do so, and who have been some time accustomed to meditate upon holy things. They ought not to be discoursed of at all times, but when our minds are undisturbed and free from passion, and exempt from those dangerous notions that disorder our reason. We ought not to speak of them but to such as are of a serious temper; and not to those who only talk of them to pass away the time, after they have been at the circus or theater, or musick meetings, or at an entertainment; and who only look upon such discourse as an amusement. We ought not to argue upon every subject, but such only as are within our capacity, and that of our audience. Not, saith he, but that we ought always to think of God; we ought to think of him oftener than we draw our breath, but ought not to speak of him but at proper seasons. He exhorts them to conceal the mysteries, and not to dispute of them before the Pagans. When they hear us speak, saith he, of the generation and creation p. 532. D. of * God, or his being derived of nothing; how can they receive these words, they who extol the adulteries, and the leudness of their gods, and can have no notion of any thing that is not corporeal? Is not this furnishing them with weapons against our selves? He afterwards complains, that all were ambitious to be learned, and knowing in Divinity, as if there was no other P. 19, 20. means of salvation; he rather exhorts them to apply themselves to good works, to subdue their passions, and to be regular in their morals. Lastly he points out to them other less dangerous subjects for argument, and advises them rather to exercise their talent in disputing upon the Philosophers, observing in few words the principal folly and weakness of each particular sect. He further treats in another discourse of the temper of mind Or. 29. init. which a man ought to possess, before he can understand the mysteries of Religion, and speak properly of them.

IN the second Theological discourse, St. Gregory begins to enter up-Or. 34. on his subject, and speaks of the general nature of the Deity, and his attributes; in the third he proves the Divinity of the Word; in the Or. 35. fourth, replies to the passages of Scripture cited by the hereticks; and in the Or. 36. fifth and last, he treats of the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Macedoni-Or. 37. ans. He sheweth that the Holy Ghost is substance, and not an accident p. 595. D. or a Divine operation, since he doth himself operate, speak, and act diverse 596. ways. If he is substance, he is God, or a creature: He is not a creature since we believe in him, and are baptized in his name. But if he is God, said the Macedonians, he is either begotten or not; if he is not begotten, there are then two principles; if he is begotten, it is either by the Father, or by the Son. If the Father hath begotten him, there are two Sons who are brothers; if the Son hath begotten him, he is then the grandson of the Father.

St. Gregory replies: We attribute a son to God in a very exalted sense, because we have no other way to shew that he proceeds from the Father, and that he is consubstantial with him; but it does not follow that we ought to apply to God all the degrees of kindred that are among us. We ought then for the same reason to follow grammar, and acknowledge God to be of both sexes because the words Father and Son are of the masculine, and the p. 597. A.

* Τι γέννησις ἀκούει θεῶν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ θεὸν εἶναι ὁμοῦν. Or. 33. p. 532. D.

word Divinity is of the feminine gender. Besides, the Holy Ghost is neither begotten nor unbegotten, but proceedeth from the Father, as **JESUS CHRIST** himself teacheth us. And whereas he proceedeth, he is not a creature: And whereas he is not begotten, he is not a Son: And whereas he is between begotten and unbegotten, he is **GOD**. But what is this proceeding? Explain to me the *innascibility* of the Father, and the generation of the Son, and I will explain to you the proceeding of the Holy Ghost. But what is wanting to him, because he is not the Son? Nothing: no more than the Son wanteth any thing because he is not Father, nor the Father because he is not the Son. These names do not express any defect, but different relations, which distinguish three *hypostases* in one only Divine nature. But how from the same principle can there proceed a Son consubstantial, and another also consubstantial, yet not a Son? If there were another God, I would shew you the same names, and the same things. I cannot give you examples in the creatures of what is only proper to the Divine nature. However, to make an imperfect comparison: Adam and Eve, and their son Seth, were all three of the same nature. Adam was the work of God, Eve a part of Adam, Seth his son; Eve and Seth came from Adam, but after a different manner.

ST. Gregory afterwards shews that the Holy Ghost is to be adored, since it is through him that we adore, and pray. He answers the main objection, that this was admitting three Gods. He saith first, that the Macedonians, who acknowledge the Divinity of the Son, must then admit two Gods; and in opposition to those who also denied the Divinity of the Son, he saith, we acknowledge but one God, because there is but one Divinity, and they who proceed from him, relate to him only: Neither is any of the three more or less God, or before or after, nor divided in will or power: He afterwards shews the difference between the multitude of false Gods, and of men, who are so numerous, although of the same nature. To prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost by the Scriptures, he observes the different ways of speaking used therein. The Scripture saith sometimes what is not, as when it attributes human members and passions to God: Sometimes it doth not say what is, as these words upon which the hereticks whom he opposes laid so great a stress, viz. *unbegotten, without beginning, immortal*; but it saith the same thing in other words. We are not to keep to the words, but to the sense. God being willing to govern men by their will, hath delivered those truths as they were able to bear them. The Old Testament hath spoken more clearly of the Father than the Son; the New Testament hath spoken more clearly of the Son than of the Holy Ghost, who made a clearer manifestation of himself, when he came down upon the Apostles after the ascension of **JESUS CHRIST**. His Divinity is however sufficiently evidenced by the names given him in Scripture, and the properties there ascribed to him; all which **St. Gregory** doth here carefully set down. Lastly, he shews, that all the comparisons taken from the creatures, and applied to the Divine Trinity are imperfect; and consequently dangerous, if we do not keep to the single point in the comparison, carefully setting aside all the differences.

ABOUT the same time **St. Jerome** came to Constantinople to hear **St. Gregory Nazianzen**, whom he ever afterwards looked upon as his master. The calumnies of those who accused him of not thoroughly believing the Trinity,

Trinity, because he would not say that there were three *bypostases*, having obliged him to quit his desert in Syria; he went to Jerusalem, and afterwards continued some time in Bethlehem. Paulinus Bishop of Antioch ordained him Priest against his inclination; nor did he consent, but on condition that he might still lead a retired life. Neither would he continue at Antioch, lest he should be obliged to preach, and officiate as Priest. Being therefore come to Constantinople, he lived some time with St. Gregory, studying the Holy Scripture under him, as he declares in several parts of his works. One day he desired him to explain to him the meaning of the *second Sunday after the first* in St. Luke. St. Gregory answered pleasantly: I will tell you in the church where every one applauds me. It is there that you should be taught what you are ignorant of; for if you are alone without saying any thing, every body will think you stupid. We see by this reply, that he knew how to value the acclamations of the people, who, as St. Jerome saith, always admire that most which they least understand. It was at Constantinople that St. Jerome, to comply with the request of his friends, and to make a trial of his genius, composed in a short time a small treatise, on the vision related in the sixth chapter of Isaiah. It is thought that he then likewise translated into Latin Eusebius's *Chronicon*, which he inscribed to two of his friends, Vincentius the Priest, and Gallienus.

THE Emperor Theodosius had received Christianity, and his zeal for the Nicene Faith from his ancestors; but had not yet received Baptism, and was determined thereto, upon being seized with a fit of sickness at Thessalonica. He sent for the Bishop, and first asked him what was his belief? St. Ascolius was Bishop of Thessalonica, who told the Emperor, that he professed the Nicene Creed, in which Faith the whole country of Illyricum had continued, having never been infected with Arianism. By this we must understand the Eastern Illyricum, which included Macedonia, whereof Thessalonica was the capital. The Emperor, extremely rejoiced at his good fortune, in having met with such a person, received Baptism from St. Ascolius, and recovered soon after.

St. Ascolius was as pure in his morals as uncorrupt in his Faith. He was a native of Cappadocia, but had from his earliest youth forsaken his relations and country, and taken to a monastick life, shutting himself up in a little cell in Achaia. Being yet young, he was ordained Bishop of Thessalonica, at the desire of the people of Macedonia, and by the election of the Bishops. He restored peace to the Church, and established the Faith therein, which had received a shock by the fall of his predecessor, who is supposed to have been Eremius or Herennius, who yielding, like many others, under the persecution of Constantius, renounced the communion of St. Athanasius. St. Ascolius frequently preserved Thessalonica and Macedonia from the Goths, with no other arms but his prayers: He had contracted a friendship with St. Basil, as he hath been said, and St. Damasus Bishop of Rome committed to him the government of the ten provinces, into which the Eastern Illyricum was divided, as his Vicar. Such was the character of St. Ascolius, who baptized the Emperor Theodosius.

THE Emperor having informed himself of the state of Religion within his dominions, understood that, as far as Macedonia, all were unanimous in the belief of the Trinity; but that the other Eastern parts of the Empire were divided into a multitude of sects, especially the city of Constantinople, where

De Script.

in Greg.

Sup. 29. ep.

67. ad Marc.

Ep. 99. ad

Asell. lib. 3.

Be-

cont.

Ruff. c. 7.

ep. 61. ad

Pam. c. 16.

In Ephas.

v. 32.

Ep. 2. ad

Nepot. c. x.

Luke vi. 1.

In Isa. vi.

LIV.

Theodosius

baptized.

Soc. v. c. 6.

Sozom. vii.

c. 4.

Prosp. Chr.

an. 381.

Ambr. ep.

15. ad Ana-

tol. & ep.

16. Anyi.

Atha. 3pol.

p. 692. B.

Epist. 339.

Sup. lib. 16.

c. 44.

Ep. Bonif. 1.

ad. Ruff.

Colect.

Rom. p. 47.

& to. 4.

conc. p.

1702.

LV.

A Law in

favour of the

Church.

Sozom. vii.

c. 4.

heresies prevailed more than in any other part of his government. This produced the famous law known by those two Latin words *Cunctos populos*, with which it begins. This law runs thus: The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, Theodosius, *Augusti*, to the people of the city of Constantinople. Our pleasure is, that all within our dominions do profess the religion taught by the Apostle St. Peter to the Romans; as it appeareth by their having preserved it to this day; that religion which they see professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolick doctrine: So that according to the instruction of the Apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, we believe one only Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, under an Equal Majesty and Holy Trinity. Our pleasure is, that they who shall comply with this law, assume the title of Catholick Christians; and that the rest whom we esteem void of understanding, be branded with the infamous name of Hereticks, and that their assemblies shall not be called Churches. Referring their punishment, first to the Divine vengeance, and next to such proceedings as Heaven shall direct. Given at Thessalonica the third of the calends of March, in the fifth consulship of Gratian, and the first of Theodosius, that is, the twenty eighth of February, in the year 380.

THEODOSIUS directed this law to the inhabitants of Constantinople, to the end that it might be more speedily dispersed from the capital of his Empire, to all the provinces. He therein declareth his own Faith, to invite his subjects, rather than constrain them, to follow his example, enjoining as yet no punishment for the Hereticks, and only using menaces. He describes the Faith of the Church by the tradition of the Roman church, received from the chief of the Apostles; he joyns Peter of Alexandria to Damasus of Rome, as Bishop of the second See in the world; but does not add the Bishop of the third See, which was Antioch, that dignity being contested by Meletius and Paulinus, both Catholicks. It ordaineth, that none but those who adore the Trinity, shall bear the name of Catholick Christians; because the Hereticks did also call themselves Christians; nay, sometimes Catholicks. By another law dated the same day, and from the same place, which seems to be only part of the former, Theodosius maketh those guilty of sacrilege, who through ignorance or negligence violate the sanctity of the Divine law, which is understood of those Bishops, who did not strenuously resist heresy. A month after the sixth of the calends of April, that is to say, the twenty seventh of March, being still at Thessalonica, he forbids the holding any courts of Judicature during Lent.

LVI. ABOUT this time the heresy of the Priscillianists began to be known in the West, which owed its original to Mark an Egyptian of Memphis, and a Manichee, who coming into Spain made a woman of some distinction called Agapa his first disciple, who afterwards brought over a rhetorician named Elpidius; and these taught Priscillian, who gave name to the sect; he was rich, and nobly descended, had fine parts, and a great fluency of speech: He was able to endure watchings and hunger, he lived upon little, and had no interest to serve, but was of a hot unquiet temper, vain, and conceited of his knowledge and prophane learning; in the study of which he had bestowed abundance of pains; for he had read a great deal, was curious, and very inquisitive; insomuch, that he is reported to have applied himself to

Lib. 1. C. de
Sum. Trin.
L. 2. C. Th.
de fide.
Cath. lib. 16.

Lib. 1. C. de
Crim. & Sacril.
23. C.
Th. de episc.

LVI.
The Heresy of
the Priscillia-
nists.
Prosp. Chr.
an. 380.
Sev. Sulp.
lib. 2. hist. in
fine.
Hier. ad.
Ctesiph. c. 2.
Ibid. de ver.
ill.

to magick. He brought over several persons of quality, and many of the common people to embrace his doctrine; and the women in particular, who are naturally inquisitive, not well grounded in the Faith, and fond of novelties, came in crouds to hear him; and his humble carriage and grave composed countenance gained him great respect. The greatest part of Spain was already infected with this error, and even some Bishops, among the rest, Instantius and Salvian, who began to form a faction in favour of it.

THE first who perceived it was Hyginus or Adyginus Bishop of Corduba, Aug. Hæref. 73. Oros. Com-maint. ap. Aug. Instantius and Salvian being in the neighbourhood. Hyginus gave notice of it to Idaicus Bishop of Merida, who with great zeal undertook to attack these Hereticks. Their doctrine was founded upon that of the Manichees, with a mixture of the errors of the Gnosticks, and of divers other sects. They said, that the souls of men were of the same substance as GOD; and that they voluntarily came down upon the earth through the seven heaven, and through certain degrees of principalities, to fight against the evil principle, the author of the world, who dispersed them in divers bodies of flesh. They said, that men were joyned to certain fixed stars, and that our body Sup. lib. iij. n. 19. depended on the twelve signs of the Zodiack, attributing the head to the Ram, the neck to the Bull, the shoulders to the Twins, and so of the rest of the body according to the dreams of the Astrologers. They acknowledged the Trinity only in words, saying with Sabellius, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were the same, making no real distinction between the persons. They differed from the Manichees, in that they did not openly reject the Old Testament; however, this was nothing but artifice, for they explained it all in an allegorical way; and added many apocryphal writings to the Canonical books of Scripture. They refrained from eating flesh as unclean; and out of aversion to generation, separated married persons, even against the consent of such of the parties as were not of their opinion, saying in general, that the flesh was not the work of GOD, but of the evil angels. They held their assemblies in the night, men and women, promiscuously; they prayed naked, and were guilty of many impurities, which they concealed with great secrecy; for it was their maxim to deny every thing, when they were questioned; which they expressed in a Latin verse, signifying, *Swear, forswear thy self, do not betray the secret.* They fasted on Leo. ep. 15. al 93 ad Turid. c. 4. 14. Sundays, Easter day, and Christmas day, and withdrew themselves on those days, that they might not come to church; and all this because, (such was their aversion to the flesh) that they believed JESUS CHRIST was born, and rose again, only in appearance. They received as others did, the Eucharist, in the church, but did not swallow it.

IDACIUS Bishop of Merida attack Instantius and the other Priscillianists, with so much heat and violence, that instead of reclaiming, he exasperated them; on the contrary Hyginus of Corduba, who was the first that had proceeded against them, suffered himself to be shamefully corrupted, and admitted them to his communion. At length, after many disputes, a council was assembled at Saragossa, at which the Bishops of Aquitain assisted in conjunction with those of Spain. We have a fragment of the acts of this council remaining, supposed to be the conclusion, dated on the fourth of October, in the year 418, (according to the Spanish account) that is 380. The names of twelve Bishops are mentioned herein, among others, Fitridius, who

LVII.

The council of
Saragossa.
Sulpic. ibid.

A.D. 380. is thought to be St. Phebadius of Agen; after him St. Delphinus of Bourdeaux, Ithacus Bishop of Sossuba, a city of Spain not known at this day, and Idacius Bishop of Merida. This fragment containeth eight canons, which forbid the fasting superstitiously on Sundays, or not coming to church in Lent; retiring into the mountains, or private chambers, or holding assemblies in houses in the country. The not coming to Church during the one and twenty days is prohibited, between the seventeenth of December and the sixth of January, that is, from eight days before Christmas day to the Epiphany; which shews, that at that time a week at least was required as a preparation for Christmas day. They who shall be convicted of not consuming the Eucharist which they shall have received in the Church, are condemned; as also women who assembled with strangers of the other sex, on pretence of doctrine, or who do themselves hold assemblies to instruct other women; and those who take upon them the name of Teachers without any lawful authority. They who shall be separated from the Church by the Bishops, shall not be admitted by other Bishops. Clerks are forbidden to forsake their Ministry, on pretence of leading a life of greater perfection, as Monks: and lastly, they prohibit the veil to be given to virgins, till they be forty years old, and by the authority of the Bishop. This is the first time that we find any mention made of the monastick way of life in Spain; and this is all that remains of the council of Saragossa.

Sulpic. *ibid.*
ibid.

Hier. ad
Ctesiph.
C. Prosper.
Chr. an. 380

BUT it is however certain, that the Hereticks, not daring to be tried by the Council, were condemned though absent, namely, the Bishops Instantius and Salvian, and Elpidius and Priscillian, laymen. Ithacus of Sossuba was ordered to publish the decree of the Bishops, and particularly to excommunicate Hyginus of Corduba, who had received the Hereticks, after having been the first who had informed against them. Instantius and Salvian, far from submitting to the judgment of the council, would have strengthened their party by giving the title of Bishop to Priscillian. They ordained him therefore Bishop of Labina or Labila, supposed to be Avila, one of the cities of Gallicia at that time.

LVIII.
The Prosecutions
by Idacius
and Ithacus.
Sever. Sulp.
ibid.

IN the mean time Idacius and Ithacus thinking that they might put a stop to this evil at the beginning, eagerly pursued the Hereticks, and unadvisedly, saith Sulpicius Severus, applied themselves to the secular magistrates, to expel them the cities. After many scandalous prosecutions, the Emperor Gratian, at the solicitation of Idacius, published a Rescript, ordering all the Hereticks to be driven, not only out of the churches and cities, but from every country. The Priscillianists being terrified by this edict, had not the courage to defend themselves in a court of justice; they who had the title of Bishops submitted and the rest dispersed. Instantius, Salvian, and Priscillian went to Rome to justify themselves before the Bishop Damasus. Passing through Aquitain they were entertained very splendidly by certain ignorant persons, and there propagated their errors, especially in the territory of Elusa or Eausa, which See hath since been re-united to that of Auch; they corrupted by their pernicious doctrine this people who were of themselves good, and well inclined to Religion. St. Delphinus hindered them from staying at Bourdeaux; but they continued some time on the estate of a woman called Euchrocia, widow of Delphidius, a celebrated Poet and Orator. Priscillian and his followers afterwards proceeded on their way to Rome,

Prosper.
Chr. an. 386.

Rome, carrying their wives with them, and some other foreign women; among the rest Euchrocia and her daughter Procula, who was accused of causing abortion to herself, being with child by Priscillian. When they came to Rome, St. Damasus the Bishop, far from admitting their justification, would not so much as see them. Salvian died at Rome; and Instantius and Priscillian went back to Milan, where St. Ambrose was not more favourable to them.

SEEING themselves rejected by the two Bishops who bore the greatest authority at that time, they changed their conduct, and had recourse to the Emperor Gratian. By earnest solicitations and bribes, they gained over Macedonius Master of the offices, and procured a rescript, whereby what Idatius had obtained against them was reversed, and their churches were ordered to be restored to them. Instantius and Priscillian, supported by the authority of this rescript, returned to Spain and took possession again of their Sees without opposition; not that Ithacus wanted courage, but he had not power, for the Priscillianists had also corrupted the Proconsul Volventius; so that they proceeded against Ithacus himself, as a disturber of the peace of the Church; and he seeing a severe sentence published against him, fled in great terror into Gaul, where he applied himself to Gregory the *Præfectus prætorii*. Gregory being informed of what had passed, ordered the authors of these disorders to be brought before him, and made the Emperor acquainted with the whole case, that the Hereticks might be hindered from soliciting him any more. But it was all to no purpose; for by reason of the avarice of certain persons in power, any thing might be obtained for money at this court. The Hereticks therefore, through their artifices, and by means of a great sum of money, which they gave to Macedonius, so ordered it that the Emperor took away the cognizance of this affair from the *Præfect* of Gaul, and referred it to the Deputy of Spain, for there was no Proconsul there at this time. Macedonius sent officers to seize upon Ithacus then at Treves, and bring him back into Spain; which he prevented chiefly by his own cunning and dexterity, and next by the protection of Britannius or Brito Bishop of Treves. This is what happened in this affair during the reign of Gratian. Idatius wrote a book in form of an apology; wherein he explained the tenets and frauds of the Priscillianists, and the original of their sect. He was esteemed eloquent, and had the surname of *Clarus* or famous.

THE labours of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople were interrupted by the irregular ordination of Maximus the Cynick; who was an Egyptian, a native of Alexandria, some of whose ancestors had been martyred. Although he was a Christian he nevertheless professed the Cynick philosophy, going in their habit, carrying a club in his hand, and wearing his hair long like them. He had in this manner traversed divers countries, and had been many times reprimanded by the magistrates. He lived some time at Corinth with some young women, whom he pretended to train up to piety, being the only person in the house with them; he was publicly scourged in Egypt, and banished on an infamous account, to the desert of Oasis, where he continued four years; and was accused of following the heresy of Apollinarius. He came at length to Constantinople, and played the hypocrite so well, that he imposed at first on St. Gregory: He boasted that he had resigned the comfort of living with his mother, and his sisters, whom he stiled virgins, for the service of God: He made a merit of the scourging which he had endured, and his banishment, as if he had suffered for the cause of religion:

LIX.
The Ordination of Maximus the Cynick.
Greg. Naz. Carm. p. 12. D.
Orat. 23. p. 411. A.
p. 419
C. Theod. v. c. 8.
Greg. Or. 23. p. 419. D.

on : So that St. Gregory entertained him as a Confessor, who might be an honour to his little flock ; for he had but just begun to re-assemble the Catholics of Constantinople in his church of Anastasia. Maximus highly applauded his discourses, and vehemently exclaimed against the hereticks, and was seemingly full of zeal and piety. St. Gregory was so entirely deceived hereby, that he admitted him into his house, and to his table ; and with an entire confidence acquainted him with his studies and designs ; and not satisfied with bestowing great praises upon him in private conversation, he pronounced, although he was sick, a Panegyrick upon him before his Church ; which is still extant, under the title of the Elogium of the Philosopher Hero ; but St. Jerome assures us that it was that of the Philosopher Maximus, and that others had fixed this false title to it. We see in this discourse by what means this impostor had deluded St. Gregory : He practiseth our philosophy, saith he, under a strange habit ; and that too may be taken for a sign of the purity of the soul, because the habit of the Cynicks was white. He hath, continues he, nothing of the Cynick but the manner of speaking boldly, living in the open air in the day time, watching for the care of souls, fawning upon virtue, and barking against vice ; for thus did the Cynicks apply to themselves all the properties of dogs, from whom they had their name.

IN the mean time Maximus having laid a design to supplant St. Gregory, and to cause himself to be ordained Bishop of Constantinople, joyned himself to a Priest of that Church, who had taken an aversion against the holy Bishop, only because he envied his eloquence. Maximus in conjunction with him, sent for seven men from Egypt, who might assist him in his design, and afterwards for some Bishops, by whom these men were sent, and who were themselves sent by their Bishop, to ordain Maximus Bishop of Constantinople. It is true, that Peter had at first approved of the journey of Gregory, nay he had given him his letters, to settle him on his part in the See of that city ; and how he came to alter his mind, and whence his adherence to Maximus proceeded, is not known. But however Maximus wanted money before he could put his design in execution. He met with a Priest of the isle of Thassus, who came to Constantinople to buy some Proconesian Marble for his church ; him he flattered with such large and fair expectations, that he drew him over to his party, and got his money into his possession ; which he made use of to draw in some who had expressed the greatest affection to St. Gregory, and made them look upon him as a person whose friendship was of no use to them, since he had nothing to give : But he particularly gained a great number of mariners to represent the people, and to make resistance if there should be occasion. They took their opportunity when St. Gregory was sick, and the Egyptians, without discovering their design to any one, with a good number of mariners, entered in the night time into the Church, and began to ordain Maximus ; but the day surprized them before they had finished their ceremony. The Clerks who lodged about the Church coming to the knowledge of this attempt, the report of it was quickly spread through the city ; every body immediately ran to the church, the magistrates, private persons, strangers, and even the hereticks. The Egyptians were obliged to quit the church and retired to a private house, belonging to a player on the flute, attended by some of the meaner sort of people, and some who had been excommunicated ; and here they finished the ordination of Maximus, and cut off his long hair, which they had suffered him to wear till that time, and which had given a general offence.

ALL the Clergy and people of Constantinople were extremely incensed at this proceeding; all the crimes of Maximus were laid open, he was loaded with curses, and at length driven from Constantinople. In the meantime the Catholicks who were in Anastasia with St. Gregory, guarded him with great care, and took all possible precautions for his safety: But as for his part, being pierced with a violent grief, he resolved at first to retire from Constantinople, which he could not forbear expressing unto his people, by bidding them farewell. At this word all the assembly rose up against him, many run to the church on the rumour of this his resolution, and all together conjured him to stay, and to accept of the title of their Bishop. But he resisted to that degree as to weep, and curse himself if he accepted thereof, not thinking it lawful to take that See, unless he had been placed there in form by an assembly of Bishops. The people condescended so far as to beg him not to forsake them. He continued some time speechless, not being able to silence them, nor prevail upon himself to grant their request: The day was now declining, and they all swore that they would not stir out of the church till he yielded, if they died there. He also thought that he heard a voice, which reproached him with banishing the Holy Trinity together with himself out of Constantinople. At length he promised to stay till the arrival of certain Bishops, who were expected in a short time; but he would not oblige himself hereto by oath, having not taken any since he had been baptized. Thus this base attempt of Maximus did only increase the affection of the people towards St. Gregory, and the hereticks were disappointed of the hopes that they had conceived of a great schism among the Catholicks.

LX.
Maximus re-
jected by eve-
ry body.
Carm. i.
p. 17. B.

MAXIMUS being driven from Constantinople, repaired to the Emperor Theodosius at Thessalonica, accompanied with the Egyptian Bishops, who had so lately ordained him, and besought his protection to be maintained in the See of Constantinople; but the Emperor rejected his petition with indignation. St. Ascolius, and five other Macedonian Bishops wrote to Damasus Bishop of Rome an account of what had passed in regard to Maximus's ordination. Damasus assures them in his answer, he was extremely concerned at the rashness of the Egyptians, in having ordained a man who ought not to be looked upon as a Christian, wearing as he did the habit of a philosopher, and an idolater, especially long hair, contrary to the express prohibition of St. Paul. He proceeds; And understanding that a council is to be held at Constantinople, I admonish you, so to contrive it, that a Bishop of an irreproachable character may be elected for that See, to the end that a solid and lasting peace may be established among the Catholicks. I do also admonish you not to suffer a Bishop to pass from one city to another, contrary to the decrees of our ancestors. Writing to St. Ascolius in particular, he also recommends to him to order matters so, as that a Catholick Bishop may be placed at Constantinople. Maximus having been driven away by the Emperor Theodosius, returned to Alexandria, and having bribed certain vagabonds, pressed Bishop Peter to put him in possession of the See of Constantinople, threatening to turn him himself out of that of Alexandria; but the Præfect of Egypt apprehending the consequences of this project, drove Maximus out of the city, who for some time remained quiet.

Orat. 27.
p. 499. B.
Ep. Damas.
in conc. R.
an. 531. to.
4. p. 1699.
Carm. i.
p. 16. C.

Th. 4. conc.
p. 1699.

1 Cor. xi.
14.

lb. p. 3700.

THE Emperor Theodosius came at length to Constantinople, towards the end of the year 380, that is the twenty fourth of November, having beaten the Barbarians in several engagements. His first care was to restore peace

LXI.
The Arians
driven out of

A. D. 380. peace to the Church, and to reconcile the factious spirits. He gave notice therefore to Demophilus the Arian Bishop, that if he would embrace the Nicene Creed, he had nothing to do but to unite the people, and to live in peace. Demophilus rejected this proposal, and the Emperor sent him this message; Since you shun peace and concord, I command you also to quit the places of prayer. Demophilus having received this order, which he saw he could not oppose, assembled the people of his communion, and rising up in the middle of the assembly, said; Brethren, it is written in the Gospel, If they persecute you in one city fly to another: Since therefore the Emperor hath obliged us to quitt the churches, know that too morrow we shall assemble without the city. Having spoken thus, he went out, and from that time held his assemblies without the gates of Constantinople. Lucius the pretended Bishop of Alexandria, who being obliged to leave that city, had repaired to Constantinople, left it with Demophilus; who afterwards retired to Beroea, and after six years died. So that two days after the entry of Theodosius, that is the twenty sixth of November 380, the Arians were obliged to give up the churches of Constantinople, which they had been in possession of forty years, from the year 380, to the time that Eusebius of Nicomedia, was forcibly placed there in the room of St. Paul.

Constanti-
nople.
Soc. v. c. 6
Marcell. Chr.
an. 380. fast.
Idac. an. 388.
Chr. Pasch.
p. 303.
Sozom. vii.
c. 5.

Philost. ix
c. 19.
Sup. lib. 13.
n. 7.

Carm. i.
p. 21. B.

St. Gregory Nazianzen was also desirous to retire, being tired with what had happened since his arrival at Constantinople, especially the ordination of Maximus. Not but he was well received by the Emperor. At the interview the Emperor paid him great respect, very much commended him, and would himself put him in possession of the great church. A very great number of Arians came to be spectators upon this occasion, and all the streets were full of them. Their dread of the Emperor made them conceal their rage against St. Gregory, which they vented only in groans and tears. St. Gregory marched in the midst of the soldiers with the Emperor, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and so besides himself, that he knew not how he got into the church. It was in the morning, and very dark weather; but as soon as the Emperor and St. Gregory had passed the rails to go into the chancel, and all the Faithful had begun to lift up their voice and hands to praise God, the mist was dispelled, and the whole church filled with a clear light, which rejoiced the Catholics.

WHEREUPON taking courage, they cryed out with all their might, requesting the Emperor to make St. Gregory their Bishop, and to compleat their joy, the magistrates joined with the people in their request; and the very women cryed out from their galleries, which was what their modesty seldom permitted. St. Gregory was so astonished, that he was not able to speak; but caused one of the Priests who sat near him to say to them: Hold friends, cease your cries, we are only to return thanks to God, we shall have time for more weighty affairs. At these words the people being charmed with his modesty, clapped their hands, and the Emperor commending him, withdrew. Thus concluded this assembly, and the bare sight of a sword drawn and returned again into the scabbard, was sufficient to keep the hereticks in their duty. But although St. Gregory had refused this first day to sit in the Episcopal chair, so great was the zeal of that people, that he was afterwards placed in it, even against his will; for which action he was with difficulty persuaded to pardon his best friends, looking upon it as irregular: For although he had no church, and that of Constantinople was without a Bishop,

p. 28. C.
p. 13. D.

Bishop, there was a canon of the council of Antioch, forbidding a Bishop who had no church, to take possession of a vacant See, unless authorized by a lawful council. Besides the ordination of Maximus the Cynick, however irregular, did still occasion some difficulty, giving his enemies a pretence at least for cavilling. But he was particularly careful to spare them, far from exasperating them by making use of the power which the times and the favour of the Prince gave him; he endeavoured to mollify and reclaim them from their error. Some he freed from the punishment which the reproaches of their consciences made them apprehend, and others he relieved in their necessities.

THE same day that the Emperor Theodosius had caused him to be brought into the church, being gone to bed quite spent with labour and weakness, some of the people came into his chamber, and after having made their compliments, and returned thanks to God and the Emperor, for having given them so happy a day, they retired. But he perceived among them a young man with a pale countenance, long hair, and habited like one in affliction; upon which he was startled, and thrust out his feet, in order to rise out of bed. As the rest were going away, the young man hastily threw himself at his feet, seeming to be struck dumb with fear. St. Gregory asked him, who he was? and what he would have? But he cried out, and groaned, and wrung his hands the more, returning no answer. St. Gregory could not forbear weeping at this sight; and the young man not minding any thing that was said to him, they forced him away; and one of the standers by said; He is a murderer, and would have cut your throat, had not God protected you: He is come to accuse himself, and his own conscience is his executioner. St. Gregory moved to compassion, by what he had heard, said to the murderer; God preserve you, since I myself have been preserved by him, I ought to shew pity towards you. Your crime hath put you in my power, take care to become worthy of God and of me. This action being reported abroad, did very much influence the minds of the whole city towards St. Gregory.

AT another time, probably before the Emperor's arrival, he was insulted by some virgins, monks, and poor people of the Arian faction, who threw stones at him, even into the Church, when he was celebrating the holy mysteries, which were by this means interrupted. And in this manner he wrote of it to Theodore Bishop of Tyana, who had been much concerned at it: Your resentment is well grounded; but perhaps it is better to shew an example of patience, for most people are not so much moved with words as actions. It is good to punish the guilty for the amendment of others: But it is better and more god-like to suffer. By the former evil-doers are restrained, by the latter converted. Let us therefore embrace this opportunity of subduing them by clemency, and of bringing them back to the true religion rather by the reproach of their consciences than the dread of our resentment. Let us not leave them to be a prey to the devil, who would soon disappoint us of this great work.

THE Emperor had put St. Gregory in possession of the Episcopal palace, and the revenues of the church of Constantinople, which was esteemed very rich, by reason of the benedictions that had been bestowed upon it by the most considerable people in the world since its foundation. There were store of costly vessels, and rich furniture in the treasuries; and large revenues in all parts. St. Gregory found no account in what manner they had been disbursed, in the papers of his predecessors; neither could the collectors, who were charged with it, give him any information, so great profusion and waste had been made in the time of the Arian Prelates. He was advised to take some layman to assist him in examining into this business, and to apply himself strenuously to it: But he never would do any thing in the matter, being persuaded that a man shall only give an account to God of what he hath received, and not of what he ought to have received. He thought it a sort of scandal to religion, for a stranger to take care of the affairs of the Church. He knew well that the covetous would censure, but that good men would approve his conduct. For although avarice is bad in all sorts of persons, yet it is much more odious in Churchmen; the fatal consequences of which were at that time but too notorious. Thus does he explain himself in relation to this matter. He lived himself a very retired life, while others were very assiduous in making their court to persons in power, especially to the eunuchs of the chamber, making use of a thousand stratagems to introduce themselves into the palace. For his part he never saw great men but when he was obliged to it; when he went in charity to ask some favour of them; and when he eat at the Emperor's table, his free humour suffered from the constraint which respect obliged him to observe upon this occasion.

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Eccle.

Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XVIII.

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THE Emperor Theodosius having nothing more at heart than A. D. 381. the reunion of the Churches, resolved from the very beginning of his reign to assemble all the Bishops that were under his jurisdiction at Constantinople; that great city wanted a Pastor, St. Gregory Nazianzen was about to leave it; Maximus's ordination was irregular, but however several took part with him, and the schism of Antioch still continued, and by this means too they thought to reunite the Macedonians: The council therefore was assembled by Theodosius's orders in the month of May, under the consulate of Eucherus and Syagrius, that is to say in the year 381. There came thither 350 Catholic Bishops, the chief of whom were St. Meletius of Antioch, with his Priests Flavian and Elpidius, Hilladrius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, St. Basil's successor, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Peter of Sebasta his brother, St. Amphilocheus of Iconium. Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia, Diodorus of Tarsus, St. Pelagius of Laodicea, St. Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius of Berræa in Syria, Isidore of Cyr, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and his nephew of Cæsarea in Palæstine, Vitus of Carra in Mesopotamia, Abraham of Batna, Antiochus of Samosata, the nephew and successor of St. Eusebius, Basphorus of Colonia in Cappadocia, and Otræus of Melitina in Armenia; all of whom are well known upon other accounts, particularly by the letters of St. Basil, without reckoning the Bishops of Egypt, who came afterwards. Theodosius likewise summoned thither the Bishops of Macedonius's sect, having some hopes of reuniting them to the Church; and accordingly they came, being thirty six in number, and most of them from the Hellespont; the chief of them were Eleusius of Cyzicus, and Marcian of Lampascus. Those who have reckoned an hundred and eighty Bishops at the council of Constantinople very probably included these Macedonians. This council consisted only of Eastern Bishops, because Theodosius summoned none but those who were subject to him, and because the Hereticks whom they endeavoured

1.
The council of
Constantinople.
Theod. v.
c. 6.
Soc. vi. c. 8.
Marcel. Chr.
an. 381.
Chr. Pasch.
cod. an.
p. 304.
Soc. vii. c. 7.
Theod. v.
hist. c. 8.

Prosp. Chr.
an. 381.
Theod. v.
c. 6, 7.

A. D. 381. deavoured to suppress, abounded only in the East; and it does not appear that any body assisted at it in behalf of St. Damasus and the rest of the Western Bishops: But, however, it is reckoned the second Ecumenical or Universal council, by the consent which the West hath since given to what was therein decreed concerning the Faith.

St. Meletius at first presided in the council; and he was greatly honoured by the Emperor Theodosius. He called to mind, that after having gained a considerable victory over the Barbarians, he had seen St. Meletius in a dream covering him with the Imperial robe, and placing the crown upon his head: In the morning he related his dream to one of his friends, who told him that it was plain and not enigmatical; and indeed in a few days after he was associated in the Empire by Gratian: Therefore when the Bishops assembled for the council of Constantinople came to Theodosius in the palace, he forbade any to shew him Meletius; but he easily knew him, and leaving all the rest ran to embrace him, kissing his eyes, his mouth, his breast, and the hand which had crowned him, and related the vision which he had seen. He likewise expressed abundance of friendship for all the rest, and entreated them as his Fathers to take the affairs of the Church into their consideration.

The most urgent affair was appointing a Bishop at Constantinople. They began with giving their opinion concerning the ordination of Maximus, which was declared void; and they made a canon on purpose, to this effect: That Maximus the Cynick never was, nor is at this time a Bishop; that all persons ordained by him into any rank of the Clergy whatsoever, ought not to be esteemed such, and that whatever has been enacted either by him or for him, is of none effect. Afterwards the Emperor, who admired the virtue of Gregory Nazianzen, desired that he might be appointed Bishop of Constantinople, though he himself opposed it, even having recourse to cries and tears; but at length he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, being in hopes, as he himself says, that the situation of Constantinople would give him an opportunity of reuniting the East and West, which had long been divided on account of the schism of Antioch. He was therefore solemnly made Bishop of Constantinople by St. Meletius and the rest of the Bishops of the council, according to the Emperor's desire.

II. St. Meletius died soon after at Constantinople, where he had preached several times for the instruction of the people; and he exhorted his friends to peace with his last breath. His body was embalmed with a great quantity of perfumes, wrapped in linnen and silk, and laid in the church of the Apostles, until it should be conveyed to Antioch. The funeral was very magnificent, in respect to the concourse of people, the number of lights, and the psalms that were sung by several choirs in divers languages: They laid linnen cloths upon the saint's face, which were afterwards distributed amongst the people, who looked upon them as preservatives. Every one of the Bishops of the council that were noted for their eloquence, made funeral orations upon him. But we have none remaining but that of St. Gregory of Nyssa, wherein he contents himself with bewailing the loss which the Church then received, and mentioning the particulars of his funeral; because those who spake before him had sufficiently extolled his virtues and combats for the faith. St. Gregory forgot not to comfort the faithful people by saying of St. Meletius: He now speaks to God face to face, and he prays for us and the ignorance of the people.

St.

ST. MELETIUS's relicks were afterwards carried to Antioch; the whole city of Constantinople went out of the gates to conduct them; all along the road they were attended by two choirs singing Psalms; and the Emperor gave express orders for all the cities on the way to receive this holy body, contrary to the custom of the Romans, who did not suffer any dead bodies to remain within their walls. He was buried near St. Babylas, in the Church which he himself had caused to be built in honour of that martyr. St. Meletius governed the Church of Antioch twenty years; the whole East made great encomiums upon him, and he was usually styled the divine Meletius. There is no adding to what is said of him by St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Chrysostom and Theodoret. Even St. Epiphanius, tho' in communion with Paulinus, greatly commends his virtues, in his treatise of heresies, which he wrote before that Saint's death; and he therein has preserved the first Sermon which he preached at Antioch, which is all that remains of his writings. In short, the West and the Roman Church, tho' for some time prejudiced against Meletius in favour of Paulinus, hath at last done him justice, and hath received him amongst the Saints, whose protection she implores, on the same day that he is honoured by the Greeks, that is to say on the 12th of February. And yet the Roman Church hath not done the same honour to Paulinus.

A. D. 381.

Greg. Naz. Carm. i. p. 25. C.

Soz. vii. c. 10.

Sup. liv. xiv. n. 31.

Hæz. 37. n. 39.

Martyr. Romæ 12. & ibid. Bar.

III. The election of Flavian. Socr. v. c. 5. Soz. vii. c. 3.

Philost. ix. c. ult. & x. c. 1.

THE death of St. Meletius seemed to have put an end to the Schism of Antioch; because it had been agreed that the survivor, whether he or Paulinus, should remain the only Bishop of the Catholics. It is even said that they had caused this agreement to be sworn to by six Priests of Meletius's party, upon whom the choice was most likely to fall, and amongst the rest to Flavian; and that they had promised not only not to strive for that place, but even not to accept it, if given them. Paulinus therefore was without farther trouble to be acknowledged sole Bishop of Antioch, there not being so much as an Arian Bishop who disputed it with him; for Dorotheus had been driven from thence by order of the Emperor Theodosius, and had retired into Thrace, his native country: All the Arians that remained there, were only governed by two Priests, Asterius and Crispin, who could not even be admitted to communion with Eunomius, so much were the Arians divided amongst themselves.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these reasons for acknowledging Paulinus, the Bishops assembled at Constantinople deliberated about the choice of a person to succeed St. Meletius. St. Gregory Nazianzen strenuously opposed it; and the more, because they would have him lay hands upon the person that was to be elected; for after the death of St. Meletius he was at the head of the Council. You only consider, saith he, one city, instead of having regard to the universal Church. Tho' they were two Angels who disputed, it would not be reasonable that the whole world should be disturbed by their division. Whilst Meletius was alive, we might excuse the separation of those of the West, and hope to gain them by fair means. But now GOD hath given us peace let us keep it, let us leave Paulinus in the See which he enjoys; he is old, and his death will soon put an end to the matter. It is sometimes necessary to suffer our selves to be overcome; And that I may not be thought to speak through interest, I desire no other fa-

Greg. Naz. Carm. i. p. 25. C.]

A. D. 381. your of you, than to have liberty to quit my See, and to spend the rest of my life free from ambition and danger.

Carm. 1. p.
27. A.

THE young Bishops opposed St. Gregory's advice, and drew the elder along with them. They could not think of yielding to those of the West, without alledging any better reason than that the East ought to prevail, because JESUS CHRIST thought fit to appear there. So that Flavian a Priest of Antioch was elected to succeed St. Meletius, by all the Bishops of the East, and with the consent of the Church of Antioch; but this must be understood as excepting Paulinus's party. Altho' Flavian was very worthy of this place, St. Gregory Nazianzen continued resolute, and would not approve his election, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his best friends; on the contrary, his resolution still grew stronger for quitting the See of Constantinople. He began with absenting from their assemblies, which he perceived to be full of confusion, and his ill state of health afforded him sufficient pretence; he even changed his lodging, quitted the house which joined to the church where the Council was held, and which indeed was his Episcopal palace. Those who had the greatest affection for his people perceiving that he really designed to leave them, besought him with tears in their eyes not to quit the work which he had so successfully begun, but to devote the remainder of his life to the service of his Church; they touched him sensibly, but could not prevail with him, and a fresh incident helped to determine him entirely.

Carm. 1.
p. 28. A.

Carm. 1.
p. 28. D.
Sozom. vii.
c. 7.
Epist. Conc.

Aquil. to. 2.
Conc. p. 1000.
C.
ibid. p. 1000.
D.

Ruff. 11.
hist. c. 9.
pref. in Or. 49.
Greg. p. 727.

IV.
The retreat of
St. Gregory
Nazianzen.
Theod. v.
c. 8. Carm. 1.
p. 29. B.

THE Bishops of Egypt and Macedon were called to the Council, as being able to contribute to the peace, and accordingly they came on a sudden. At the head of the Egyptian Bishops came Timothy of Alexandria, who had lately succeeded his brother Peter, the successor of St. Athanasius, and who as well as Peter was in communion with the Bishops of the West. The most considerable of the Macedonian Bishops was Ascolus of Thessalonica. These Bishops both of Egypt and Macedon being come to Constantinople, seemed greatly exasperated against St. Gregory and those of the East, who on their side were no less angry. The western Bishops, for as such the Egyptians and Macedonians were looked upon by the rest, complained that they had not observed the Canons, in ordaining Gregory Bishop of Constantinople, he having already another See. But he alledged that these Canons were no longer in force, that it was a great while since he had quitted the See of Sasima; and that as for Nazianzum, he had never been Bishop of that city, altho' he was reproached with it. The Egyptians and Macedonians made this complaint rather in opposition to those of the East, than any aversion to St. Gregory, or the desire of putting another in his place, as they privately told him.

FOR his part he gladly embraced this opportunity of obtaining the liberty which he had long desired. He went into the assembly, and told them that he desired nothing so earnestly as to contribute to the union of the Church. If my election disturbs you, adds he, I will become Jonas: Throw me into the Sea to appease the storm, altho' I did not raise it. If the rest would follow my example, all the disorders of the Church would be soon appeased. My age and distempers afford me sufficient reason to desire repose; I only wish that my successor may have zeal enough to defend the

the faith. Thus he went out of the assembly, rejoicing at being eased of so heavy a burthen, but concerned at leaving his flock whom he loved tenderly. All the Bishops consented to this proposal, more readily than seemed fit for them. St. Gregory went afterwards to wait on the Emperor, and in the presence of several persons said to him, My Lord, I have a favour to beg of you, as well as the rest. It is neither gold, nor marble, nor rich stuffs to adorn the holy table, nor places for my relations; for I think that I deserve something more considerable. Give me leave to give way to envy; I am odious to every body, even to my friends; because I cannot have respect unto any person but GOD: You know how much against my inclination you placed me in this See. The Emperor commended this speech, and all that were present gave applauses to it; but however Gregory obtained the leave he desired.

THE publick reason which the Bishops gave for their consenting so easily to this dismissal, was the disturbance which Gregory's election had caused, and his bodily infirmities: But the secret reason was, the jealousy which they conceived of his learning and eloquence; and the severity of his morals, which condemned their pride and luxury. Some even of the Catholics were offended that he so openly preached the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. But there were several who could not bear to see him so forsaken; and as soon as they found that they came to this resolution, they stopped their ears, struck their hands against each other, and fled from the assembly, that they might not be grieved with seeing another in his See. In order to comfort them, as well as his people and Clergy, he spoke the famous discourse, which is his farewell, in the great church of Constantinople, before the Bishops of the Council. He therein gives them an account of his conduct, he represents the deplorable state in which he found that Church, and the flourishing condition in which he leaves it: He shews the Doctrine which he taught, by a brief exposition of the mystery of the Trinity; in which, to put an end to all disputes, he makes use of the word *Person* *πρόσωπον*, as equivalent to *hypothesis*, when they are both well explained. He protests that he governed disinterestedly, and desires no other recompence but liberty to retire; taking notice of the reproaches thrown upon him, and how far his conduct was from pleasing the world. He concludes with taking leave of his Church, of his dear Anastasia in particular, of his throne, his Clergy, his people, the Emperor, the court, and of all the world.

St. GREGORY's will is still remaining, bearing date the last day of December in this year 381. He therein takes the title of Bishop of Constantinople, and it is probable that he retained it even after his giving up the See, as is still the custom. This will is made with all the formality of the Roman laws; It appoints Gregory his freed-man, a Deacon and monk, his heir, upon condition that he return it all to the Church of Nazianzum by the law *fideicomis*. St. Gregory says, that in this he only followed the will of his parents, who had promised all their estate to the poor; and that he had already given it up to them under the management of three administrators, viz. Marcellus a Deacon and monk, Gregory whom he makes his heir, and Eustathius a monk, who had likewise been a slave. He confirms their liberty to all such as he had freed, and reserves to them their substance. He

A. D. 381. leaves some particular legacies to Gregory his heir, and the monk Eustathius. He reserves to a virgin named Ruffiana, the pension which he allowed her for her subsistence, with the choice of an house; and gives her two female slaves, whom she should chuse, to live with her all her life; he gives her power to free them, if she did not, they were to belong to the Church of Nazianzum. He gives their liberty to two slaves, one of whom was Theodosius his notary, and afterwards gives a legacy to another notary; these were such as wrote notes for him.

He excuses himself to Alypiena, whom he styles his dear daughter, for leaving her nothing; but declares that he made no account of Eugenia and Nonna, because their conduct was blame-worthy. These were his neices, and it was necessary to mention them, and to take notice why he did not make them his heirs, that they might not dispute his will. This is what they call disinheriting with elogium. He styles Alypiena his daughter, and Meletius, who married her, his son-in-law, probably because he had adopted him; for it is otherwise certain that he always observed a state of continence. This will is signed by seven witnesses, the first of whom is Amphilochus, and the last Cleodnius a Priest of Iconium. The rest are Bishops of the same province; which makes it probable that he made it in Asia at his return, which might happen on account of some Council.

V.
The ordination
of Nectarius.
Soz. vii. c. 7.
§.

ST. GREGORY'S surrender of his Bishoprick having been accepted by the Council, the question was who should succeed him. The Emperor recommended it to the Bishops to consider very carefully who was the most worthy; and they were divided about the choice. There was at that time at Constantinople an old man named Nectarius, who was very venerable for his dignity, his age, and graceful appearance. He was born at Tarsus in Cilicia of a patrician family, and bore the office of Prætor. His virtues, particularly his good nature, procured him the admiration of every body; but he was not as yet baptized. Being ready to set out in order to return into his own country, he went to visit Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, to know if he had any business to be done at home, and to take his letters. Diodorus was then considering with himself upon the choice of the Bishop of Constantinople. When he considered Nectarius's white hair, his majestick countenance, and the sweetness of his disposition, it made him think him worthy to fill that place, and he stopt at this thought. He then carried him to the Bishop of Antioch, that is to Flavian; gave him an account of his merit, and desired him to consider seriously of it. A great many very considerable men being proposed as fit for this place, this thought of Diodorus occasion'd Flavian to smile. However he sent for Nectarius, and desired him to defer his departure for some time. Soon after the Emperor ordered the Bishops to write down upon a piece of paper the names of those persons whom they thought worthy of the See of Constantinople reserving it to himself to chuse one of them. Each of them drew up his memorial, and the Bishop of Antioch having set down those whom he was inclined to, added Nectarius's name at the end, to please Diodorus. The Emperor having read these names, stopt at that of Nectarius; and continued thoughtful for some time, keeping his finger fixt upon the last line; then beginning again he read over all the names, and made choice of Nectarius. Every body was surprized; they asked who this Nectarius was, of what quality and country; and when they were informed that he was not

so much as baptized, they were much more surprized at the Emperor's A. D. 381; choice. They imagined that Diodorus himself was mistaken, that Nectarius's age made him think that he had been baptized, and that he would not otherwise have proposed him for the Episcopal office. Be that as it will, this accident was looked upon as having something divine in it: For when the Emperor was informed that he had not been baptized, he persisted in his choice, notwithstanding the opposition of several Bishops. At length they all yielded to the Prince's will, and the inclination of the people, who likewise desired Nectarius: He was baptized, and whilst he still wore the white habit of a neophyte he was declared Bishop of Constantinople with the general consent of the whole Council. The two Gregories, namely him of Nazianzum and Nyssa, are particularly taken notice of as promoting this election with Diodorus of Tarsus. Theodosius sent deputies from his court with certain Bishops, to desire a formal letter from the Bishop of Rome in confirmation of this choice of Nectarius.

NECTARIUS was instructed in the duties of the Episcopal function by Cyriacus Bishop of Adana in Cilicia; for he desired Diodorus his Metropolitan to let him continue some time with him. He detained several other Cilicians with him; and amongst the rest Martyrius his physician, who had been the partner of the irregularities of his youth. Nectarius would have ordained him Deacon, but Martyrius would not suffer him; assuring him that he was unworthy of it, and taking Nectarius himself to witness to the dissoluteness of his past life. And I, says Nectarius, who am now a Bishop, have I not led a life even more disorderly than yours, and have you not often assisted me in my irregularities? But you, replied Martyrius, have just been purified by Baptism, and have moreover received the Sacerdotal gift; so that I see no difference between you and new-born children; on the contrary I have received Baptism long since, and yet continued to live as before. Thus he continued resolute in refusing to be ordained.

St. MELETIUS first presided at the Council of Constantinople; after his death St. Gregory Nazianzen; after he gave up his bishoprick, Timothy of Alexandria, and at last Nectarius. It is difficult to settle at what particular time, and under what president the acts of the Council passed; but it is certain that therein was made a decree concerning the Faith, and certain canons relating to discipline. The Emperor Theodosius was in hopes to reunite the Macedonians to the Catholick Church, and with this view he had admitted their Bishops into the Council, being thirty-six in number, of whom Eleusinus of Cyzicus was chief. The Emperor and the Catholick Bishops represented to them that they had sent a deputation to Liberius Bishop of Rome under the direction of Eustathius Bishop of Sebasta; and that for some time they had voluntarily communicated with them, without making any distinction; that they therefore did not do well in overthrowing the faith which they had approved, and leaving the good part which they had chosen. But the Macedonians declared that they chose rather to confess the doctrine of the Arians than agree to the *Consubstantiality*, and so they retired from Constantinople: Then they wrote to those of their party in every city, exhorting them not to consent to the Nicene faith. This separation of the semi-Arians or Macedonians happened at the beginning of the Council, and caused them to be looked upon as avowed hereticks.

Socr. v. c. 8.
Domnus ap.
Facund. lib.
viii. c. 3.
Bonifac. ep.
ad Episc.
Maced. to.
4. Conc. p.
708. D.
Soz. vii. c. 10.

VI.
The Creed of
Constantino-
ple.

Sup. n. 1.
Socr. v. c. 8.
Soz. vii. c. 7.

Sup. lxxvi.
n. 7.

A. D. 381. IT was therefore decreed that no person whatsoever should reject the symbol of the council of Nice, but that it should remain in full force; and that all heresies should be anathematized, particularly that of the Eunomians or Anomæans; the Arians or Eudoxians; the Semi-arians or enemies to the Holy Ghost; the Sabellians; the Marcellians; the Photinians, and the followers of Apollinarius. In confirming the Nicene creed, they added certain words relating to the Incarnation, on account of the followers of Apollinarius and other new hereticks; and a fuller explanation of the article concerning the Holy Ghost, on account of the Macedonians. In relation to the Incarnation of our Saviour CHRIST, the Nicene creed only said; He came down from heaven, was incarnate and made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead: We believe also in the Holy Ghost. But the creed of Constantinople said thus: Who came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the virgin Mary, and was made Man. He was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried; and he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures. He ascended into heaven; he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. The Nicene creed only said, We believe also in the Holy Ghost; without mentioning the Church. But the creed of Constantinople was to this effect: We believe likewise in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the Prophets: We believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church; we acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come, Amen. The rest of the creed of Constantinople, that is to say, the beginning, agrees entirely with that of Nice. It is the Creed of Constantinople that is made use of in ** the Communion Service.*

VII.
Canons relating to the hierarchy.
c. 2. p. 947.
Can. Nic. 6.

Can. Nic. 4.
5.

Vid. Thomas.
discipl. part.
1. liv. 1. ch. 4.
n. 12.

Socr. v. c. 8.

As to Discipline, the council of Constantinople prohibits Bishops from going to Churches that were out of their diocese, or confounding the government of Churches. But according to the Canons, the Bishop of Alexandria was only to govern Egypt; the Bishops of the East were not to meddle with any thing but what concerned the East, reserving to the Church of Antioch the privileges mentioned in the canons of Nice. The Bishops of the diocese of Asia were only to govern Asia; those of Pontus, only Pontus; and those of Thrace, only Thrace. Bishops were not to go out of their diocese, unless they were sent for to elections, or some other Ecclesiastical affairs; but the business of every province was to be managed by the Council of the province, according to the canons of Nice. The Churches that were amongst the barbarous Nations, were to be governed according to the customs received in the time of the Fathers. Such is the second canon of the council of Constantinople. I here call that a diocese which in Greek is called *διοίκησις*, *dioicēsis*, which was a large jurisdiction, comprehending several provinces, each of which had its metropolis. For what we now call a diocese, that is the territory of a city subject to one Bishop only, was then called *παρoικία*, *paroikia*, that is to say a neighbourhood, from whence we have taken the word parish. I call that a province which in Greek is called *ἐπαρχία*, *eparchia*, and which was less than a diocese. The occasion of this Canon was,

**The French is à la messe, which is of the same import, tho' we should render it strictly, at Mass.*

that during the persecution of Valens certain Bishops interfered with the Ecclesiastical affairs of other provinces, tho' much to their advantage; as St. Eusebius of Samosata, who had even ordained Bishops; and the Council were not willing that this should be drawn into precedent. In this canon we find the whole plan of the Eastern church: First of all the two Patriarchs, as they have been since called, *viz.* of Alexandria and Antioch, whose privileges were very different: The Bishop of Alexandria had the government of all the churches of Egypt, including Libya and Pentapolis; the Bishop of Antioch only enjoyed certain privileges; but the ecclesiastical government of the diocese of the East, of which Antioch was the capital, is attributed in general to all the Bishops of the East, amongst whom there were several Metropolitans. The chief Bishops of the three other great dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, afterwards assumed the name of Exarchs: The Bishop of Ephesus was Exarch of Asia; the Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, of Pontus; and the Bishop of Heraclia had had the Exarchy of Thrace, but at that time it was swallowed up by Constantinople.

BUT however in all this the council of Constantinople, no more than that of Nice, pretended to establish no new thing, but only to confirm ancient customs. It likewise confirms them in relation to the Barbarous nations, that is such as were without the limits of the Roman empire; because it was necessary to suit them to the different state of places and the manners of people. Thus the Scythians who lived near the mouth of the Nile had but one Bishop, because they were still in a wandering state, and without any fixt habitation; and we find likewise but one Bishop of the Goths. All the order of the Ecclesiastical hierarchy was regulated and confirmed by ancient tradition. This canon, which gives to the councils of particular places full authority in Ecclesiastical matters, seems to take away the power of appealing to the Bishop of Rome, granted by the Council of Sardica, and to restore the ancient right. It was likewise decreed in this Council that the Bishop of Constantinople should have the privilege of being next in dignity to the Bishop of Rome; because Constantinople was new Rome. This is the most remarkable canon of the whole Council; and whether this was a new honour granted to the Bishop of Constantinople, or whether he was already in possession of it, the consequences were of great importance; and instead of a mere dignity, it soon became a very extensive jurisdiction.

To prevent the Catholick Bishops from being lightly accused, the Council decreed, that it should be lawful for all sorts of persons without distinction to accuse them. If the matter in dispute was of a private nature, and a personal complaint against a Bishop, no regard should be had to the person of the accuser, nor to his religion; because every body ought to have justice done them. But if it was an Ecclesiastical matter, a Bishop could not be accused, either by an heretick, or a schismatick, or by an excommunicate Layick, or a deposed Clerk. A person who was himself accused might not accuse a Bishop or a Clerk; 'till he had first cleared himself. Those who were irreproachable were to lay their accusations before all the Bishops of the province. If the provincial council was not sufficient, they were to apply themselves to a greater council, namely, to that of the diocese. The accusation was not to be recieved until the accuser had made himself liable, by a writing under his hand, to undergo the same

Vid. Thom. discipil. part 1. liv. 1. c. 3.

Can. Nic. 6.

Soz. vi. c. 27. Sup. liv. xvi. n. 13.

Conc. Sard. c. 3. 48.

Sup. liv. xii. n. 39.

Can. 3.

Socr. v. c. 8.

Sozom. vij. c. 9.

VIII.

Other Canons.

Can. 6.

A. D. 381. same penalty, if it proved a calumny. Whoever in contempt of this decree presumed to importune the Emperor, or secular courts of justice, or to trouble an oecumenical council, his accusation shall not be allowed of. This canon likewise makes no mention of the Bishop of Rome, nor of the canons of Sardica.

Can. 71. THE Council of Constantinople regulates also the manner of receiving hereticks, who return to the Catholick church. The Arians, saith the Council, the Macedonians, the Sabbatians, the Novatians who style themselves *καθαροί*, Cathari, or *ἀπιστοί*, Aristeri; the Quartodecimani, the Apollinarists, are received by giving an act of abjuration and renunciation of all heresy. They are first to receive the seal or unction of the holy Chrism in their forehead, their eyes, their nostrils, their mouths, and their ears; and whilst this is performing you must say, The seal of the unction of the Holy Ghost. But as for the Eunomians, who are baptized merely by immersion, the Montanists or Phrygians, the Sabellians, and other hereticks, chiefly those who come from Galatia, we receive them as Pagans. On the first day we make them Christians, on the second catecheumens, on the third we exorcise them, after blowing three times upon their face and into their ears; then we instruct them, we keep them a great while in the church attending to the Scriptures, and at length we baptize them. We still find in the Greek Euchologia the same unctions and the same words, used in Confirmation. As to those hereticks whom the Council orders to be baptized, it was because they were either not baptized at all, or not according to the form used in the Church; and they are the same, and of the same country with those whom St. Basil mentions in his first canonical epistle to St. Amphilocus, and whose Baptism he declares to be invalid.

Euchol. p. 64.
post Bapt.

Sup. liv. xvij.
n. 14.

Can. 3.

THERE is a particular canon in the council of Constantinople, relating to the re-union of the Church of Antioch, which is conceived in these terms: As concerning the tome of those of the West, we likewise receive those of Antioch, who confess one Divine nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This tome of those of the West is some writing sent in favour of the party of Paulinus; but we cannot exactly say what it is. This is all that was determined in the council of Constantinople.

To. 2. Cong.
p. 946.

THE Bishops afterwards wrote a synodical letter to the Emperor Theodosius, wherein, after giving a brief account of what they had enacted concerning faith and discipline, they add: We beseech you therefore to authorize the decree of the Council; that as you have honoured the Church by the letters by which it was called, you may likewise fix a conclusion and seal to our determinations. After this letter follow the seven canons. The first to confirm the Nicene faith, and condemn the new hereticks by name; the second, to shew the distinction of provinces, and the privileges of the principal Churches; the third, to give the second rank to the Bishop of Constantinople; the fourth, against the ordination of Maximus the Cynick; the fifth, for the re-union of the Church of Antioch; the sixth, concerning the accusations of Bishops; and the seventh, concerning the manner of receiving hereticks: After these follow the Creed; then in the Latin copies, the subscriptions of one hundred and forty-seven Bishops divided by their provinces, the first of which are Nectarius of Constantinople, and Timothy of Alexandria. But we also find there St. Meletius of Antioch, who died

died before Timothy came to the Council; which makes it probable that A. D. 381. they subscribed as every decree was drawn up; and that those who came last subscribed to all that had been before enacted. The canons of the Council bear date the 7th of the Ides of July, that is the 9th of that month. P. 495.

IN compliance with what the Council desired, the Emperor Theodosius made a law bearing date the 3d of the calends of August, i. e. the 30th of July, in this year 381, by which he orders all the churches without farther delay to be put into the hands of those Bishops who believed the Holy Trinity, acknowledging the Divine nature equally subsisting in three persons; and who were in communion with Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople; in Egypt, with Timothy of Alexandria; in the East, with Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus; in the proconsular Asia, and the diocese of Asia, with Amphilochus Bishop of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch; in the diocese of Pontus, with Helladius Bishop of Cæsarea, with Otreius of Melitina, and Gregory of Nyssa; and moreover with Terentius Bishop of Scythia, and Marmarius of Marcianople. Those who were in communion with all these Bishops, were to be put in possession of the churches; and those who did not agree with them concerning the Faith, were to be driven out from them, as notorious hereticks, and never have them restored for the future; that the Nicene faith might continue inviolable. This law is addressed to the Proconsul of Asia, because this province was most infested with those hereticks whom the Council had just condemned, particularly the Macedonians. The law comprehends the three great dioceses subject to the *Præfæctus Prætorii* of the East, the first of which was the East properly so called, that is Syria; then Egypt, Asia, Pontus and Thrace: Altho' Constantinople was contained in this last, the Bishop of that city is named first, because of the rank which the Council had lately granted him. The Bishop of the great Antioch in Syria is not mentioned, because of the schism which yet continued there; for Paulinus was not acknowledged by the Eastern Bishops. St. Meletius was dead; and Flavian, elected to succeed him, was not yet consecrated Bishop, or at least not generally acknowledged. The Emperor therefore thinks it sufficient to mention two of the most approved Bishops in the diocese of the East, viz. Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus. The proconsular Asia and the diocese of Asia are joined together, for tho' they were two distinct dioceses in respect to the Civil government, they were joined together in the Ecclesiastical; so that the diocese of Asia contained eleven provinces. Altho' Ephesus was the capital of this diocese of Asia, the Bishop of that city is not named here; but only Amphilochus of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia. For the diocese of Pontus they name the Bishop of Cæsarea, which was the capital, namely, Helladius, St. Basil's successor. The two last, Terentius and Marmarius, are for the diocese of Thrace, besides the Bishop of Constantinople who was named first. Terentius was Bishop of Tomi the metropolis of Scythia, and Marmarius was Bishop of Marcianople the metropolis of Myfia. It was for these reasons that we suppose they named these eleven Bishops from amongst the rest; and all their names are found in the subscriptions of the Council. Socrates says, that they were made Patriarchs; which is to be understood of the extraordinary power which was attributed to them in these great dioceses.

IX.

Laws in favour of the Church.

L. 3. C. Th. de fide Cath. Socr. v. c. 8. Soz. viij. c. 9.

Vid. Gothof. in hanc legem.

Notit. imper. c.

Theod. v. c. 28.

Vid. Velef. ad Socr. v. c. 8.

A. D. 381.
L. 6. C. Th.
de heres.

Epist. 137.
138.
L. 8. C. Th.
de heres.

L. 7. C. Th.
de heres.
Sup. liv. xvi.
n. 41.

L. 1. C. Th.
de apost.

L. 7. C. Th.
de pagan. &
ibid. Gothofr.

L. 8. eod.

L. 9. C. Th.
de heres.

We find several other laws of Theodosius made this same year 381, in favour of religion. There is one bearing date the fourth of the Ides, *i. e.* the 10th of January, by which he takes all the churches from the hereticks, notwithstanding the rescripts which they may have obtained by surprise. He therein expressly condemns the Photinians, the Arians and Eunomians; he recommends the Nicene faith, and forbids all the assemblies of hereticks within the cities. This law is addressed to Eutropius the *Praefectus praetorii* of the East, whose learning and virtue is commended by St. Gregory Nazianzen. By another law addressed to the Count of the East, and dated the 4th of the calends of August, *i. e.* the 9th of July, the Emperor Theodosius forbids the Eunomians, Arians, and Aëtians to build churches either in the cities or country, under penalty of confiscation of the places where they build them: That is to say, he gives order for executing what was before determined in the Council, with regard to the fifteen provinces comprehended within the diocese of the East, where the Arians had most power, and where Eunomius and Aëtius had taught.

ABOUT the same time, that is to say on the 8th of May, in this year 381, he made a law against the Manichees, which confirms the prohibition already made against them, of giving or receiving nothing amongst them by will or donation, and of holding assemblies; and this under whatsoever name they disguise themselves, whether Encratitæ, Apotactitæ, Hydroparastatæ, or Saccophoræ. These were more ancient and less odious heresies, whose names the Manichees borrowed, in order to skreen themselves from the public hatred. They called themselves the Encratitæ, or continent, because they condemned marriage; Hydroparastatæ, or *Aquarians*, because they used water in the Eucharist, entirely condemning the use of wine; the profession which they made of poverty occasioned their assuming the name of Apotactitæ, or renouncers; and of Saccophoræ, or wearers of sack-cloth; but they collected together all the errors of these sects, and held some still more criminal. This law is also addressed to Eutropius the *Praefectus praetorii* of the East, to whom is likewise addressed a law against apostates dated in the same month, and probably the same day; which deprives those of the privileges of being witnesses, whom from Christians become Pagans, and annuls their testaments. At the end of the same year, and on the 13th of the calends of January, *i. e.* on the 20th of December, Theodosius made his first law, that we now have remaining, against the Pagans, against whom we find none before from Constantius's time in the year 356. This law forbids them to offer sacrifices either in the day time, or at night, under the penalty of being proscribed: But he did not yet cause the temples to be shut; and in the following year 382, he published a rescript, expressly permitting them to assemble in a certain famous temple of Osidrohena, altho' there were idols in it; upon condition however not to offer sacrifices therein. The same year 382, he made a law against the Manichees more severe than the former; by which confirming, with respect to them all, the punishment of not having power to dispose of their estates, he adds, the penalty of death to such as assume the names of Encratitæ, Saccophoræ, or Hydroparastatæ; and orders Florus the *Praefectus praetorii* of the East to appoint inquisitors for discovering them; and this is the first time that we meet with the word *inquisitors* in the laws against hereticks.

THE Emperor Theodosius being informed of what had happened to St. A. D. 381. Paul Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Praefect Philip had put to death in his exile; caused his body to be brought from Anapa, and buried with great state in the church which Macedonius his adversary had built, and which was very large and in great request. The name of St. Paul was given it; and most of the people, especially the women, imagined since, that it was the Apostle St. Paul, whose relicks were there deposited. Certain persons were appointed for taking care of those churches where relicks were laid up, and other holy places; and these guardians or keepers enjoyed the personal exemptions of the Clergy. We have a famous law of Theodosius to this purpose, bearing date the last day of March 381, and addressed to the Count of the East: Which gives us reason to believe that the holy places, of which it speaks, are those of Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine.

Socr. v. c. 2.
Sozom. vij.
c. 10.
Sup. liv. xiiij.
n. 8.

L. 26. C. Th.
de episc. &
ibid. Gothofr.

IMMEDIATELY after the Council of Constantinople, that of Aquilæa was held in the West, being called by order of the Emperor Gratian, as early as the beginning of the year 379. We therein find but thirty two, or thirty three Bishops, and most of them of Italy; but the rest of the provinces except Spain, sent deputies thither, so that all the West were partakers in it. The Bishops of the East were permitted to come to it, but they were of opinion that they ought not. St. Valerian of Aquilæa therein held the first place, probably on account of his age, and because the Council was held in his city; but St. Ambrose had the management of every thing, as being Metropolitan of that district, which was under the Vicar of Italy, and of which Milan was the capital. He finished about the time of this Council his work concerning the Holy Ghost, which the Emperor Gratian had desired him to write three years before: For in the beginning of it, he takes notice of the death of Athanasius king of the Goths, which happened on the 25th of January, 381. and mentions Damascus, Peter, and Gregory, as Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople; which shews that he was not yet informed of the death of Peter, nor the resignation of Gregory. This work is divided into three books, and St. Ambrose therein proves, in opposition to the Arians and Macedonians, that the Holy Ghost is God, equal with the Father and the Son, and of the same substance; that he spake by the Prophets; and whatever had been proved by the Catholick doctors; such as Didymus, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whose proofs and thoughts he makes a very judicious use, in order to make them understood by the Western Church. After St. Ambrose we find in the Council of Aquilæa Anemius, whom he had lately caused to be elected Bishop of Sirmium, the capital of the western Illyrium; Constantius of Scissia in the same province, and Felix of Jadres, on the borders of Dalmatia. The deputies from Gaul were St. Justus of Lyons, Constantius of Orange, Proculus of Marseilles; and for the Alps, Theodore of Octodura in Valais, Domninus of Grenoble, and Amantius of Nice. St. Justus of Lyons is thought to be the same person to whom two letters of St. Ambrose are addressed, concerning certain questions of Scripture. At his return from this Council St. Justus quitted his Church, and retired into the solitudes of Egypt, where he lived some years with a young Reader, named Viater, who followed

X.
The Council of
Aquilæa.
Sup. xxvij.
n. 4.

Gesta conc.
n. 7. ap. Am-
brof. ibid. n.
54, 55, &c.

Sup. xvij.
n. 44.

Prol. n. 17.
18.

Sup. xvij. 44.
Gesta n. 61,
62.

Ep. 7. 8. vita
ap. Sur. 2
Sept.

A. D. 381. followed him. After their death their bodies were brought back to Lyons Martyr. Rom. on the 2d of September, the same day on which the Church still honours the memory of St. Justus. We find Constantius Bishop of Orange assisting at several Councils, as well as Proculus of Marseilles; whom St. Jerome styles Most holy and most learned pontiff, and exhorts the Monk Rustius to improve by his instructions.

Epist. 4. c. 10.

De Virgin.

c. 20. n. 129.

Martyrol. 18

Jul. Martyrol.

19 Jan. Ep. 4

ad Felic. n. 1.

Hier. ep. 1. 2.

3 Martyrol.

5. Jul. Mar-

tyrol. 8 Feb.

Hier. ep. 43.

Ambr. ep. 10.

n. 2.

Synodica.

Sap. liv. x.

n. 36.

THE Bishops of Africa sent Felix and Numidius, as their deputies to the Council of Aquilæa. No body came thither from the Bishop of Rome, or from all that part of Italy which was particularly under his jurisdiction, that is from what was subject to the Vicar of Rome. From the other parts of Italy there came thither Eusebius of Bologna, whose zeal for forming communities of virgins is commended by St. Ambrose; Limenius of Vercellæ, the successor of St. Eusebius; Sabinus of Placentium, to whom several of St. Ambrose's letters are addressed; Abondantius of Trent; Philaster of Bressa, famous for his holy life and his book of heresies; Maximus of Emona in Istria; Basianus of Lodi, St. Ambrose's friend; Heliodorus of Altina, known by his friendship with St. Jerome; Eventius of Ticinum in Pavia, called also Juventius; these three are reckoned amongst the Saints; Exuperantius of Tortona, the disciple of St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, and a confessor; and Diogenes of Genæ. There are some others mentioned, without taking notice of their Sees, or even of their being Bishops. We there likewise find the Priest Chromalius, St. Jerome's friend, and afterwards Bishop of Aquilæa. These are they who assisted at this Council; being almost all honoured by the Church as Saints. On the Arian side there came thither Palladius and Secundianus, Bishops, and a Priest named Artalus, the disciple of Valens Bishop of Pettau in Illyricum; this Valens at that time concealed himself at Milan. On the first of September the Bishops assembled in the church of Aquilæa, being pressed to it by the Arians who came thither even before the time appointed. To go back to the original of the dispute, they caused Arius's letter to St. Alexander of Alexandria to be read, and they were for obliging them to condemn the blasphemies contained therein; which they constantly refused; however without owning themselves to be Arians. After having disputed a long time without making any progress; it was agreed, in order to condemn them in a legal manner, to draw up certain acts, causing them to be taken down by notes as they were delivered; and those acts began thus.

XI.
The acts of
the council of
Aquila.

UNDER the consulate of Syagrius and Eucherus, on the 3d of the nones of September, i. e. the 3d of that month in the year 381, in the church, the Bishops being sat, viz. Valerian Ambrose, Eusebius, and the rest who have been named; Ambrose the Bishop said: We have spoken a great while without any acts, but since Palladius and Secundianus offend our ears with so many blasphemies as are hardly credible, and lest they should have recourse to some artifice to deny hereafter what they have said; tho' the testimony of so many Bishops cannot be doubted; it is proper to have acts made. Ye ought therefore to declare, holy Bishops, whether you agree to it. All the Bishops said: We agree to it. Afterwards St. Ambrose caused a Deacon named Sabinian to read the Emperor's letter for convening the Council. Then St. Ambrose said, This is what the Emperor hath ordered: He would not injure the Bishops, he hath declared them interpreters of the Scripture, and judges of this controversy. Since then we are assembled in

Council,

Council, answer to what is proposed to you. Arius's letter hath been read; A. D. 381
 it is going to be read again if you desire it; from the very beginning it
 contains blasphemies, saying that *the Father only is eternal*. If you think
 that the Son of God is not eternal, prove it if you are able; if you think
 that this proposition ought to be condemned. The Gospel is before us, and
 St. Paul and all the Scriptures; prove by any passage whatsoever that the
 Son of God is not eternal.

PALLADIUS said: You have so ordered it that the Council is not ge-
 neral as we find by the Emperor's letter which you have produced; and we
 cannot answer in the absence of our brethren. St. Ambrose said: Who are
 your brethren? The Bishops of the East, said Palladius. St. Ambrose said:
 However since in times past the usage of Councils hath been, that the
 Eastern Bishops hold theirs in the East, and those of the West in the West;
 we who are in the West, are assembled at Aquilæa according to the Empe-
 ror's order: Besides the Prefect of Italy hath declared by his letters that
 those of the East might come hither if they pleased; but they knowing
 the custom which I have mentioned, would not come. Palladius said: Our
 Emperor Gratian hath ordered those of the East to come; can you deny
 it? He himself told us so. He has indeed ordered it, says St. Ambrose, be-
 cause he did not forbid it. Palladius said: It was by your solicitations that
 you hindered them from coming, under the false pretence of an order, and
 you have kept away the Council.

St. AMBROSE said: We must not wander any longer; answer directly.
 Was Arius in the right in saying, that *the Father only is eternal*? Is what
 he said according to the Scriptures or not? Palladius said: I do not answer
 you. Constantius Bishop of Orange said: Do you not answer after having
 blasphemed so long? This must be understood of the former dispute before the
 acts were written. Eusebius of Bologna added: You ought to declare your faith
 plainly. If a Pagan should ask you, how you believe in JESUS CHRIST,
 you ought not to be ashamed to confess it. Sabinus Bishop of Plafantium
 said: It is you who urged us to assemble at this time, without staying for
 the rest of our brethren who might have come: Therefore you are not at
 liberty to go back. Do you say that CHRIST is a created Being, or that
 the Son of God is eternal? Palladius said: We have told you that we
 came to prove you blame-worthy for imposing upon the Emperor. St. Am-
 brose said: Let Palladius's letter be read, in order to see if he men-
 tioned this to us; and we shall find that he still deceives us. Palladius said:
 Yes, let it be read. The Bishops said to him: When the Emperor was at
 Sirmium, did you solicit him, or was it he that pressed you? Palladius re-
 plied: He said to me, Go. We said to him, Are the Bishops of the East
 summoned? They are, said he. If those of the East had not been summoned
 should we have come?

St. AMBROSE said: Let us say no more of the Eastern Bishops: I now
 ask your opinion. Arius's letter hath been read; you say that you are not an
 Arian; therefore either condemn Arius, or defend him. Palladius debated
 again upon the absence of the Eastern Bishops, and St. Ambrose added: It
 was you yourself who urged us to assemble at this time; saying to us:
 We come as Christians; therefore you owned us to be Christians. You
 promised to assign your reasons, and to hear those which we had to give. I
 have

XII.

The Eternity
of the Son of
God.

n. 12;

A. D. 381. have offered you the letter which Arius wrote, under the name of which you say that we have injured you: You say that you are not a follower of Arius. You must now declare your opinion; either condemn or defend him by such passages as you think fit. Afterwards he added: Then according to Arius's letter **JESUS CHRIST** the Son of God is not eternal. Palladius still disputed about the validity of the Council. St. Ambrose added: He who said that the Son of God is not eternal has been unanimously condemned: Arius hath said it: Palladius followeth him, refusing to condemn Arius. Let us see therefore whether we are to approve his opinion, and whether he speaks agreeably to the Scripture or contrary to it. For we read: The eternal power of God and his Divinity; and again: **JESUS CHRIST** is the power of God. If therefore the power of God is eternal, **JESUS CHRIST** is eternal. St. Eusebius of Bologna said, This is our faith, this is the Catholick doctrine; anathema to him that doth not own it. All the Bishops cried out: Anathema.

Rom. 1. 20.
1 Cor. 1. 24.

n. 14.

n. 15.

PALLADIUS said: I have never seen Arius, and know not who he is. St. Eusebius said: The blasphemy of Arius wherein he denies the eternity of the Son of God has been set before us; will you condemn it together with its author, or defend it? Palladius said: I will not speak but in a lawful Council. St. Ambrose continuing to ask their opinions, addressed himself to the deputies from Gaul; and Constantius Bishop of Orange said: We have always condemned this impiety, and we still condemn not only Arius, but whosoever does not own that the Son of God is eternal. St. Ambrose asked the opinion of St. Justus in particular, as being the deputy from another part of Gaul; and St. Justus replied: Whoever does not confess, that the Son of God is coeternal with the Father, let him be anathema. St. Ambrose likewise asked the opinion of the deputies from Africa, and the Bishop Felix answered in the name of all the rest, that he had already condemned that error, and that he would still condemn it. Anemius as Bishop of Sirmium the capital of Illyricum pronounced the same anathema.

XIII.
The divinity of
the Son of God.
n. 17.

n. 18.

St. **AMBROSE** said: Hear what follows. Then these words were read, in Arius's letter, concerning the Father: *who only is eternal, who only is without beginning, who only is true, who only hath immortality.* St. Ambrose said: Condemn in this point likewise him that saith that the Son is not true God. Palladius answered: Who does not say that the Son is not true God? St. Ambrose reply'd, Arius hath said it. Palladius said: Since the Apostle says, that **JESUS CHRIST** is God above all, can any one deny that he is the true Son of God? St. Ambrose said: That you may know with what simplicity we seek the truth, observe that I say what you say, but you say it only by halves. For by speaking thus you seem to deny his being the true God. If then you confess simply that the Son of God is true God; speak these words in the same order as I utter them. Palladius said, I speak to you according to the Scriptures; I say that the Lord is true God. St. Ambrose replied: Do you say that the Son of God is the true Lord? Palladius answered: Since I say that he is the true Son, what needs there more? St. Ambrose said: I desire you not only to say that he is the true Son, but the Son of God is very Lord. St. Eusebius of Bologna said: **JESUS CHRIST** is true God according to the Catholick Faith. Palladius said: He is the true Son of God. St. Eusebius said: We likewise are

Sons

Son of GOD by adoption, but he is so by divine generation. Do you A.D. 981.
 confess then, that the true Son of GOD is true LORD, properly speaking
 and by nature? Palladius replied: I say that he is the true only Son of
 GOD. Eusebius said: Do you then believe that it is speaking contrary to
 the Scriptures, if we say that JESUS CHRIST is true GOD? Palladius n. 20.
 making no answer, St. Ambrose said: He that only saith that he is the true
 Son, and does not say that he is the true LORD, seems to deny it. Let
 Palladius therefore acknowledge it in this order, if he can prevail with
 himself to do it, and let him declare whether he says, that the Son of GOD
 is true LORD. Palladius replied: The Son saith: That they may know Joan. xvii. 3.
 thee the only true GOD and JESUS CHRIST whom thou hast sent, par Passion.
 Does he speak it by way of passion, or in reality? St. Ambrose replied:
 St. John hath said in his Epistle: He is the true GOD. Do you deny it? 1 Jo. v. 20.
 Palladius answered: When I tell you that he is true GOD, I also confess a
 true Divinity. St. Ambrose replied: Even in this there is an evasion; for
 when you speak of one only and true Divinity, you only ascribe it to the
 Father, and not to the Son: If therefore you would speak plainly, since
 you refer us to the Scriptures, say with the Evangelist St. John: He is true
 GOD; or deny that he hath said it. Palladius answered: There is none o-
 ther but the Son who is begotten. St. Eusebius said: JESUS CHRIST is n. 21.
 true GOD according to the belief of the whole world and the Catholick
 profession. Is he not so in your opinion? Palladius said: He is the power
 of our GOD. St. Ambrose said: You do not declare your self frankly;
 and consequently let him be anathema who does not confess that the Son
 of GOD is true LORD. All the Bishops cried out: Anathema to him
 who will not say that JESUS CHRIST is true LORD.

As they continued to read Arius's letter, they examined this expression;
The Father only possesseth immortality; and St. Ambrose said: The Son of
 God hath he immortality or not, according to his Divinity? Palladius an-
 swered: Do you receive these words of the Apostle or not? the King of 1 Tim. vi.
 Kings, who only hath immortality? St. Ambrose replied, What say you of 15, 16.
 CHRIST the Son of GOD? Palladius answered, The word CHRIST, is it of divine
 or human institution? St. Eusebius said, According to the mystery of the In-
 carnation, we call him CHRIST, but the same is GOD and Man. Palladius an-
 swered, CHRIST is a name of flesh, and of human institution; do you likewise p. 23.
 answer me. St. Eusebius said, Wherefore do you dwell upon useless Matters?
 This passage of the Apostle which you have cited in favour of Arius, expres-
 ses, if you understand it, under the name of GOD, the dignity of the whole
 Divine nature; for the Father and the Son are signified by the term GOD.
 St. Ambrose said, I ask you to give me your opinion plainly. Hath the Son n. 24.
 of GOD immortality according to the divine generation, or hath he not? and
 after several evasions of Palladius, he added, What think you of those who
 deny that the Son of GOD hath immortality? All the Bishops cried out:
 Let him be Anathema. Palladius said, The divine generation is immortal. St.
 Ambrose replied, This is a farther evasion to avoid explaining your self clearly
 concerning the Son of GOD. I affirm that the Son of GOD hath immortality
 according to his Divinity; can you deny it? Palladius said, Is JESUS CHRIST n. 25.
 dead or not? He is, replied St. Ambrose, according to the flesh: Even our
 souls do not die. Do you then think that JESUS CHRIST is dead according to
 his

A. D. 381. his Divinity? Palladius said, What makes you afraid of the word death? St Ambrose replied, I am not afraid of it; on the contrary I confess that he is dead according to our flesh; for it is he himself that hath delivered me from the bands of death. And as Palladius still continued speaking ambiguously, affirming that he knew not Arius, and refusing to condemn him, St. Ambrose said, Let him be anathema who will not explain his faith freely. All the Bishops cried, Let him be anathema.

n. 26.

THEY continued reading Arius's letter: *Who only is wise*: and Palladius said, The Father of himself is wise, but the Son is not. St. Ambrose and St. Eusebius both exclaimed against this impiety, and Palladius confessed that the Son of GOD is the Wisdom. St. Ambrose asked him, Is he wise or not? Palladius answered, He is the Wisdom. He is wise therefore, saith St. Ambrose, since he is the Wisdom. Palladius replied, We answer you according to the Scripture. St. Eusebius said, Let him be anathema who denies that the Son of GOD is wise. All the Bishops cried out, Let him be anathema. They also examined Secundianus upon this point, but he would not explain himself.

1 Cor. i. 24.
n. 28.

n. 29.

Matt. xxv. 31.

Luc. vi. 45.

Joan. vii. 12.

n. 30.

n. 31.

n. 32.

Pf. lii. 1.

2 Cor. xii. 10.

THEY proceeded to the term *good*; and Palladius owned that JESUS CHRIST is good. St. Ambrose said, Arius was then in the wrong when he affirmed that the Father only is good. Palladius said, He that does not say that JESUS CHRIST is good, speaks amiss. St. Eusebius said, You confess that JESUS CHRIST is good, but so am I also; for it is to me to whom it is said, Well done thou good and faithful servant; and, the good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good. Palladius replied, I have already said it; I will not answer you untill there is a full Council. And St. Ambrose said, The Jews say he is a good man. And Arius denies that the Son of GOD is good. Who can deny it? replied Palladius. St. Eusebius said, The Son of GOD then is a good GOD. Palladius answered, The Father who is good hath begotten a good Son. St. Ambrose replied, He hath likewise begotten us good, but not according to the divinity. And not being able to get any thing else from him, he said: Let him be anathema who doth not confess that the Son of GOD is a good GOD. All the Bishops said, Let him be anathema.

THEY continued reading: *Who alone is powerful*. St. Ambrose said, The Son of GOD, is he powerful or not? Palladius replied, He that made all things is he not powerful? St. Ambrose said, Arius therefore hath spoken wrong, let him be condemned in this at least? Palladius answered, How do I know who he is? I answer for my self. Afterwards he confessed that the Son of GOD is powerful, but he would not own him to be the Mighty LORD. St. Ambrose said, Men are likewise powerful, for it is written; Why boastest thou thy self in mischief, O mighty man? And in another place: For when I am weak then am I * *mighty*. I require you to confess that CHRIST the Son of GOD is the mighty LORD; or to prove the contrary. For I, who affirm that the Father and the Son have but one power, I say that the Son of GOD is powerful as the Father is. Palladius answered, I have said it already; we answer you in this dispute as well as we can. You your selves will at once be judges and parties. We will not answer you now; we will answer you in a general Council. St. Ambrose said, Let him be anathema who

* In our version, strong, the Greek is, δυνατός ἐμὲ.

who denies that CHRIST is the mighty Lord. All the Bishops cried out, A. D. 381.
Anathema.

THEY examined the quality of Judge, and Palladius allowed that the Son of GOD is Judge of all. But he added, There is him that giveth, and him that receiveth; meaning thereby that the Father hath given the Son the power of judging. St. Ambrose said, Hath he given it him by grace, or by nature? for it is likewise given to men. Palladius reply'd, Is the Father, say you, the Greatest or not? St. Ambrose perceiving that he endeavoured to turn the dispute by this circumstance, which was what the Arians most depended upon, said to him, I will answer you hereafter. But as he persisted that he would make no reply, if they did not answer him in this point, St. Eusebius of Bologna said, According to the Divine nature, the Son is equal to the Father. You find in the Gospel that the Jews persecuted him because he said that GOD was his Father, making himself equal to GOD. What the impious confessed when they persecuted him, we who are believers cannot deny. St. Ambrose added, You read in another place; Being in the form of GOD, he thought it no robbery to be equal with GOD; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant. You see that he is equal in the form of GOD? In what respect then is he less? According to the form of a servant, not according to the form of GOD. St. Eusebius said, As being in the form of a servant he could not be above a servant, so being in the form of GOD he could not be inferior to GOD. St. Ambrose said, You say that the Son of GOD is less according to the Divinity. Palladius reply'd, The Father is greatest. According to the flesh, said St. Ambrose. Palladius reply'd, He that hath sent me is greater than I. Is it the flesh that is sent, or the Son of GOD? St. Ambrose answered, Now are you convicted of falsifying the Scripture; for it is written, The Father is greater than I; and not, He that hath sent me is greater than I. Palladius replied, The Father is greatest. St. Ambrose said, Let him be anathema who addeth to or taketh from the divine writings. All the Bishops cried out, Anathema. They continued disputing upon these words, The Father is greatest. Palladius rose up and was going out; however he staid, and after debating a little more upon this point, St. Ambrose said, Let him be anathema who denies that the Son of God is equal to the Father, according to the Divine nature. All the Bishops cried out, Anathema.

PALLADIUS returned again to the same point, saying that the Son is subject to the Father, and consequently less, without making a distinction between the Humanity and Divinity; and renewing his protestations from time to time, that he would not answer in this Council. At length St. Ambrose replied thus, When the impieties of Arius were read, yours likewise was condemned which agreed with them. You thought fit in the midst of the reading to propose what you would; you have been told in answer after what manner the Son hath said that the Father is the greatest, namely according to the flesh which he hath taken upon him. You have also urged that the Son of GOD is subject; and you have been answered that he is so according to the flesh, not according to his Divinity. You have our declaration; hear what follows, since you have been answered, do you reply to what is going to be read. Palladius said, I will not answer you, because all that I have said hath not been written down. St. Ambrose replied, You see that they

XIV.
The Equality
of the Son of
God.

c. 3.

n. 34.

Joan. x. 33.

Philip. ii. 6.

n. 36.

Joan. xiv. 28.

n. 37.

n. 38.

n. 39.

n. 40.

n. 41.

n. 42.

n. 43.

A. D. 381. write every thing down. In short what is written is more than sufficient to convict you of impiety. Do you affirm that JESUS CHRIST is a Creature, or do you deny it? Palladius would not answer, but desired his writers to be sent for; which Sabinus Bishop of Placentium was for granting him. But Palladius again required a full Council.

n 46. THEN St. Ambrose addressed himself to the Priest Attalus, who was also amongst the Arians, and pressed him to declare if he had not subscribed to the Council of Nice. Attalus, after being some time silent, only spoke to refuse giving an answer; and Sabinus the Bishop said, We are witnesses that Attalus subscribed to the Council of Nice, and that he will not answer. St. Ambrose, by the advice of all the Bishops, caused them to proceed in reading Arius's letter, and said to Palladius, I have answered you concerning the terms *greatest* and *subject*; do you answer me in your turn. Palladius said, I will not answer you, unless there come some auditors after Sunday is over. St. Ambrose said, You came to a conference, but because you have seen the letter of Arius, which you would not condemn and could not maintain, you go off now and make evasions. I read it entirely: Say whether you believe JESUS CHRIST to be a created being; if there was a time when he was not; or if the only Son of GOD hath always existed. Palladius reply'd, I will convict you of impiety; you are not my judge, you are a transgressor. Sabinus of Placentium said, With what impieties do you reproach our Brother Ambrose? tell them. Palladius said, I have told you them already; I will answer in a General council, and before auditors. St. Ambrose said, I desire to be accused and convicted in an assembly of my brethren.

XV. The condemnation of Palladius, and of Secondianus, n. 49. n. 50. n. 51. THEN St. Valerian of Aquilæa said, Do not urge Palladius so much, he cannot sincerely confess the Catholick truth; he knows himself guilty of two heresies: He was ordained by the Photinians, and condemned with them; and he is now going to be condemned as an Arian. Palladius replied, Prove it. St. Ambrose said, You accuse me of impiety; prove that. And soon after all the Bishops said, We all pronounce Anathema to Palladius. St. Ambrose said, Do you consent, Palladius, to the reading of the rest of Arius's letter? Palladius replied, Allow us auditors, and let us likewise have writers on both sides. St. Ambrose said, What auditors do you require? Palladius replied, There are several persons here who are qualified by their dignities. St. Ambrose said, The Bishops are appointed to judge lay-men, and not to be judged by them. However tell us what Judges you will have. Cromacius the Priest replied, Without prejudice to the Judgment of the Bishops, let us hear at length who are of Palladius's party. St. Ambrose added, We are ashamed to see that a man who pretends to be a Bishop, desires to be judged by lay-men; and he deserves to be condemned for that very thing; besides the impieties of which he is convicted: therefore I declare that he is unworthy of the Sacerdotal dignity; that he ought to be deprived of it, and a Catholick ordained in his place. After this he reminded the Bishops, of the Emperor's having referred the determination of this dispute to them, as being the interpreters of the Scriptures, and then he collected their Votes.

n. 52. St. VALERIAN Bishop of Aquilæa, gave his opinion first, in these terms: It appears to me that he who will defend Arius is an Arian: He that does not condemn his Blasphemies, is a Blasphemer himself: Therefore I am of opinion, that

that he ought to be cut off from the society of Bishops. Palladius seeing A. D. 381. that he was in earnest, and that he was going to be deposed, seemed to make a jest of it, and said: You have began to play, therefore play on. We shall not answer you, without an Eastern Council; after which he said nothing more. The Bishops continued to give their opinions, every one in particular, and in the same sense, tho' in different words; and all declared him an Arian, and deposed from his Bishoprick. Then St. Ambrose addressed himself to Secondianus, and urged him to acknowledge that the Son of God was truly God. But Secondianus would not say any thing, but that he was Truly the only Son of God; and not that he was True God, saying that this proposition was not in the Scriptures. And whatever arguments St. Ambrose used, who was seconded by St. Eusebius of Bologna, they never could persuade him to say any thing else. This Dispute having lasted from day-break to the seventh hour, that is to say, 'till one of the clock in the afternoon, Secondianus and Palladius were deposed from the dignity of the Priesthood, and Attalus the Priest was likewise condemned. n. 55, 56, 57, &c. n. 65. n. 70. Ep. Syn. n. 5, 8, 9.

AFTER this the Council of Aquilæa wrote several letters, whereof we have four remaining. The first was sent to the Bishops of Gaul, and of the Provinces of Vienna and Narbone; in which that Council returns them thanks for the deputies which they sent to it, and gives them an account of the condemnation of Palladius and Secondianus. We may suppose that letters of the same nature, were written to the other provinces who had sent deputies; and it possibly might be the same letter, only changing the names. The other three letters of the Council of Aquilæa were directed to the Emperors, that is to say to Gracian. In the first, the Bishops return thanks to the Emperors for calling the Council, and give them the particulars of what passed, meaning the evasions, and quibbles of the hereticks, their blasphemies and condemnation; for the execution of which they desire them to give orders, by letters to the judges of the places, to the intent that they may be expelled the churches, and that Catholick Bishops may be put in their places by the deputies of the Council. After having mentioned the Priest Attalus, they add: What shall we say of his master Julian Valens? who, tho' he was very near, yet declined coming to the Council, for fear of being accountable for his country that is destroyed, and his people whom he betrayed. It is reported that he even appeared at the head of the Roman army in a Gothick habit, wearing a necklace and bracelet after the Pagan manner, thus profaning the dignity of the Priesthood. For he had been ordained Bishop at Petau after the righteous Marcus, whose memory is highly esteemed; and now he remains at Milan after the ruin of his country. Therefore they desire that he may be banished from Italy, and sent home: That the Emperors would give a favourable audience to the Deputies of the council, and send them back speedily, after having granted their Requests. And in short, that in execution of the previous laws, the Photinians might be forbid to hold any assemblies, as they still did at Sirmium. XVI. The letters of the Council of Aquilæa. Ap. Ambr. ep. 9. Ap. Ambr. ep. 10. n. 2. n. 9. 19.

THE second letter, to the Emperors, or more properly to Gracian, relates to the Antibishop of Rome, Ursinus. The Bishops had discovered in that Council, that he sided with the Arians, and particularly with Valens of Petau, in order to disturb the Church of Milan; holding private assemblies with them, sometimes near the doors of the synagogue, at other times in the houses

A. D. 381. houses of the Arians, and giving them direction how to disturb the peace of the Church. Therefore the Bishops entreated the Emperor not to hear him any more, and vigorously to withstand all his importunities; not only because he had favoured the hereticks, but by reason that he endeavoured to disturb the Roman Church, which was the capital of the whole Empire, and from which the right of communion extends to all the other Churches: These are the terms which they make use of.

n. 4.

Ap. Ambr.
ep. 12.
n. 3.

THE third letter of the Council of Aquilæa to the Emperors, is properly to Theodosius, as it relates to the East. What the Bishops wrote, was to this effect, viz. That in all the West there remained but two hereticks, whom we have now condemned, and who only disturbed two corners of Dacia and Mœsia. Throughout all other parts, as far as the ocean, the Faithful are of one communion. But in the East, tho' the hereticks are suppressed, yet we hear that there are frequent divisions amongst the Catholics; It is reported that Timothy of Alexandria, and Paulinus of Antioch, who have ever continued in our communion, are molested by those who have not always been steadfast in the faith. We are very desirous to re-unite them, yet without prejudice to the ancient communion, which they hold with others. We have long since received letters from both parties, and chiefly from those who were divided at Antioch; and we were resolved to send some persons thither from us, in order to be the mediators of a peace; but we were prevented from doing it by the irruptions of the enemies, and the disorders in our publick affairs. Therefore we desire you to give orders that a council of all the Catholick Bishops may be held again at Alexandria, in order to decide who they are to whom we are to grant communion, and with whom we are to hold it. This is what passed at the Council of Aquilæa; and this last letter plainly shows that the Bishops who assisted there, did not acknowledge the Council which had lately been held at Constantinople, to be a General council, or that they were not as yet informed of what had been transacted by it.

XVII.
Another council of Italy.
Soz. viii. c. 11.
Hier. ep. 27.
ad Eustoch.
c. 2.
Apr. Ambr.
ep. 13, 14.

It even appears that the Bishops of the West altered their opinions; for we do not find that there was any Council held then at Alexandria; and it is certain that they desired that the General council should be held at Rome, and that the Emperor Gracian gave orders accordingly. But before they met, there was a Council in Italy, wherein St. Ambrose presided, and there remains two of their letters to the Emperor Theodosius. In the first they say: We desired long since, that the two Bishops of Antioch, Paulinus and Meletius, whom we esteemed as Catholics, should agree amongst themselves; or at least that, if one of them should die before the other, no person should be put into the place of the Deceased. Yet we are now informed that Meletius being dead, and Paulinus living, who was always steadfast in our communion; they have substituted or rather added a Bishop in the place of Meletius, contrary to all Ecclesiastical right and order. And it is said that this was done by the consent and advice of Nectarius, whose ordination we find is not according to form. For the Bishop Maximus convinced us lately in the Council, that he preserves the communion of the Church of Alexandria, having read to us certain letters from Peter of blessed memory; and as he plainly proved to us, that he had been ordained in a private house by the direction of the Bishops, the Arians being then in possession of

of the churches, we had no reason to doubt of his being Bishop; and so much A. D. 381. the less, because he protested that the greatest part of the people and Clergy had compelled him to be ordained. Nevertheless as we were not willing to decide any thing prejudicial to them in the absence of the parties, we thought it our duty, my Lord, to acquaint you with it; to the intent that you might so settle that matter as it may best serve for the promoting of peace; for we have observed that Gregory cannot claim to himself the See of Constantinople, according to the tradition of the Fathers.

THEY afterwards complain that those of the East, knowing of Maximus's coming into the West to plead his cause before a General council, had declined meeting there, and refused to wait for the determination of the Western Bishops. But continued they: Tho' no Council had been called, he would have acted according to the laws and custom of our ancestors, in appealing to the judgment of the Churches of Rome, of Italy, and of all the West: as had been done by St. Athanasius of blessed memory, and after him by Peter, who were both Bishops of Alexandria, and the greatest part of the Eastern Bishops. We do not assume to our selves the prerogative of examining such things, but we ought to have a share in their determination. They conclude, that they could not refuse their communion to Maximus, nor grant it to Nestorius; and that that dispute cannot be made up, but by restoring to him the See of Constantinople who was ordained first, that is Maximus; or by holding a Council at Rome composed of them, and of those of the East, to treat of the ordination of both of them: For, say they, the Eastern Bishops ought not to refuse the examination of the Bishop of Rome, nor of the other neighbouring Bishops of Italy; they who waited for the judgment of Asclepius alone, and caused him to be brought to Constantinople from without the limits of the West. As for our selves, having received instructions from the Prince your Brother to write to you, we desire that the judgment may be the same between those of the same communion. The Brother whom they mention was the Emperor Gracian.

THEODOSIUS answered this letter; and convinced the Bishops of Italy, A. D. 382. by informing them what Maximus was, and how different his ordination was from that of Nestorius. He represented to them, that those affairs, and that of Flavian, ought to be judged in the East where all the parties were present, and that there was no reason to oblige those of the East to come into the West. This appears by the second letter of St. Ambrose, and of the Bishops of Italy; wherein they return thanks to the Emperor, Ep. 14. for having re-united the Churches of the East and West; and removed the deceits which had divided them. They excuse themselves upon their writing to him, to show the desire which they had for a re-union, and to put an end to the complaints of the Eastern Bishops, who thought themselves neglected. For, say they, we did not require a Council for our own interest, since all the West is at peace. They give another reason for the Council, which, as they said, concerned those who were for introducing into the Church certain opinions ascribed to Apollinarius: which matter was to be examined, in presence of the parties, to the intent that being convicted of teaching a new doctrine, which could no longer be concealed under the general notion of Faith; he might be deprived of the Priesthood. We

A. D. 382. We may see by this that Apollinarius was still in his office of Priest, and that his heresy was not universally known, at least not in the West.

XVIII.
The second
Council of
Constantino-
ple.

Theod. v.
c. 8.

Epist. 55.

Ep. 76.

Ep. 83, 84.
p. 842.
Carm. 11.

Theod. v. c. 8.

Ibid. c. 9.

HOWEVER at the request of the council of Aquileia, the Emperor Theodosius called a Council, in order to pacify the divisions of the East, and chiefly of Antioch; it is certain that they did not meet at Alexandria, as the Western Bishops had desired it, but at Constantinople, and the greatest part of the Bishops who had assisted at the General council, repaired there again in the following year 382, under the consulship of Anthony and Syagrius, at the beginning of the summer. St. Gregory Nazianzen was invited to it: But he excused himself, and wrote to Procopius, who was an Officer of distinction, in the following terms: My inclination, if I must speak the truth, is to avoid all assemblies of Bishops; because I never knew a Council, that had a good conclusion; and that did not rather increase our distempers than provide a remedy to them. The fondness which men have for disputing and ambition, be not offended that I speak in this manner, has a greater influence among them, that can well be expressed; and he who judges the Wicked, is exposed himself to be accused without correcting them. Therefore I reserve my thoughts to my self, knowing no safety for the Soul, but where there is peace. I have, even at this time, a distemper upon me, which disables me from acting, and reduces me almost to the last extremity. Therefore I beseech you to accept of my excuse, and assure the Emperor, that I am not guilty of idleness; but desire him to consider my infirmity, in regard to which, he knows, that he gave me leave to retire, as the only favour I desired. It was thought that his distemper was only a pretence, for which reason he was written to a second time, by Icarus an officer of distinction and Olympius governor of Cappadocia. However his dislike to Councils, which is observed in some other writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen, is no prejudice to the respect which is due in general to those holy assemblies, nor to the necessity of holding them; as it was a custom otherwise so well established. We may easily perceive that the disappointment of his good intentions, in the General council of Constantinople, had made a strong impression on a man of so sprightly a genius, and that his displeasure was indulged by his old age, and his being continually indisposed.

THE Eastern Bishops being at Constantinople received a Synodical letter from those of the West; giving them an invitation to the General council which was held at Rome; but they excused themselves from it, as being a needless journey. Their answer was directed to Damasus, Ambrose, Brito, Valerian, Ascolus, Anemius, Basil, and to the rest of the Bishops assembled at Rome. They began their letter with an account of the persecution which they had just suffered, the disorders of which would take up some time to repair; for altho' the hereticks were expelled the churches, yet their false teachers met them in other places, promoted sedition, and used their utmost endeavours to prejudice the Church. Therefore, continue they, whatever inclination we have to correspond with your loving invitation, we cannot all together abandon our Churches which now begin to revive; and the journey would even be impracticable to most of us. For we came to Constantinople according to the letters which you wrote last year to the most pious Emperor Theodosius, after the council of Aquileia; and were prepared for this voyage, and for that council only, with the consent

consent of the Bishops who remained in the provinces: We did not propose A. D. 382.
to go farther, nor did we hear any thing of another council 'till we met
at Constantinople. Besides, the time was too short for us to prepare our
selves, and to acquaint the Bishops of our communion, in order to have
their consent. All that we could do, was to send you our venerable bro-
thers, the Bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, who will inform you
of the love which we have for peace, and how zealous we are for the
Faith.

And in truth, if we suffered persecutions it was to maintain the faith of
Nice, which teacheth us to believe in the name of the Father, Son, and
Holy Ghost: that it is to say, in one only Godhead, Power, and Substance,
of equal dignity, and Coeternal in duration; in three perfect *Hypostases*, or
three perfect *Persons* or *persons*. So that we leave no room for the error of
Sabellius, who confounds the Hypostasis, or destroys the Properties; nor to
that of the Eunomians, Arians, and the enemies of the Holy Ghost, who
divide the Substance, Nature, or Divinity; and who introduce a Posterior
created nature, or another Substance in the Trinity uncreated, consubstan-
tial, and coeternal. We likewise preserve the doctrine of the Incarnation
in its purity; and we do not admit in that Mystery of an imperfect flesh,
with Soul or Understanding. But we acknowledge that the Word of God
is intirely perfect before the world, and in the latter days became perfect
man for our Salvation. This is in substance the Faith, which we preach,
and which you may enquire into more at large in the writings of the council
of Antioch, and in those of the General council, which was held last year
at Constantinople. This council of Antioch is thought to be that which was
assembled in the Year 379, and we find here that the Eastern Bishops
estimated that of Constantinople, held in the year 381, as a General council.

In the next place, they give an account of what they had determined con-
cerning Discipline. You know, say they, the ancient custom confirmed by the
decree of Nice, which directs, that ordinations shall be made in every province
by the Bishops of the province, being at liberty to invite their neighbours to
them. Therefore we have ordained the venerable Nestarius Bishop of the church
of Constantinople newly restored, which was done by the General council, in
the presence of the most pious Emperor Theodosius, with the general consent
of the Clergy, and all the city. For the Church of Antioch, the Bishops
of the province and diocese of the East, have canonically chosen the vene-
rable Flavian with the consent of the whole church; and the whole council
approved of it as a lawful ordination. And for the Church of Jerusalem,
we acknowledge the venerable Bishop Cyrile, who was formerly ordained
canonically by the whole province, and suffered much from the Arians in
divers places. The Eastern Bishops conclude, with desiring those of the
West to agree in all things with a spirit of unity and charity, setting aside
all prejudice and private affections.

But they did not persuade them in the most essential point, which was
the ordination of Flavian. Damasus of Rome and all the Bishops of the
West directed their Synodical letters to Paulinus, as Bishop of Antioch, and
did not write to Flavian, nor correspond any more with Diodore of Tarsus
and Acacius of Beroa who had ordained him. The Egyptians and Arabians
declared likewise for Paulinus: But the Syrians, the inhabitants of Palestine,
Phoenicia,

Sup. xvii. 482

XIX.
The Council of
Rome.
Soz. vii. c. 11.

A. D. 382. Phœnicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and the greatest part of Galatia and Pontus, were for Flavian. This is all that we know relating to that council of Rome. We find by the inscription of the letter of the Eastern Bishops, St. Ambrose, St. Valerian of Aquileia, St. Ascolus of Thessalonica, and Domnus of Saragossa were there; and it is certain also, that St. Epiphanius and Paulinus of Antioch repaired thither from the East, in company with St. Jerome. St. Epiphanius lodged in the house of Paula a Roman lady, who was a person of great distinction, and became still more so by her piety: Paulinus used to visit her often; and they both inspired her with a strong inclination to a solitary life. They passed the winter at Rome, and did not return into the East 'till the year after. But St. Jerome staid there about three years.

Hier. ep. 27.
ad Eustoc.
c. 2. ep. 16.
ad Princ.
c. 3.

Epist. 99.
ad Asell.

Paul. vita.
Amb. n. 10.

WHILST St. Ambrose was at Rome, he was invited by a lady of the rank of the *Clarissima*, to go to her country-house, on the other side of the Tiber, and there he celebrated the Eucharist. A woman who belonged to the baths, and who was sick in her bed of a palsy, hearing that he was at that lady's house, caused herself to be carried thither in a chair; and whilst he was praying and laying his hands on her, she touched his garment, and as she kissed it, she recovered and immediately walked. Paulinus Secretary to St. Ambrose, who relates this miracle, says that he heard of it at Rome, even many years after, from the mouth of certain holy men. We see by this, that it was usual sometimes to celebrate the holy sacrifice in private houses. St. Ambrose had a beloved sister living then at Rome, called St. Marcellina, who was very careful of him in his sickness, during which he was visited by St. Ascolus of Thessalonica: whose acquaintance was a great consolation to him, he never having seen him before, and they both watered their garments with their tears, deploring the miseries of the age.

Ambr. ep.
15. n. 10.

XX.

St. Jerome at Rome.

Hier. ep. 11.
ad Ageruc.

c. 3.

Ep. 99.

ad Asell.

Ap. Hier.

ep. 124.

144. 145.

Præf. in e-
vang.

ep. 145.

Ep. 142, 143.

146.

Post. ep. 151.

Præf. in Psalt.

Ep. 50. ad

Pamm. c. 7.

Gennad. in

Helvid.

Sup. xvii. n.

26.

In Helv. c. 1.

St. JEROME, during his residence at Rome, devoted himself to St. Damasus the Bishop, and assisted him in writing his letters, in answer to the consultations, which were directed to him from the Councils of several Churches; and he soon gained an universal love and esteem, on account of his religious life, his humility and eloquence; in regard to which he was esteemed worthy of being a Bishop. Damasus had often consulted him, upon several passages of the Scriptures, and intreated him to correct the Latin version of the New Testament. Whilst he staid with him, he set him to work upon the Scriptures, and we may reasonably believe, that he composed his treatise upon the vision of the Cherubims of Isaiah, and upon the parable of the Prodigal son, whilst he was at Rome, and dictated them both when he was troubled with sore eyes; as likewise his translation of the two homilies of Origen upon the Canticles, and the correction of the Psalms according to the Septuagint. It was also at that time, and during the life of St. Damasus, that he wrote against Helvidius the disciple of Auxentius, who had composed a book, wherein he pretended to prove by Scripture, that the blessed Virgin, after the birth of JESUS CHRIST, had other children by St. Joseph; then passing to a general position he maintained that virginity had no advantage over marriage; an error which was already received in the East, as we have seen it in speaking of the *Antidicomarianite*, and was then beginning to spread in the West. St. Jerome, for some time, de-
spised

plied the treatise of Helvidius, as much because of the author, whom he knew not, tho' they were both at Rome, as because it was a work of no value. But at last he suffered himself to be persuaded to answer it, and plainly shew'd that there is nothing in the Scriptures but what favours the belief established in the Church, that Mary always continued a Virgin, and that St. Joseph was only the guardian of her virginity. He even holds that this Saint lived in a state of continence; in short he extols virginity, yet does not blame marriage. It is thought that he wrote at that time his dialogue against the Luciferians, who joining with those of the party of Ursinus, were continually quarrelling at Rome with the Bishop Damasus. St. Jerome in this treatise plainly demonstrates, by the acts of the council of Rimini, in what manner the Bishops were there imposed upon.

ONE of the chief employments of St. Jerome, during his abode at Rome, was to answer those who consulted him on the holy Scriptures, and particularly the Roman ladies; for whatever care he took, out of modesty, to avoid their company, the more pressing were they to see him. St. Marcella, St. Asella his sister, and their mother Albina were of this number: Marcella, in a short time, made a great progress in what St. Jerome had acquired after abundance of labour, and often consulted him afterwards, as it appears by her letters. Being a widow in the seventh month after her marriage, she refused to espouse Cerealis who was a man in years, but of great quality, and rich, who under Constantius had been Prefect of Rome, and Consul in the year 358. During the long widowhood of Marcella, the purity of her behaviour was never blemished by the least suspicion. She retired to a country-house near Rome, where she lived a monastical life a great while with her daughter the virgin Principia; and their example occasioned the settling of a great number of monasteries at Rome, both for men and women. St. Marcella had made choice of a pious and monastical life forty years before this, when St. Athanasius came to Rome; whilst Julius I. was Bishop, in the year 341. She received from him an account of the life of St. Anthony who was yet living, and of the discipline of the monasteries of St. Pacomius, both for men and women.

PAULA, who was a friend of Marcella's, was the most illustrious of the Roman ladies whom St. Jerome instructed. She was daughter to Rogatus and Blefilla. Her father, who was originally a Grecian, traced his genealogy up to Agamemnon; and her mother descended from the Scipio's and the Gracchi. Paula married Julius Toxotius of the Julian family, who consequently descended from Iulus and Æneas: She had one son and four daughters by him, the eldest of which who was named Blefilla, after her grandmother, was married but seven months, as St. Marcella had been, and became a widow at the age of twenty. Whilst St. Jerome was at Rome, he explained to her the book of Ecclesiasticus, in order to inspire her with a contempt of the world. She desired him to give her that short commentary of it, that she might understand it in his absence; but as he had undertaken this piece of work, she was seized with a violent fever of which she died in a few days. St. Paula her mother was extremely afflicted at her death, and St. Jerome wrote a consolatory letter to her upon it; wherein he says that Blefilla spoke Greek as well as Latin, that she had even learnt Hebrew in a very short time, and that the holy Scriptures were never out of her hands.

A. D. 382.

c. 8.

c. 9. in fi.

Sup. liv. xiv.
n. 14.Ep. 99. ad
Asell.Ep. 16. ad
Princip. c. 3.
Præf. in ep.
ad Gal.Ep. 136, 137,
&c.

Ep. 10. ad Fur.

Ep. 16. ad
Princip.Sup. l. xii.
n. 20.

XXI.

St. Paula.
Hier. ep. 27.
ad Eust. c. 1.Ep. 22. ad
Eustoch. c. 6.
Ep. 25. ad
Paul.Ep. 116. ad
Paul. & Eust.

A. D. 382.

Ep. 52. ad

Pamm.

Ep. 50. ad

Pamm. init.

Ep. 16. ad

eund.

Ep. 24. ad

Marcel.

Ep. 15. ad

Marc.

Mart. Rom.

St. PAULA's second daughter was named Paulina, who was married to Pammachius, a cousin of St. Marcella's, of the family of the Furi, who reckon'd several Consuls amongst their ancestors. He had been long acquainted with St. Jerome, who had formerly studied with him, and had of late address'd some of his works to him. Paulina dying first, and he seeing himself a widower without children, he devoted himself entirely to the service of God, and to all good works, chusing a solitary life, and disposing of his riches for the subsistence of the poor; and particularly strangers, in an hospital which he founded at Porto near Rome. St. Paula's third daughter was called Eustochium, who always lived with her and continued a virgin. The fourth was Rufina, who afterwards married Alethius of the rank of the *Clarissimi*. As for the son of St. Paula, who was the youngest of her children, he was called Toxotius from his father; he married Leta the daughter of Albinus, who was a Pagan and Priest of the Idols; and yet he was converted to the Christian religion in his old age, by the persuasion of his daughter and his son-in-law; and from this marriage of Toxotius and Leta, came the younger Paula, concerning whom St. Jerome wrote to Leta, who was then a widow, and sent her directions for educating after a christian manner. Such was the Family of St. Paula.

St. Jerome has likewise left us encomiums upon two widows, Lea and Fabiole, and upon the virgin Asella. Lea was at the head of a monastery of virgins, whom she instructed more by her example than by her words: She used to spend the nights in prayer, her cloaths and food were very mean, yet free from ostentation: She was so humble, that she appeared to be the servant of all the rest, tho' she formerly had been mistress of a great number of slaves. The Church honours her memory on the twenty-second of March. The news of her death was brought to St. Jerome one morning as he was explaining the seventy-second Psalm to St. Marcella, which occasioned his sending her elogy to her; and two days after he sent her that of St. Asella, sister to Marcella, who was still living. She had been consecrated to God from the age of ten years; and at the age of twelve she retired into a cell where she lay on the ground, living upon bread and water, fasting all the year, and being often two or three days without eating, and in Lent whole weeks together. She was now fifty years of age, and her austerities had not impaired her health. She used to work with her hands, and never went abroad unless it was to visit the churches of the martyrs, and that she did without being seen. She had never spoken to any man, and even her sister could hardly ever see her. Her life was simple and regular, and in the midst of Rome she led a perfect life of solitude. The Church celebrates her memory on the sixth day of December. Fabiole was of the illustrious Fabian family. She had married a man, whose behaviour was so disorderly, that not being able to bear with him, she left him; but being then very young, she made use of the liberty which was allowed by the Civil law, and married another man: After the death of this second husband, she began to reflect with her self, and knowing that this marriage was contrary to the laws of the Gospel, she resolved to do publick penance for it; so on Easter-eve she went to the Basilica Laterana with other penitents, and there with her hair dishevell'd she appear'd in so great affliction that she forced tears from the eyes of the Bishop, the Priests, and the people; she thus

thus remained without the church, 'till the Bishop by whom she had been excommunicated, called her in again. After this she sold all her estate, and was the first who erected an hospital for the sick in Rome, where she served them with her own hands. She bestowed large gifts on the clerks, monks, and virgins, not only in Rome, but upon the coast of Tuscany where there were already many monasteries. It is thought, and not without reason, that the liberalities of these Roman ladies, and other rich Christians, brought a great number of beggars to Rome: And it is said that there was a decree made on this account by Valentinian the younger, and directed to the Prefect of Rome in the year 382, whereby he requires that their age and strength be enquired into, that the disabled might be provided for; but as for those who were sturdy, they were to be delivered up to the executioner if they were of base extraction, and if they were free, they were to be set upon husbandry affairs. The Saints likewise were always of opinion, that there should be a distinction made in the distribution of alms, that they might not encourage the idleness and avarice of vagabonds, to the prejudice of those who were really poor.

St. EPIPHANUS and Paulinus of Antioch having passed the winter at Rome, returned into the East the following year 383. They travelled thro' Macedonia, and came to Thessalonica, who changed their Bishop that same year, by the death of St. Ascolus; and the Bishops of Macedonia, and the Clergy of Thessalonica wrote to St. Ambrose about it, who in his answer, made an encomium upon St. Ascolus, and congratulated them upon the election of Anysius, his disciple, whom they had chosen in his place; to whom he likewise wrote, exhorting him to imitate the virtues of his predecessor. * St. Damasus gave to Anysius, as he had done to St. Ascolus, the power of deciding all things in the Eastern Illyria. Whilst Paulinus of Antioch was at Thessalonica, St. Damasus wrote a letter to him, which begins in these terms: I have already written to you by my son Vitalis, that I left all things to your decision: Therefore to the intent that you may have no difficulty to receive those who are willing to re-unite themselves to the Church, we send you a confession of our Faith, not so much for your self who believe as we do, as for those who shall joyn themselves to you. For which reason, after the council of Nice, and that which was held at Rome by the Catholick Bishops, there has been something added concerning the Holy Ghost, because some persons have lately said that he was created by the Son. Therefore we pronounce Anathema against those who do not declare plainly, that the Holy Ghost hath the same power and the same substance with the Father and the Son. We pronounce Anathema against the Sabellians, who say that the Father is the same with the Son; against Arius and Eutychius, who alike assert, tho' in different terms, that the Son and the Holy Ghost are Creatures; against the Macedonians, who come from Arius under another name; against Photinus, who reviving the heresy of Ebion upholds that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is come from the virgin Mary only; against those who say that there are two Sons; one before all worlds, and the other after the Incarnation. There is Anathema pronounced afterwards against Apollinarius, and Marcellus of Ancyra, without naming them; then there

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* The authority of the epistles whence this is quoted being questioned, they can be but of small weight to prove what our author contends for.

A. D. 382.

L. Un. C. de
mend. Val.Ambr. Offic.
ii. c. 16.

XXII.

The Letters of
Damasus a-
gainst Apolli-
narius, &c.Ambr. ep. 15.
& 16.Ep. Innoc.
coll. R. ep.
46.Coll. Rom.
Holt. p. 180.
to. 2. conc. p.
864. E.Ibid. p. 900. B.
Theod. v.
hist. c. 11.

A. D. 383, there is a canon likewise against translations from bishopricks, which were already so much in use in the East. Then the anathemas continue against divers propositions of the Arians and Macedonians. The last forbids any one to mention the word GOD in the plural number, in speaking of the Divine persons, tho' the Scripture applies it sometimes to angels, and holy men. St. Damasus afterwards continues, speaking to Paulinus: Therefore if my Son Vitalis, and those who are with him, are willing to be united to you, they must first subscribe to the Faith of Nice; and then, because we cannot apply a remedy to future evils, you must root out the heresy which is said to have lately appeared in the East; and confess that the very Wisdom, the Word, the Son of GOD hath taken upon him the human Body, the Soul and Understanding; that is to say, the entire Adam, all the old man, without sin. For as, when we confess that he hath taken upon him a human Body, we do not therefore attribute human passions to him; so when we say that he hath taken the Soul and understanding of man, we do not mean that he is subject to sin; which proceeds from the thoughts. We here see that the error of Apollinarius was plainly known, and condemned at Rome; but that Vitalis was not as yet convicted of being infected with it, tho' he was much suspected; on the contrary he had delivered a confession of Faith to Damasus, which appeared Ortnodox, and that Bishop sent him to Paulinus in order to be examined.

Greg. Naz. 2.
ad Cledon.
p. 746. C.

To the same time is referred a letter written by St. Damasus the Bishop of Rome to the Eastern Bishops, which begins thus: When you pay the respect which is due to the Apostolick See, all the chief advantage of it is to your selves, my most honoured Sons. Then he declares that he has long before condemned Timothy and his master Apollinarius, in presence of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria; and that they have no cause to desire that he should be deposed a second time. He therefore exhorts them to continue stedfast in the Faith of Nice, and not to suffer those who are under their care to give ear to vain discourses, and questions which have been already resolved.

Ap. Theod.
v. c. 10.

Sup. liv. xvii.
n. 32.

XXIII.
St. Ambrose's treatise
of the Incarnation.
Paul vit. Ambros.
c. 18.

De incar. c. 1.

It was much about this time, that St. Ambrose wrote his treatise of the mystery of the Incarnation, against the same errors. He was engaged in it by two *cubicularii* or grooms of the bed-chamber to the Emperor Gratian, who were Arians. They proposed to him, as he was preaching, a question concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, and promised to come the next day to the *Basilica Portiana* to hear him resolve it. The next day these two officers slighting their promise, and the Bishop and people who were assembled in the church, got into a chariot and went out of the city in order to take the air. St. Ambrose having staid a long time for them, could detain the people no longer, but got into the pulpit, and began to discuss the question, saying: My brethren, I desire to pay my debt, but I do not find those with whom I contracted it yesterday; unless they think to confound us by coming upon us by surprize; but the true faith is never confounded. Perhaps they will come, and in the mean time let us consider those labourers who have just been represented to us: i. e. Cain and Abel, whose story hath just been read. From thence he takes occasion to come to the subject, and begins with enumerating the hereticks, who erred concerning the Son of GOD; amongst whom he reckons those who separate the

c. 2. n. 11.

the reasonable soul from the mystery of the Incarnation; i. e. the Apollinarians, whom however he does not name, and adds, that perhaps they pay due honour to the Trinity, but know not how to distinguish between the humane and divine nature. The nature of God, says he, is simple; man is composed of a reasonable soul and a body; if you take away either of the two, you take away the whole nature of man. Afterwards coming to the subject, he proves the divinity of the Word in opposition to the Arians; then he proceeds to the Apollinarians, and shews the difference between the flesh of JESUS CHRIST and his divinity; for they asserted that the Word was changed into flesh: afterwards he overthrows their other error, concerning the reasonable soul which they refused to allow JESUS CHRIST as being the source of sin, and with that he concludes his discourse.

c. 3. 4.
c. 6 n. 49, &c.

c. 7.

In the mean time the two grooms of the Emperor's chamber, as they were proceeding in their journey, fell out of the chariot and were both killed; and their bodies were brought back and buried. But St. Ambrose was so far from insulting their memory that he takes no notice of this action in his works; even when he committed to writing the Sermon which he made on their account; and of which his treatise upon the Incarnation consists. But the Emperor Gratian, who did not hear this Sermon, proposed an objection, upon which the Arians greatly depended; namely, that the Son being begotten could not be of the same nature with the Father who is unbegotten. He therefore added the answer to this objection, which chiefly consists in shewing that the distinction *begotten* and *unbegotten* relate not to their Nature but to their Personality.

c. 9. n. 97, &c.

St. GREGORY Nazianzen wrote likewise from the place of his retirement against the errors of Apollinarius, which disturbed the church of Nazianzum. Having returned into Cappadocia he retired to the territory of Azianza, which descended to him from his father; and notwithstanding his infirmities, he there led a very penitential life, but quiet and solitude made it agreeable to him. He even spent the whole season of Lent without speaking; and composed a poem to give an account for his silence; and another at Easter, that he might begin to speak with the praises of JESUS CHRIST. In the mean time he found that the church of Nazianzum had been greatly neglected during his absence, and even infected with the error of Apollinarius. He at first bore with it; but perceiving that the hereticks, not satisfied with spreading their errors, proceeded even to calumniate him, and pretended that he was of their opinion, because he still treated them as brethren; he thought that he was obliged to declare himself and wrote to Cledonius the Priest to that purpose, to whom he had left the chief care of his flock in his absence, and who had long led a monastick life. The Apollinarians boasted of their having been received by a council of the West; upon which St. Gregory says: If they have been received, let them shew it, and we will be satisfied; for that could not have been done without their conforming to the holy doctrine. And they could not make it appear but by a synodical decree or letters of communion; for this is the custom of councils.

XXIV.
St. Gregory
Nazianzen's
letter to Cle-
donius.
Vit. Gre.
p. 32. C.
Carm. 54.
p. 128.
Carm. 55.
p. 131.
Carm. 5.
p. 74. D.
Carm. Jamb.
23. p. 244.
Orat. 51.

Sup. liv. xvi.
n. 16. p. 738.
B.

COMING to the subject, he says: Let none deceive another, or suffer himself to be deceived, by imagining a man without understanding to be the man of the LORD, as they stile him; let us rather say our LORD and our

V. August 1.
retract. c. 19.

GOD.

A. D. 383. **GOD.** This was because the Apollinarians called **JESUS CHRIST** the Man of the **LOD**, in Greek *Κυριανον*, in Latin *Dominicum*. St. Gregory proceeds: We do not separate the manhood from the godhead; but teach that he is the same, who heretofore was not man, but **GOD** the only Son before all ages, without any mixture of body, or any thing corporeal. Who in the end likewise assumed humanity for our salvation; being passible as to his flesh, but impassible in respect to his divinity; being confined by his body, but without any limits in respect to his spirit; being at the same time terrestrial and celestial, visible and intellectual, comprehensible and incomprehensible; to the intent that man who had fallen into sin, might be restored by him, who is perfect **GOD** and perfect man. If any one saith, that he doth not believe Mary to be *Σειστογον* or the mother of **GOD**, he hath no part with **GOD**. If any one saith, that he passed through the virgin, as through a canal, and that he was not formed in her, both after a divine and human manner; divine in as much as man had no part in it, and human in as much as the laws of child-bearing were observed, he moreover is impious. If any one affirm that the manhood was formed, and that **GOD** afterwards entered into it, he is blame-worthy. If any one supposeth two Sons; one of **GOD** the Father, and another of the virgin mother, and doth not affirm him to be same; he ought to be cut off from the adoption promised to true believers. For there are two natures, the Godhead and manhood, like unto the soul and body; but they are not two Sons, nor two **GODS**, any more than two men; although St. Paul has thus named the external and internal part of man. And to express it in one word; our Saviour is composed of two different substances; because the visible and invisible are not the same, any more than that which is subject to time, and that which is not; but they are not two persons, **GOD** forbid that I should say so; for the two Substances are united: **GOD** is become man, or man is become **GOD**, or as we chuse to express it.

Now I say that these are different things, contrary to what we say of the Trinity. For we say that there is another and another [*person*] that we may not confound the *hypostases* or persons; but not another substance, and another substance; the three are one in respect to the Divinity. If any one saith that **GOD** hath operated upon **JESUS CHRIST** by his grace, as upon a prophet, and not that he is substantially united to him, let him be deprived of the divine operation. If any one adore not him that was crucified, let him be anathema, and ranked amongst the murderers. If any one assert that **JESUS CHRIST** was made perfect by works, or raised to the dignity of a Son after his Baptism, or after his Resurrection, like those whom the Pagans place amongst the Gods, let him be anathema. For that which hath a beginning, improveth, and groweth up to perfection is not **GOD**; though we speak thus of **JESUS CHRIST**, inasmuch as he discovered himself by degrees. If any one saith, that he hath now quitted his flesh, and that the Divinity is divested of the body; and that he will not come again with the body, which he assumed and keeps, let him not behold the glory of his coming. If any one saith that the flesh of **JESUS CHRIST** came down from heaven, and not that he assumed it here from us; let him be anathema.

Luc. ii. 52.

p. 740.

AFTER-

AFTERWARDS proceeding to the main point of the heresy of Apollinarius, he saith: If any one hopeth in a man void of understanding, he is himself void of understanding, and not worthy to be saved. For God hath not healed, and doth not save any thing but what he assumed. If indeed Adam fell only by halves, then there would be no need of assuming or redeeming more than half; but if he fell totally, let them not then envy our receiving perfect redemption; and let them not invest our Saviour merely with the bones, the nerves and the form of a man. If he is a man without a soul, this is what the Arians affirm; that they may ascribe suffering to the Godhead, as to the principle of his bodily motion. If he hath a Soul without understanding, how is he a man? for man is not an animal void of understanding. Otherwise he would have the form and carcase of a man, with the Soul of an horse, an ox, or any other beast. And then that likewise would be saved; and I should err from the truth, in boasting of the honour which another hath received as well as I. He afterwards answers Apollinarius's objection; and at the conclusion protests that those who do not profit by his advice, but continue to divide the church, must give an account thereof in the day of judgment. And as Apollinarius imposed upon the world by the number of his writings, and the charms of poetry, St. Gregory likewise promiseth to write and to compose verses, which seems to have given occasion to the many poems which he composed after his return from Constantinople.

He wrote a second letter to Cledonius, in order to satisfy those who required testimonies of his Faith, as tho' he had not given sufficient proofs of it. He declares in plain terms that he hath no other Faith than that of Nice, only adding thereto what relates to the Holy Ghost; concerning whom there had been no dispute at that time. He also declares his belief in the Incarnation; and speaking of the Apollinarians he adds; that he was very desirous of explaining himself in relation to Vitalis; to the intent, saith he, that I may not be accused of rejecting his confession of faith now, which I formerly received, as he gave it in writing to the blessed Damasus Bishop of Rome, who had desired it of him. These expressions shew that this letter was written some time after Vitalis had delivered his confession of faith, and after the death of St. Damasus. St. Gregory proceeds; saying, that the Apollinarians imparted their secret to none but their disciples; but when they found themselves pressed in disputation, by the common notions which the Scripture gives us of the Incarnation; they acknowledge that CHRIST had reason and understanding, and that he was a perfect man; thereby meaning that the Divinity supplied what was wanting in respect to the humane nature; as hath been seen in Epiphanius's dispute with Vitalis: Can it therefore be wondered, saith St. Gregory, if my kindness makes me put the best construction upon the words of Vitalis, at which others are offended, taking them in the strictest sense? From thence, in my opinion, it happened, that Damasus himself, being better informed, and knowing that they persisted in their first explanations, declared them excommunicate, and hath reversed their confession of faith with an anathema; being enraged that they had imposed upon his simplicity of heart. And afterwards: What an absurdity is it to pretend to publish in these our days a doctrine that hath been concealed ever since the time of CHRIST, if it is but thirty years since

A. D. 383.

Orat. 52.

Sup. liv. xvii.
n. 25. p. 748.
A.

A. D. 383. since their faith began; tho' it is above 400 since CHRIST appeared; our Gospel hath been useless all this time, our faith hath been vain, the martyrs have suffered in vain, and so many considerable Prelates have in vain governed the people.

It was about this time that St. Gregory entirely resigned the care of the church of Nazianzum. He earnestly besought the Bishops of the province to settle one in that city, and particularly Helladius of Cæsarea who was the metropolitan. At length he obtained it, and Eulalius was ordained Bishop of Nazianzum. He is thought, and with good reason, to be the same person of whom St. Gregory speaks so advantageously in several places; who was his relation, had embraced a monastick life, and was remarkable for his virtue. St. Gregory had made him a Priest, and one of the *Chorepiscopi*, and greatly rejoiced when he saw him placed in the episcopal See of Nazianzum. However it afforded a fresh occasion of scandal against him; some affirming that he despised that Church, and others that they had appointed him a successor against his will. This is what he writes concerning it to Gregory of Nyssa, who was of that province: Let no man calumniate me as if there had been another Bishop ordained against my will. I am neither so contemned nor hated; but I greatly importuned them to it, because I am as it were already dead, and I am apprehensive of the weight of this neglected church; I desired this favour of them, which without contradicting the canons tended to my satisfaction; and by your entreaties they have appointed a pastor for that Church, who is worthy of you. I place him again in your hands, the venerable Eulalius I mean, in whose arms I hope to give up my spirit. If any say that during the life of the Bishop another ought not to be ordained, let him know that that avails nothing in respect to me; for all the world knows, that I was ordained for Sasima and not for Nazianzum; tho' I received the care of it for a season, as a stranger, out of respect to my father, and those who desired me to undertake it.

In the mean time being informed that they were going to hold another council at Constantinople, and being fearful of the event by experience of what had before happened, he wrote to two of the chief Magistrates of the East, viz. Saturninus, who was Consul in the year 383, and Posthumianus, the *Præfectus prætorii*, they being both Christians and already engaged in friendship with him; beseeching them to do what in them lay to promote the peace and welfare of the church in that council: For, says he, by renouncing my dignity I did not renounce my affection and concern for the church.

XXVI.
The Third
council of
Constantino-
ple under
Theodosius.
Socr. v. c. 10.
Soz. vii. c. 12.

THE Council was actually held; and the Emperor Theodosius, who laboured continually to procure peace to the Churches, would have the Bishops of all sects assemble at Constantinople, and thought that by making them confer together, they might concur in the same opinion. There came from all parts Bishops of all denominations of religion, and they met at Constantinople in the month of June, under the consulate of Merobaudius and Saturninus, i. e. in the year 383. The Emperor sent for Nectarius the Bishop of Constantinople, and consulted with him about the means for uniting the Church; saying, that it was necessary to set the question, about which they differed, in a clear light, and to put an end to it. This discourse made Nectarius very thoughtful; he sent for Agelius Bishop of the Novatians,

Novatians, who held the same opinion with him concerning the Trinity; A. D. 383. and imparted to him the Emperor's intention. Agelius, who was not much skilled in disputation, sent for a Reader of his church named Sifinnius, a man of learning and experience in business, skilled in the interpretation of Scripture, and the opinions of the philosophers. He knew that Disputing served rather to encrease than put an end to divisions; and likewise that the Ancients assigned no beginning to the existence of the Son of God, but believed him to be coeternal with the Father. He therefore advised Nectarius to avoid controversy and argumentation, but to refer to the expositions of the Ancients, and to cause the chiefs of every party to be asked by the Emperor, whether they made any account of the Doctors who had been famous in the Church, before their separation, or whether they rejected them as being strangers to Christianity. If they reject them, saith he, they must likewise anathematize them; and if they venture to do it the people will drive them away, and the victory of truth will be manifest. But if they do not reject the ancient Doctors; it is our business to shew their books which bear testimony to our doctrine.

Nectarius having heard Sifinnius speak thus, hastned to the palace, and told the Emperor what advice he had received; who approved and put it in execution very artfully. For without discovering his intention, he only asked the hereticks whether they esteemed those who had taught in the Church before the separation. They durst not deny it; but on the contrary, they said that they honoured them as their masters. The Emperor then asked them, if they followed them as witnesses worthy of credit in relation to the Christian doctrine. This question perplexed the heads of the several sects, and the logicians, whom they had brought in great numbers well prepared for disputation. So they divided, some alledging that the Emperor's proposition was good, and others that it was contrary to their intention. For they held different opinions concerning the writings of the Ancients; and even those of the same sect did not agree amongst themselves. The Emperor observing their confusion, and that they only depended upon disputation, and not upon the authority of the Ancients; went a little farther, and ordered every one of them to deliver in his Confession of faith. Those who were esteemed the most skilful wrote their opinion, chusing their words very carefully; and the Bishops of every sect came to the palace on the day which the Emperor had appointed. Nectarius was there at the head of those who maintained the *Consubstantiality*; Demophilus came for the Arians, Eunomius for the Eunomians; and the Confession of faith, which he drew up upon that occasion is still remaining: The Macedonians had Eusebius Cyzicus for their chief. The Emperor took all their writings, and retiring alone, he besought God to assist him in chusing the truth. Afterwards having read each Confession of faith, he rejected those which divided the Trinity and tore them, that of the *Consobstantiality* was the only one which he approved and admitted. Thus Socrates and Sozomen relate this matter.

In notis Val.
les. ad Socr. v.
c. 10.

It is to be supposed that the Emperor Theodosius, tho' very well instructed in the Catholick doctrine, did not make this choice by himself; and that he consulted not only Nectarius but the rest of the Catholick Bishops who were at this council; as St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whom there is a

A. D. 383. discourse, which was spoken upon this occasion, still remaining; and St. Amphilochus, who therein signalized his courage. However the hereticks remained in confusion, blaming each other, and being accused of ignorance by their followers. They retired with concern, and each of them wrote to those of his Sect not to be grieved at the great numbers who quitted them to embrace the belief of the *Consubstantiality*; because, say they, there are many called but few are chosen. Which they did not say, saith Socrates, when their power gained them most of the people.

XXVII.
Laws against
the hereticks.

Soz. vii. c. 6.
Theod. v. c.
10.
Socr. v. c. 10.

THE Emperor at that time made several laws, forbidding the assemblies of the hereticks; and he was incited thereto by an action of St. Amphilochus Bishop of Iconium. A little while before, that is in the month of January in the same year 383, Theodosius had declared his son Arcadius *Augustus*, though he was but six years of age. St. Amphilochus coming to court with certain other Bishops paid the usual respects to the Emperor, but paid none to Arcadius, though he was near his father. Theodosius imagined that the Bishop did not think of it, and therefore bid him salute his son; upon which St. Amphilochus drew near to him, and stroking him with the tip of his finger said, Save you, my child. At which the Emperor falling into a passion, ordered that old man to be driven from his presence; and they were already thrusting him out, when turning to the Emperor, he said to him with a loud voice: You cannot bear that your son should be contemned; be assured then that GOD in like manner abhors those who refuse to pay the same honour to his only SON as to himself. Theodosius admired the Bishop's prudence, and calling him back asked his pardon, and immediately resolved upon the law which he desired, for prohibiting the assemblies of the hereticks.

L. 11. C. Th.
de haref.

L. 12. *ibid.*

L. 13. *ibid.*
Sozom. vij.
c. 12.

Socr. v. c. 10.

L. 2. C. Th.
de apost.

THERE is indeed a law addressed to Posthumianus the *Prefectus Prætorii* of the East, and dated at Constantinople on the 8th of the calends of August, under the consulate of Merobaudius and Saturninus, that is on the 25th of July, 383, and about the time of the Council, by which all the hereticks are prohibited from holding assemblies even in private houses; and the Catholicks are permitted to hinder them. By another law addressed to the same Posthumianus, and dated on the 3d of September, the same prohibition is repeated, adding the Apollinarians to the Arians and Macedonians, who are named in the former. This prohibits the hereticks from assembling even in the country, and from ordaining Bishops. It confiscates the houses in which they have assembled, and orders their teachers and public ministers to be expelled, and sent to the places of their nativity. In short, it threatens the officers belonging to the magistrates, with answering for their negligence in seeing this law put in execution. But it was not rigorously observed, since we again find repeated prohibitions four months after, by a law of the 12th of the calends of February, that is on the 21st of January in the following year. For the Emperor Theodosius having no other design in it but uniting the hereticks to the Church, sought rather to frighten than punish them. The Novatians are not comprehended in these laws, because they agreed with the Catholicks in relation to the *Trinity*; and they began to assemble again in the cities.

ABOUT the same time, that is to say on the 26th of May, Theodosius made a second law against those Believers and Catecheumens who returned to Paganism,

Paganism, depriving them of the liberty of making wills. Valentinian the younger made one in Italy, bearing almost the same date, against three sorts of apostates; viz. Christians who became Pagans, Jews, or Manichees, and against those who seduced them. In the following year 384, Theodosius made a law prohibiting Jews from having Christian slaves, or making them Jews, under the penalty of being deprived of them.

In the mean time there arose a faction against Gratian, who was still in Gaul making war against the Germans. Maximus, who was a Spaniard by birth, commanded in Britain, where he had served under Theodosius; he pretended to be related to him, and bore his advancement with reluctance. He therefore took advantage of the ill disposition which the Roman soldiers were in against Gratian; for they complained that he placed all his confidence in the Barbarians, particularly the Alani. They therefore declared Maximus Emperor, giving him the Imperial robe and diadem. He crossed the sea, entered Gaul at the mouth of the Rhine, and excited the people against Gratian, who was abandoned by part of his soldiers; and offered him battle near Paris. But his forces left him again to take part with Maximus; and there remained with him only three hundred horse, with which he took the road leading to the Alps, in order to get into Italy. The cities through which he was to pass shut their gates against him, and at last he was taken at Lyons and killed by the treachery of Adragathius. They invited him to a feast, where they swore to him upon the Gospel; but they instantly put him to death, and even refused him burial. Thus died the Emperor Gratian, on the 25th of the calends of September, under the consulate of Merobaudius and Saturninus, that is on the 25th of August, 383. He was about twenty four years of age, being born in 359, and had reigned sixteen years, part with his father and part with his brother and Theodosius. He was comely in his person, and had an handsome face; his disposition was excellent, he was well skilled in polite literature, and religious matters, he always preserved his religion in its purity by the assistance of St. Ambrose, whose absence he bemoaned when he was dying, and spoke frequently of him. He was neither addicted to sleep, nor wine, nor any other excess, especially with regard to women. He was mild and moderate, and always very active and vigorous in war. But resolving to confine his love of pleasure, which is so natural at such an age, to innocent diversions, he used bodily exercises to excess, and particularly shooting at wild beasts in a park. He was cheerful, and rather too timorous in publick; so that he was governed by those who were about him; they sold every thing to satisfy their avarice, and increased his aversion for business.

MAXIMUS associated his son Victor in the Empire with him, whom he caused to take the name of *Victor*, which was become venerable since the time of Constantine. For his own part he named himself *Magnus*, *Clemens*, *Maximus*. He took up his residence at Treves, the capital of Gaul, of which he had the entire possession, together with Spain and Britain; that is to say all that Gratian had reserved to himself. He put to death the consul Merobaudius, and some other persons of distinction. Macedonius the Master of the offices, who had been bribed with money in order to favour the Priscillianists, was also punished; which verified a prophecy

A. D. 383.
L. 3. 80d.
L. 5. C. Th.
de contr.
empt.

XXVIII.
The Death of
Gratian.
Maximus Em-
peror.
Soz. lib. 4.
p. 760.
Oros. vii. c.
34.
Vict. Epit. in
Grat.

Hier. ep. 3.
c. 10.
Ambr. in
Pl. 61. n. 23,
25, &c.
De ob. Va-
lent. n. 79.

Socr. v. c. 11.
Marcell. chr.
an. 383.
Hier. chr. an.
365. Chr.
Pap. an. 359.
p. 294.
Amm.
xxviii. c. 6.
xxxj. c. 10.
Victor. in
Grat.
Ruf. ii. c. 13.

Soz. lib. 4.

Paul. vit.
Ambr. c. 37.

A.D. 383.

phery of St. Ambrose. For that holy Bishop going one day to his palace to intercede for some person, he found the doors shut, and could not get admission. St. Ambrose then said to Macedonius: Thou also shalt come to church and shalt not get in. In truth, after the death of Gratian, as he endeavoured to take sanctuary in the church, he could by no means get in, altho' the doors were open.

Soon after Maximus entered Treves, St. Ambrose came thither from the Emperor Valentinian, or rather from the Empress Justina his mother, and those who governed during his nonage; for he was but twelve years old. Notwithstanding the aversion which Justina had for St. Ambrose, as she was an Arian, she had recourse to him upon this occasion, and put both her affairs and her son into his hands. He undertook this voyage notwithstanding the danger which attended it, and staid with Maximus all the winter, in expectation of the return of Count Victor, whom Maximus had sent on his part to Valentinian. At length St. Ambrose obtained the peace which he desired; prevented Maximus from going into Italy, and gave Valentinian time to provide for his safety. Whilst St. Ambrose staid at Treves, he would not communicate with Maximus; because he looked upon him as his master's murderer.

De ob. Val.
lent. n. 28.
Ep. 24.
n. 56. 7. Ruff.
ii. c. 15.
Ep. 20.
Ambr. n. 23.

XXIX.
The prosecution
of Ithacus.
Sup. xvii. n.
58.
Sulp. Sev.
b. 2.

Oros. v. 1.
c. 34.

ITHACUS the Bishop was still at Treves, busy in carrying on his prosecutions against the Priscillianists. He had escaped being carried into Spain, according to the order of the Emperor Gratian, who was imposed upon by Macedonius; and as soon as he heard that Maximus was declared Emperor in Britain, and was coming into Gaul, he resolved to continue quiet till his arrival. When Maximus had entered triumphantly into Treves, Ithacus presented him a petition full of accusations against Priscillian and his followers. Maximus, who was a Christian by profession, and who, allowing for his ambition, was in other respects a man of probity, was moved by this petition; and wrote to the Præfect of Gaul, and to the Vicar of Spain, to cause all those in general to be conducted to Bourdeaux, who were found to be infected with this error, to be there judged by a Council. Instantius and Priscillian were carried thither: They caused Instantius to speak first, and he making but a poor defence, he was declared unworthy of the Episcopal function. Priscillian, for fear of answering before the Bishops, appealed to the Emperor, and they were so weak as to allow it; whereas they ought, says Sulpitius Severus, to have condemned him for contumacy; or if he had any room for suspecting them, to reserve that sentence to other Bishops, and not leave such manifest crimes to the determination of the Emperor. This is all that we know of the council of Bourdeaux.

ALL those therefore who were included in this accusation were carried to Treves before Maximus; the Bishops Idatius and Ithacus followed as accusers. Which was disagreeable to all good men, because they perceived that they were influenced rather by the hopes of succeeding in their enterprise, than zeal for justice; but particularly Ithacus, who had neither the sanctity nor gravity of a Bishop. He was bold even to impudence, a great talker, expensive, addicted to feasting; and looked upon all those as Priscillianists whom he observed to fast, or apply themselves to study. St. Martin happened to be then at Treves, whither he came to solicit a pardon for certain unfortunate wretches. He continually reprov'd Ithacus for his conduct,

duct, and pressed him to desist from this accusation; and on the other side, he besought Maximus to spare the blood of the guilty, saying that it was sufficient that being declared hereticks by the sentence of the Bishops, they were driven out of the churches; that there might be no precedent of an Ecclesiastical cause being brought before a Secular judge. Ithacus, far from benefiting by St. Martin's advice, presumed even to accuse him of heresy; as he generally reproached all those, whose manner of living seemed to him to be too rigid. But the Emperor Maximus had so much regard to the remonstrances of the holy Bishop, that all the while he staid at Treves that judgment was deferred; and when he went away he prevailed so far as to make Maximus promise, that the blood of the accused should not be spilt.

XXX.
Priscillian put
to death.

BUT after St. Martin was gone, the Emperor suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the evil counsels of the Bishops Magnus and Rufus; the first of whom is thought to be a Bishop of Spain, who was afterwards deposed for heresy. So the Emperor quitted his moderate notions, and committed the cause of the Priscillianists to Evodius, whom he had made *Prefectus prætorii*; a just man, but very zealous and severe. He twice examined Priscillian, and convicted him of several crimes by his own confession: For he did not deny his having studied shameful doctrines, his having held assemblies in the night-time with lewd women, and his being accustomed to pray naked. Evodius therefore declared him guilty, and put him into prison until he had made his report to the Emperor. The proceedings at the trial having been laid before him, he declared that Priscillian and his accomplices were worthy of death. Then it was that Ithacus perceived how odious he should make himself to the Bishops, if he assisted at the last proceedings against these criminals; for it was necessary to bring them once more to trial, in order to pronounce a definitive sentence; and he had done but too much already, having even been present when they were put to the torture. Ithacus therefore withdrew, being afraid of drawing more hatred upon himself; and the Emperor put in his place as accuser a certain man named Patricius, an Advocate of the revenue. At his suit Priscillian was condemned to die, and with him two clerks named Felicissimus and Armenius, who had lately left the Catholick church to become followers of him. Latrocinus a layman, and Euchrocia were likewise condemned; and all five put to death. The Bishop Instantius, who was already condemned by the council of Bourdeaux, was banished into the isle Sylina on the other side of Britany: and they afterwards continued to proceed against other Priscillianists. Aferinus and Aurelius, two Deacons, were condemned to death. Tiberian was sent into the same island, and his estate confiscated. Tertullus, Potamius and John were only banished into Gaul for a certain time; as well because they were not so considerable, as because they were more worthy of compassion, having accused themselves and their accomplices before they were put to the torture. Thus were the Priscillianists punished. At the same time the people of Bourdeaux stoned a woman to death, named Urbica, for persisting in defending the same impiety.

Pacat. paneg.
n. 29.

Chr. Prosp.
an. 385.

FOR the death of Priscillian was so far from extinguishing his heresy that it rather increased and strengthened it. His followers, who already honoured him as a saint, went so far as to pay him the devotion that was usually paid to martyrs, and their most solemn oath was to swear by him. They carried his

his

A. D. 384.

Adverf. Pe-
lag. ad Cæ-
fiph. c. 2.
De fcript.

XXXI.
The Reprefen-
tation of Sy-
machus.
Amm. lib.
xxi. c. xxvii. c.
Sup. lib. xiii.
n. 45. lib. xv.
n. 3.

Ambr. ep. 17.
n. 10.
Gothofr.
profopogr.

Relat. Sym.
l. x.
Ep. 54. &c.
ap. Ambr.
poff. ep. 17.

his body, and the bodies of the reft who were put to death, into Spain, and there folemnized their funerals. St. Jerom compofing his catalogue of Ecclefiaftical writers feven or eight years after, and fpeaking of Prifcillian, fays, that he was put to death by the faction of Idatius and Ithacus; that he was accufed by fome of the heresy of the Gnofticks, and that others defend him from it. But afterwards being better informed, he fpeaks of him as an heretic juftly condemned. He tells us that Prifcillian had written feveral little treatifes; and fpeaks after the fame manner of thofe of Matronian and Tiberian, who were both Spaniards, of the fame feft. Matronian, who is thought to be the fame as Latronian, was a man of learning, and made excellent verfes. Tiberian wrote an apology for his heresy in a lofty and affected ftile, and being tired with his banifhment in the ifle of Syllina, he quitted their but he fell into another crime, for he married his own daughter who had taken a vow of chaftity.

THE Pagans, who were brought under by the laws of Gratian, raifed their hopes at his death, under the weak adminiftration of Valentinian and his mother. When Constantius came to Rome in the year 357, he caufed the altar of Victory to be removed out of the place where the Senate affembled; but Julian caufed it to be fet up again, and Valentinian the firft let it remain. Gratian caufed it to be removed again, and confiscated the lands belonging to the temple, and the revenues appointed for the expence of facrifices and the maintenance of the priefts, and the falaries of the veftal virgins, whose privileges he abolifhed; he even ordered that whatever afterwards was left by will to the temples, priefts or veftals, fhould be paid into the treafury. The Pagan fenators complained of this ordinance; they deputed to Gratian Symachus who was efteemed the moft eloquent man of his age, the fon of another Symachus, and præfect of Rome under Valentinian the firft in 365. The Pagan fenators deputed Symachus the fon, in the name of the whole Senate; but the Chriftian fenators, whose number was very great, on their part alfo prefented a petition; by which they difavowed that of the Pagans; and protested both in publick and private, that they would not come to the Senate if the pretentions of the Pagans took place. Damasus Bifhop of Rome fent the petition of the Chriftian fenators to St. Ambrose, in order to deliver it, as he did, to the Emperor Gratian, who took no notice of that of the Pagans, and would not fo much as hear them: This happened about the year 382. After Gratian's death, Symachus was Præfect of Rome, under the confulate of Clearchus and Ricimer; i. e. in the year 384.

HE caufed a decree to be made in the name of the Senate in form of a complaint, concerning all thofe rights of which the Pagans were deprived; and addreffed himfelf, according to the ufual form, to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodofius and Arcadius; but it was in reality prefented to none but Valentinian. In this Symachus having recourfe to all the artifices of rhetoric which he was mafter of, fays that he acts in two capacities, both as præfect and deputy. He complains of the audience which had been denied him in his former deputation, and promifes himfelf that the diforders of the former reign will now be remedied; and making ufe of the figure which the rhetoricians call *profopopea*, he makes Rome fpeak, faying, That ſhe would retain the religion which ſhe had experienced; that ſhe wa

too old to change, and that it was doing her an injury to pretend to mend her in her old age. That he might not give offence to the Emperors, he endeavours to persuade them, that it is the same God who is adored under different names. He endeavours to urge them by notions of generosity, shewing how little the forfeitures of which he complains will bring into their treasury; and to terrify them by the publick calamities which he ascribes to the contempt of religion: upon which he gives a tragical description of the famine which raged at Rome in the preceding year. And this is what the most ingenious man of his time thought most proper to be urged in defence of Paganism.

St. AMBROSE having received an account of this representation, wrote immediately to the Emperor Valentinian, to prevent his being prepossessed by the Pagans. Your subjects, says he, serve you, and you serve God; you ought at least to prevent their serving false gods; besides, to give them what has been so long confiscated, would be giving them what belongs to you. They complain of their losses, who never spared our blood, and who have even destroyed the buildings of the Church; they desire privileges, who under Julian refused us the common liberty of speaking and teaching. You ought no more to meddle with what your predecessors have ordained in respect to religion, than with what they have enacted in secular affairs. Let none impose upon your youth. If he is a Pagan who gives you this advice, let him give the same liberty which you allow him; for you force no body to adore what he does not approve. If he calls himself a Christian; do not suffer your self to be deceived by names, he is in reality a Pagan. To oblige Christian senators to swear before an altar, would be raising a persecution against them; for these are a few Pagans who usurp the name of the Senate. I beseech you therefore as a Bishop, and in the name of all the Bishops, who would have joined with me, if this news had not been so sudden and incredible, to ordain nothing concerning this request. At least give notice thereof to the Emperor Theodosius your father, whom you are accustomed to consult upon extraordinary occasions. Let a copy of the representation which hath been sent to you be given me, that I may more fully answer it; if it is decreed otherwise, we cannot dissemble the matter: You may come to the Church; but you will find no Bishop there, or you will find that he will oppose you, and not receive your offerings. He afterwards excuses Valentinian, his father, for being ignorant that there was an altar at Rome in the Senate-house, and that they offered sacrifices thereon.

St. AMBROSE having afterwards received the copy of the representation of Symachus, wrote an answer to it, in which he destroys all the false colouring of his rhetorick. He confutes his *prosopoeia* by another; making Rome acknowledge that she does not owe her victories to the gods, whom she had in common with her enemies; but to the valour of those who fought for her; and he enumerates the misfortunes that befel her under the Emperors that were idolaters. As to the complaint which the Pagans made of losing their revenues and their privileges, he says: Behold our magnanimity. We increased by ill treatment, by poverty, and by being punished; they imagine that their ceremonies cannot subsist without being gainful. They cannot believe that people preserve their virginity without being

XXXII.
St. Ambrose's
Answer.
Ep. 17. ep. 18.
n. 1.

Ep. 12.

n. 11.

A. D. 384. being paid for it. There are hardly seven Vestals; these are all whom they oblige to preserve their chastity for a certain time, by the attire of their head, their purple habit, the sumptuousness of their litters, and their great number of attendance, with great privileges and revenues. To these he opposes the great numbers of Christian virgins, whose poverty and fasting, as well as their humble and austere life, should seem rather to deter them from embracing that profession than excite them to it.

THEY complain, continues he, that salaries are not given to their sacrificers, and to the officers of the temples, at the publick expence; and for our part, on the contrary, the new laws deprive us even of private inheritances, of which the officers of the temples are not deprived. If a Priest would be exempt from the offices of a city, he must renounce the estate of his ancestors; whilst a *Decurio* is exempt from the same offices. I do not say this by way of complaint, but to shew whereof I do not complain. They reply, that the Church hath revenues; why do they not make the same use of theirs? The wealth of the Church is the support of the poor. Let them reckon what captives they have redeemed, what poor they have maintained, to what exiles they have sent relief. What would only turn to the advantage of the sacrificers, is applied to the publick benefit; and this is what they urge as causes of our calamities. He afterwards confutes the calumny of Symmachus in imputing the famine to the contempt of religion; by shewing that such accidents have happened in all times, and that that of the last year raged only in Italy. He answers him likewise in respect to Gratian's misfortune, by the example of Pagan princes, particularly Julian, which shews that these things happen by the ordinary course of human affairs. These two memorials of St. Ambrose were read in Valentinian's consistory, in presence of Count Bauto the *Magister militie*, and of Rumorides who held the same dignity, and was a Pagan; and the Emperor being prevailed upon by these remonstrances granted the Pagans nothing of what they desired.

XXXIII.
The death of
St. Damasus.
St. Siritius Bi-
shop of Rome.
Symm. x.
Epist. 34.

Hier. Script.
Prosp. Chr.
an. 385.
Sup. lib. xvi.
n. 8.
Damas.
Carm. 29.
Anast. in
Damas.

SYMMACHUS in this same year had a tryal of the Justice of the Christians. He was accused before the Emperor Valentinian, of having ill treated some of them, by means of a commission which had been given him, in order to discover those who had damaged the walls of the city. It was said that he had taken Christians from out of the enclosure of churches, to torture them, and sent for Bishops out of several neighbouring and distant towns, in order to put them into prison. We have the letter which he wrote to the Emperor in his own defence. He appeals to the testimony of the officers who served under him; and they declare that no Christians were either in irons, or in prison; though many criminals were confined. But he chiefly insists upon a letter of Damasus Bishop of Rome, testifying that no Christians were either ill-used or imprisoned on this occasion. The Bishop St. Damasus died in that same year 384, on the eleventh day of December, aged about eighty years, having held the Holy See eighteen years from the year 366. There are several miracles ascribed to him during his life, and after his death. He designed to be buried in a place where lay the relicks of St. Sextus and divers other martyrs; but he declined that design, for fear of disturbing their ashes. Therefore he was buried in a church, which he had built amongst the Catacombs, upon the road to Ardea,

des, near his mother, and the virgin St. Irene his sister, whose epitaph he had made. He likewise made his own, wherein he declares his belief concerning the resurrection. He built or repaired the church of St. Laurence near the Theater, where he had officiated after his Father; and which to this day bears his name. He beautified it with paintings of the sacred history, which were remaining four hundred years afterwards; and presented that church with a patin of silver weighing fifteen pounds, a wrought vessel of ten pounds weight; five silver chalices, weighing three pounds each; five silver sconces to hold wax-lights, of eight pounds each: candlesticks of brass, of sixteen pounds weight; several houses that were near the church, rented at fifty five golden pence; a piece of land rented at two hundred and twenty pence, another of three hundred, a bath joining to the church rented at twenty seven golden pence. All this income amounts to four hundred and five golden pence, [*Qui a huit livres la piece font 3240 livres de notre monnoye.*] and the silver plate at twelve ounces the Roman pound, amounts to eighty pound weight, without reckoning the making. St. Damasus likewise drained all the springs of the Vatican, which ran over the bodies that were buried there, and turned those waters into baptismal Fonts. He left several writings behind him, amongst which there were several epitaphs, and other inscriptions in verse, and of which there is a collection of about forty in number.

SIRITIUS was chosen in his place; he was a Roman born, the son of Tiburtius, and a Priest with the title of Pastor; he held the Holy See about fifteen years. The Emperor Valentinian, who was at Milan, approved that election, as it appears by a rescript directed to Pinianus præfect of Rome, who was husband to the young Melania. It saith that Siritius was elected with a general voice, and that Ursinus was rejected by the outcries of the people; whereby we see that Ursinus had not then given up his pretensions. That rescript was dated on the seventh of the calends of March, that is to say, on the twenty third of February, in the year 385.

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A. D. 385.

Carm. 28.

Carm. 16.

Carm. 18.

Epist. Hadr.

1. conc. vii.

c. 19. to. 7.

Conc. p. 955.

C. Anast.

Carm. 39.

Hier. Script.

Anast.

Baron. in

app. to. 4.

Chr. Cod. Th.

ap. Baron.

an. 385. n. 6.

XXXIV.

The Decretals

of St. Siritius.

To. 2. conc.

p. 1017.

* Dupin speaking of them says, All these Decretals were unknown to the ancient Fathers, &c. that wrote before the IXth Century. See Vol. I. p. 198. E. Ed.

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A. D. 385. gives directions for the reformation of divers abuses, which prevailed in the churches of Spain. As to Baptism, he forbids the re-baptizing of Arians; according to the decrees sent to the provinces by Liberius Bishop of Rome, after the dissolution of the council of Rimini. They shall be received, saith he, as other hereticks, merely by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the imposition of hands of the Bishop; that is to say, they shall receive Confirmation. In Spain every Bishop used to baptize as he thought most convenient, either at Christmas, the feast of the Epiphany, or of the apostles and martyrs. Siritius condemns this abuse; and in conformity to the custom of all churches, he commands them not to baptize, but at Easter only, and during the following fifty days to Whitsuntide. And even at that time, none were to be baptized unless they had been first chosen, and their names given in at least forty days before, that is before Lent; that time being appointed to purify them by exorcisms, daily praying, and fasting. For during the rest of the year these holy preparations could not be observed so exactly. But as for little children that cannot yet speak, and those who are in any distress, as in a storm, or in a time of the invasion of enemies, during a siege, or a desperate fit of sickness, We require, saith the Bishop, that whosoever shall desire to be baptized on the like occasions, shall immediately receive baptism; lest any one dying without baptism, we should answer the loss of his soul, with the hazard of our own. The exception for little children is remarkable; and shews the antiquity of our custom of baptizing them at all seasons.

C. 1. **C. 2.** **C. 3.** **C. 4.** **C. 5.** **C. 6.** **Sup. xvij.** **C. 55.** **V. hist. ord.** **S. Ben. lib.** **1. c. 6.** **Decret. c. 4.**

CONCERNING Pennance; the apostates who return to idolatry, are to be deprived of the sacraments; and are to be reconciled only at their death, if they spend all the remainder of their life in pennance. Those, who after having performed pennance relapse again into sin, either by bearing arms, or exercising particular offices, frequenting sports, or contracting new marriages, those, I say, receiving no benefit from pennance, shall only be partakers of the prayers of the faithful, and receive the *Viaticum* at the time of their death; upon condition that they have amended their life. It was forbidden to all publick penitents either to enter into the army or to marry; so that they were guilty of a new crime, if, during the course of their pennance, they either listed themselves in the service, contracted a marriage, or even conversed with a person whom they had been married to before. And what the Bishop says here: after having performed pennance: may be understood, after having gone thro' the greatest part of pennance, before they are come to the last period of it, and before the absolution was received. The monks and religious women, who in contempt to their profession have contracted sacrilegious marriages, and are condemned by the civil and ecclesiastical laws, shall be expelled the society of monasteries, and the assemblies of the Church, and be confined in prison, there to bewail their sins, and shall not be admitted to the Communion till their death. We may observe here, that there were at that time religious communities in Spain, besides what we have already taken notice of relating to the council of Sarragosa; and that the marriages of persons of that profession were condemned by the approbation of both the Powers. It is unlawful to marry a young woman who is contracted to another;

other; and it is a kind of sacrilege to violate the blessing of the matrimonial contract. A. D. 385.

IN Spain there were Priests and Deacons, who, long after their ordination, lived with their wives or with other women, by whom they had children, and alledged for a pretence of their incontinency, the example of the priests of the old law. To which Siritius replies, that amongst the Ancients it was a custom for Priests to marry, because the Ministers of the Altar were obliged to have a succession of the same family; and nevertheless they used not to converse with their wives in the time of their Service. But JESUS CHRIST being come to fulfil the law, Priests and Deacons are bound by an inviolable decree, to observe, from the day of their ordination, sobriety and continence, in order to be agreeable to GOD, in the sacrifices which they daily offer up unto him. Therefore such Priests as have sinned through ignorance, and acknowledge their fault, shall continue in the order which they are in, upon condition that they live in continence for the time to come; and they who will persist in their fault shall be deprived of all Ecclesiastical functions: this is spoken in general for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The persons to be ordained were not examined with strictness, particularly in the case of bigamy; for which reason the Bishop gives these rules: He who from his infancy is devoted to the service of the Church, must be baptized before the age of fourteen, and placed in the rank of Readers. If his behaviour hath been approved to the age of thirty, and he hath lived only with one wife, whom he had married a virgin, with the blessing of the Priest, he shall be an *Acolyte* and Subdeacon: from thence he may rise to the degree of a Deacon, if he is judged worthy of it, after having made a promise of continence. When he shall have served worthily upwards of five years, he may enter into Priests orders. Ten years after this he may be promoted to the Episcopal chair, if his faith and morals are approved of. But a man in advanced years, who desires to be in the service of the church, shall not be received, unless it be upon condition that he take place amongst the Lecturers or Exorcists, immediately after his baptism; provided also that he hath had but one wife, and hath married her a virgin. Two years after he may come to be an *Acolyte* or Subdeacon during five years; and thus rise to be a Deacon; then in time may be promoted to the Priesthood or Episcopal office, if he be chosen by the Clergy and people. This is the first Ecclesiastical ordinance which particularly appoints the age of those who are to enter into orders, and the *intersticia*. We may see by this that the Church does not disapprove of lay-mens offering themselves to be admitted into holy orders. A Clerk who had married a widow, or taken to him a second wife, is reduced to the communion of laymen. Women are forbidden to live in the houses of Clerks, except such as are admitted of by the council of Nice.

XXXV.

Rules concerning Ordination. c. 7.

c. 8.

c. 10.

c. 11.

c. 12.

Nic. can. 3.

c. 14.

It is our desire, saith Siritius, that such monks as shall be deemed worthy, may be admitted amongst the Clergy; upon condition that if they be under thirty years of age, they come into the lowest orders, through all the degrees, and become Deacons or Priests in riper years; but not to promote them at once to Episcopal dignity. As the Church does not admit of Clerks doing publick penance, it likewise doth not admit any layman,

A.D. 387.
c. 14.

men, who had done publick penance to have the honour of being a Clergy, tho' he were reconciled, and absolved from his sins. Indulgence is granted for past offences, in respect to those who have transgressed these rules through ignorance, and have intruded themselves amongst the Clergy, whilst they were Penitents or Bigamists; but upon condition that they shall continue in their station, without hopes of being promoted to any higher dignity. The Bishop of Rome sending these decisions to the Bishop Himerius, intreats him to communicate them to all the Bishops, not only those of his province of Tarragona, but likewise to the Bishops of Carthage, Bethuria, Lusitania, Galicia, and the rest of the neighbouring provinces, which is understood of Gallia Narbonensis.

XXXVI.
St. Jerome
returns into
Palestina.
Præf. in
Didym. ad
Paulin.
Hier. Epist.
ad Eusto. c.
22. c. 12.

St. JEROME did not reside long at Rome after the death of St. Damasus. The reputation of his doctrine had created much jealousy amongst a great number of the Clergy, and the freedom which he used to take in reprimanding them for their vices, made them hate him. During his stay at Rome, he wrote a small treatise, concerning the means of preserving virginity, which he directed to the virgin Eustochium, daughter to St. Paula, wherein he warns her to avoid hypocrites of both sexes, and speaking of Clerks in particular, he says: There are some of them who aspire at being Priests or Deacons, that they may visit women with the greater liberty. Their chief care is to be well dressed, neatly shod, and perfumed; they curl their hair with irons, they have bright rings on their fingers, and they walk on the tip of their toes, so that they look more like young bridegrooms, than clerks. Some of them make it their only business to know the names and habitations of women of quality, and discover their inclinations. I will describe one of them, who is a master in that art. He rises with the sun, the order of his visits is fixed, he finds out the nearest ways, and this troublesome old man enters almost the very chambers which they sleep in. If he sees a pillow, a napkin, or any other little moveable that is to his liking, he praises it, and admires the neatness of it, he takes it in his hand, then complains that he has not something of that kind, and in short has snatched it away before it is given to him. St. Jerome after this mentions their avarice, saying, that these interested Clerks, under pretence of giving blessings, reached out their hands to receive money, by which means they became dependant on those whom they were appointed to govern. In another place he complains of those who paid too great a devotion to elderly people, who had no children, and were attentive to do them all the meanest and most servile offices, in order to partake of their estates.

Ep. 2. ad
Nepot. c. 7.

Ep. 3. ad
Demet. c. ult.
ep. 100. ad
Bon.
Ep. 99. ad
Asell.

Ep. 23. ad
Marcell. in
fin. Ep. 25.
ad Paul.

c. 6.

SEVERAL persons were offended at this freedom of St. JEROME, and took his sayings to themselves. They attacked him with all manner of calumnies, and found fault even with his manner of walking, his smiling, the air of his face, and his very simplicity was suspected. In short, their calumnies went so far as to blacken his reputation, in respect to women and virgins, to whom he explained the holy Scriptures; altho', from the time of his Baptism, his behaviour was entirely pure and disinterested, and that he frequented no women, but such as were remarkably pious, and were austere penitents. But the people of Rome in general, murmured against the monks that came from the East, looking upon them as Grecians and impostors,

who seduced the young ladies of quality, and ruined them by a melancholy and austere life.

St. JEROME therefore resolved to submit to their envy, and leave Rome in order to return into Palestina. So he embarked at Porto in the month of August in this year 385, with his young brother Paulinus, a Priest whose name was Vincent, and some other monks. Several pious persons attended him to the ship; and just before he embarked, he wrote a letter to St. Afella, wherein he acquaints her with the cause of his departure, referring his Calumniators to the Tribunal of JESUS CHRIST, and recommending himself to those holy women, whom he left at Rome. Being come to Regium, from thence he passed the Ionian Sea and the Cyclades, and first landed in the Island of Cyprus, where he was received by St. Epiphanius. After this he went to Antioch, and visited the Bishop Paulinus, who attended him when he departed for Jerusalem, where he arrived in the middle of the winter. Then he went into Egypt, and found a new Bishop at Alexandria, for Timothy died in the year 385, under the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, and was succeeded by Theophilus, who held the See twenty seven years. We have Timothy's answers to eighteen articles of cases of conscience, concerning the administration of the Sacraments. St. Jerome came to Alexandria chiefly to see the celebrated blind-man Didymus, and receive instructions from him; tho' he himself at that time had grey hairs, and was esteemed one of the most learned Doctors of the Church. He resided one month with Didymus, proposing all his difficulties to him, upon the Scriptures; and it was at his request that Didymus composed three books of commentaries upon Hosea, and five upon Zachariah, to make up what Origen had omitted.

WHILST St. Jerome was on his journey, he visited the monasteries of Egypt: Then immediately departed for Palestine, and retired to Bethlehem. It was thought that after having conversed with Didymus, he could not be further instructed; yet he applied to a Jewish master, who, for a sum of money, came to teach him in the night time, fearing lest the Jews should know it. St. Jerome at that time began to explain the Epistles of St. Paul; first that to Philemon, then the Epistle to the Galatians, and afterwards that to the Ephesians. About that time died St. Cyril of Jerusalem, after having been often banished from his See, and often restored again, and possessing it eight years under Theodosius without molestation. There remain eighteen Catechisms composed by him to explain the Creed to the new Christians; and five others, to explain to those who were newly Baptized, the * three Sacraments which they had just received. St. Cyril was succeeded by John, who till then had led a monastick life.

St. PAULA departed from Rome soon after St. Jerome, and embarked without any regard to her maternal tenderness, which ought to have prevented her from leaving her daughter Ruffina, who was then marriageable, and her son Toxotius, who was yet an Infant. She took her daughter Eustochium with her, with very few of her servants, and went first into the Island of Pontia, near the coasts of Italy, in order to visit the Cells where St. Domitilla had been in exile under the Emperor Domitian, three hundred years before. From thence St. Paula sailed to the Island of Cyprus,

A. D. 385.
Apolog.
in Ruff. c. 7.

Socr. v. c. 12.
To. 2. conc.
p. 1791.

Ep. 65. ad
Pamm. c. 1.
Ep. 51. ad
Domn.
Ruffin. in
vec.
lib. 2. p. 176.
Hier. proem.
ad Ephes.

Apol. c. 7.

Ep. 65. c. 1.

Præf. ad
Gal. Præf.
ad Ephes.
Hier. script.
Inf. n. 55.

XXXVII.
St. Paula's
Voyage.

Hier. ep. 27.
ad Eust.
c. 2, 3.

* See Notes before upon this subject.

A. D. 385.
Sup. l. 11.
n. 52.

prus, where she threw her self at the feet of St. Epiphanius, who stayed her ten days with him, in order to give her some refreshment; but she employed that time, in visiting all the monasteries of the country; and distributed alms to the Solitaries who had repaired thither from all parts of the world, thro' the love which they had for that holy Bishop; then she embarked for Antioch, where she stayed some time with the Bishop Paulinus; but she departed from thence in the middle of the winter, riding upon an ass, instead of being carried by her Eunuchs, as was her custom.

Sup. lib. 1.
n. 26.

SHE passed thro' Syria and came to Sidon, near which place, at Sarepta, she entered the little tower of *Ælia*. At *Cæsarea* she saw the house of Cornelius the Centurion, which was converted into a church; the house of St. Philip, and the rooms of his four daughters, the Virgin Prophetesses. Near Jerusalem she saw the tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabena. The governour of Palestine, who was acquainted with St. Paula's family, sent some of his attendants to prepare a palace for her reception; but she chose rather to be lodged in a little Cell. She visited all the holy places with so great a devotion, that she hardly could leave the first place which she came to, were it not for the strong desire that she had of going to the rest. She prostrated her self before the Cross, and there adored her Saviour as if she actually saw him fixed upon it. At her entrance into the Sepulchre she kissed the stone which the Angel had moved away, in order to open it, and much more the place where the Body of JESUS CHRIST had been laid. At mount Sion, they shewed her the pillar to which he was tied, whilst they scourged him, which is still stained with his Blood, and supported the gallery of a Church. There she saw the room wherein the holy Ghost descended upon his Apostles on the day of Pentecost. After having distributed alms in Jerusalem, she departed for Bethlehem, and on the road saw the sepulchre of Rachel. As she had entered the cave of the nativity of our LORD, she fancied that she saw there the Child JESUS worshipped by the wise men and shepherds. She visited the Tower of Ader, or of the Flock, with all the famous places of Palestine; and amongst other things at Bethphage she saw the Sepulchre of Lazarus, and the house of Mary and Martha. Upon mount Ephraim she paid her devotions to the Sepulchres of Joshua and the high-priest Eleazar. At Sichar, she entered the church which is built over Jacob's Well, where our Saviour conversed with the Samaritan woman; after which she saw the Sepulchres of the twelve Patriarchs; and at Sebasta or Samaria those of Elisha and Abdias; and chiefly that of St. John the Baptist, where she was terrified at the operations of the Devil, on the possessed persons which were brought thither to be delivered. At Morasthi, she saw a church which had formerly been the Sepulchre of the Prophet Micah. St. Jerome gives us this description of the pilgrimage of St. Paula; and thus informs us of the remains of sacred Antiquity, which in his days they used to show in Palestine.

Hier. ep. 27.
c. 4.

c. 6.

c. 7.

St. PAULA, accompanied by her daughter Eustochium and several other virgins, set out from thence for Egypt; she went first to Alexandria, and then to the deserts of Nitria, where the Bishop Isidorus the Confessor came to meet her, with a prodigious number of monks, whereof many were Priests or Deacons. She visited the most celebrated Solitaries, went into their Cells falling on her knees before them, and she readily would have remained

remained in that solitude with her Virgins, had she not been induced to leave it, out of the love which she bore to the holy land. She therefore returned immediately to Palestine, and settled at Bethlehem; where she lived three years in a little house, till she had built Cells, Monasteries, and Hospitals, near the road for the reception of Pilgrims. She chose to pass the remainder of her life under the direction of St. Jerome; who likewise there ended his days, employed in the study of the holy Scriptures, and in shewing hospitality to strangers.

THE Emperor Theodosius was at this time using his utmost endeavours to destroy Idolatry in the East. Constantine the great indeed prohibited the offering of sacrifices to devils; but he did not pull down their temples; he only ordered that no body should enter into them. His children followed his steps; Julian endeavoured by all means to re-establish Idolatry, and Jovian opposed it anew: But Valens made war against the Catholics only, and suffered all other people to profess what religion they pleased: So that in his reign, sacrifices were publicly offered up to Idols, and they used to celebrate the revels of Bacchus. Theodosius finding affairs in this condition, undertook to destroy Idolatry at the foundation: But not being able at that time to contend with Maximus, he received an embassy from him, and accepted of the alliance which he offered him. He acknowledged him for his colleague, and ordered Cynegius *Præfectus prætorii* of the East, whom he sent into Egypt, to proclaim Maximus, *Augustus*, in those parts, and to set up his statue at Alexandria. But at the same time he charged Cynegius to cause all the temples to be shut, and forbid the people to worship Idols, which was performed accordingly. Egypt is ever looked upon on those occasions as the source of superstitions, and as a country where idolatry had deeply taken root. We find a decree of Theodosius directed to Cynegius, and dated from Constantinople, the 8th of the calends of June, under the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, that is to say, on the 25th day of May 385, by which it is prohibited under pain of a severe punishment, to offer any sacrifices of animals, in order to search their intrails, and enquire into things to come; and in general to practise any kind of divination whatever.

AT Heliopolis in Phœnicia, the great and famous temple of Balanius or Belenius, which is thought to be one of the names of the sun, was converted into a church; and the like was done at Damascus. St. Marcellus of Apamea was the first amongst the Bishops that pulled down the temples of his city, being authorized thereto by the decree of the Emperor. He succeeded John in his bishoprick, who assisted at the General council of Constantinople in the year 381. Marcellus was a man of singular virtue, who had corresponded with the martyrs, that is to say, probably, with St. Eusebius of Samosata; and others who were persecuted under Valens; and at last he himself suffered martyrdom. The *Præfect* of the East, viz. Cynegius, came to Apamea with two tribunes and their troops, who kept the people in awe. The *Præfect* employed people to pull down the temple of Jupiter, which was exceeding large, and beautified with many ornaments: But it was built so strong, that he looked upon it as an undertaking beyond the strength of man. The stones of that building were large, perfectly well joined, and moreover cramped with iron and lead. St. Mar-

XXXVIII.
Theodosius
attacks Idolatry.
Zosi. lib. 4.
p. 762.
Theod. v.
hist. c. 21.
Sup. l. xvi.
n. 29.

Idac. fast.
an. 388.

L. 9. C. Th.
de pag.

XXXIX.
St. Marcellus
of Apamea.
Chr. Pasch.
An. 379. &c.
ib. Can.
Theod. v.
hist. c. 21.

cellus

A. D. 385. cellus perceiving that the Præfect was thus discouraged, advised him to proceed to the other towns; and in the mean time he applied to God, beseeching him that he would afford him some means of destroying that building. The next morning a man who was neither mason, nor carpenter, but only a simple labourer, came to offer himself, and promised to pull down the temple with a great deal of ease, desiring only the wages of two workmen. The Bishop having agreed to this proposal, the labourer went to work in the following manner. The temple was built upon a high ground, and on the four sides there was a gallery joined to it, whose pillars, which were of the same height with the temple, were sixteen cubits round: The stone being very hard, the tools made but little impression on it; therefore the labourer dug up the earth at the foot of each pillar, which he propped up underneath with pieces of olive tree: Having thus undermined three of them, he set fire to the wood; but he could not make it burn, and there appeared a Dæmon like a black phantome, who hindered the effect of the fire. So after having tried several times without success to fire the wood, he went and acquainted St. Marcellus with it, who was reposing after dinner according to the custom of those hot countries. He immediately ran to the church, and ordered some water to be carried thither in a vessel, which he placed under the altar, then prostrated himself with his face to the ground, and prayed that God would stop the power of the Devil, that he might no longer seduce the faithful; after this he made the sign of the cross on the water, and ordered a Deacon named Equilius, who was full of faith and zeal, to run with speed, and throw some of this water on the wood, and then set fire to it, at which the Devil flew away, not being able to withstand the virtue of the water: These are the words of Theodoret; and it served instead of oyl to light the fire, which consumed the wood in a moment. The three pillars being no longer supported, fell down and threw down twelve more along with them, together with one side of the temple. The noise which this occasioned was heard over all the city, and brought the people thither, who glorified God. St. Marcellus destroyed the other temples after the same manner; both those in the city, and the temples in the country; being convinced that this was the most expeditious way of converting the idolaters.

Soz. vii. c. 15.

Martyr. Rom.
14 Aug.

St. MARCELLUS being informed that there was a large temple in a part of the territories of Apamea, called Aulona, he set out with a number of soldiers and gladiators; for the Pagans used to defend their temples; and often hired Galileans and inhabitants of mount Libanum, to guard them. St. Marcellus being in sight of the temple of Aulona, placed himself at a distance out of the reach of the arrows, for he was lame in his feet, and could neither fight, pursue, nor retire. Whilst the soldiers and gladiators were assaulting the temple, some of the Pagans came out at a part of it which was not attacked, and knowing that the Bishop was alone, they surprized him, flung him into a fire, and so put him to death. This was not known at first; but in a little time it was discovered, and the children of St. Marcellus designed to revenge his death; yet the Council of the province opposed it, not thinking it reasonable to avenge his death, for which they ought rather to give thanks unto God. The Church commemorates St. Marcellus of Apamea, as a Martyr, on the fourteenth day of August.

THEODO-

THEODOSIUS directed to this same Cyregius a rescript in favour of the Luciferians, who were schismaticks. Two Priests of that opinion, named Marcellinus and Faustinus, presented a memorial to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, to demand justice for the persecution which they pretended that they suffered from the Catholics whom they call *Prevaricators*, because they had received to their communion those who had fallen with regard to the council of Rimini. These schismaticks own their number to be very small, and condemn the most holy Bishops; they accuse St. Hilary of having shewed favour to the *Prevaricators*, and even to the Hereticks; they pretend that Hosius had a hand in the persecution after his fall, and give an account of his death in a terrible, tho' fabulous manner; neither do they spare St. Athanasius. But they chiefly exclaim against the Bishop St. Damasus, and declare openly for the Antibishop Ursinus. He whom they most extoll, and whom they look upon as the chief of their Communion, is Gregory Bishop of Elvira in Spain: They ascribe the gift of miracles to him; and say that no body ever dared either to depose him from his See, or banish him. As to the East, they highly recommend Heraclides Bishop of Oxyrinca in Egypt, who, they pretend, suffered great persecutions, both from Arians and Catholics. They even had a Bishop at Rome called Ephesius or Euresius. They complain at their being styled *Luciferians*, asserting that they are merely Christians, and that Lucifer never having maintained any particular opinion, ought not to be esteemed the head of a Sect: In short they desire, that they may be suffered to live quietly according to their conscience; declaring that they willingly yield up the magnificent churches and rich possessions to other people, whose covetous affections, they say, made them forsake the integrity of the Faith. The Emperor Theodosius answered this memorial, by the rescript which he sent to Cyregius; wherein he acknowledges Gregory of Spain and Heraclides of the East for holy and commendable Bishops; and forbids that those of their Communion should in any wise be molested; since they only desire to live in the Catholic faith. Thus Theodosius suffered himself to be deceived by these schismaticks; but we do not find that this rescript was of any great consequence; for that Schism vanished in a little time.

THE Peace which St. Ambrose had procured between Maximus and Valentinian, gave an opportunity to the Empress Justina, mother of that young Prince, to persecute the holy Bishop: Which she never ventured to do during the life of Valentinian her husband, nor of Gratian. As the Feast of Easter was near at hand in the year 385, she sent to him in the name of the Emperor her son to ask a Church of him, where the Arians who attended her might meet together. At first she demanded the *Basilica portiana* which was out of the city, and at this day bears the name of St. Victor; afterwards she asked for the new Basilica which was larger, and in the city. The first message was brought to St. Ambrose by certain of the *Comes confistorii*, who were like ministers of state, that he might deliver up the Basilica to them, and that he might prevent the people from giving any disturbance; he replied to them that a Bishop could not give up the temple of God. This happened on the Friday before Palm-sunday. The next day being Saturday, the *Præfectus prætorii* came into the church where St. Ambrose was attended by the people, and endeavoured to persuade him to

XLI.
Justina attacks
St. Ambrose.
Sup. n. 28.
Ruff. 11.
c. 15.
Ambr. ep. 20.
ad soror n. 1.
Mabill. Itin.
Ital. p. 17.
Ambr. ep. 20.
n. 2.
n. 3.

C c c c

yield

VOL. II.

A. D. 385.
XL

*A Rescript in
favour of the
Luciferians.
Edit. Sirm.*

1650.
Gennad.
Script in
Faust.

Libell. Mar-
cell, &c.
Faust. p. 32.

P. 29.
P. 39.
P. 72.
P. 6.

Præfat.
p. 65, 73.
Sup. lib. xvi.

p. 39.
p. 40.
p. 76, 77, &c.

P. 64. S4. v.

Gørhof. ad
l. 28. C. Th.
de hær.

P. 70.
P. 97.

XLI.
Justina attacks
St. Ambrose

Sup. n. 28.
Ruff. 11.

C. 15.
Ambr. ep. 20.

ad foror n. 1.
Mabill. Itin.
Ital. p. 17.

Ambr. ep. 20.
n. 2.

n. 3.

[illegible]

A. D. 385. yield up at least the *Basilica portiana*. At which the people making a clamour, the Præfect declared that he would make his report to the Emperor.

a. 4.

Sup. lib. xi.
B. 21.

THE Sunday following, after the lessons of the holy Scriptures, and the Sermon, the Catechumens being dismissed, St. Ambrose was explaining the Creed to the *Competitores* in the *Baptisterium* of the Basilica. The *Competitores* were, as it has been said before, the chosen Catechumens who were preparing themselves during Lent, in order to receive baptism at Easter. Whilst St. Ambrose was employed in this function, he was informed that there were certain Deans sent from the palace to hang up veils in the *Basilica portiana*; and that upon this news, a part of the people were repairing thither. These Deans were a kind of officers of the court; and the veils or escutcheons were tokens to shew that a house or any other place belonged to the Emperor. St. Ambrose hearing this, did not discontinue what he was about, but began *Masse*, that is to say, the oblation. As he was offering up the holy Sacrifice, somebody came to acquaint him that the people had seized an Arian Priest, named Castulus, as he was going along the streets. At this news St. Ambrose wept bitterly, and implored God in the very action of the Sacrifice, not to suffer any blood to be shed in the cause of the Church, but rather that his blood should atone, not only for his people, but even for the hereticks. Then he sent certain Priests and Deacons, who delivered this Arian Priest from the danger he was in.

a. 5.

a. 6.

L. 8. c. Th.
de indul.
Crim.

THE Court looked upon this resistance of the people, as seditious; and immediately laid a considerable tax upon the whole body of the merchants. Several were put in irons during the Holy week, at which time it was the custom to release prisoners, according to the laws of the former Emperors, as also by a decree of Valentinian, made that same year 385, on the twenty third of February. They indeed who were guilty of high treason, were excepted by those laws. In three days time, these merchants were taxed two hundred pounds weight in gold; and they said that they would give as much more, upon condition that they might retain their Faith. The prisons were filled with merchants; all the officers of the household, secretaries, agents of the Emperor, and menial officers who served the Counts, were kept within doors, and forbid to appear in publick, under pretence that they should have no hand in the sedition: Terrible threatnings were issued out against all persons invested with dignities, if they did not deliver up the Basilica. In short, the persecution was so violent, that had the least incouragement been given, nothing could be expected but the utmost cruelty.

a. 7.

a. 8.

THE Counts and Tribunes came to summon St. Ambrose to deliver up immediately the Basilica; saying, that the Emperor claimed his right, since all things were in his power: To which he answered, Should he require of me what is my own, my land, my money, I would not refuse him; though all that I possess belongs to the poor; but the Emperor has no right to those things which belong to God: If you require my estate, you may take it; if my body, I readily give it up: Have you a mind to load me with irons, or put me to death, I am satisfied: I shall not fly to the protection of the people, in order to defend my self, nor cling to the altars to beg my life; I rather chuse to be sacrificed for the sake of the altars. St. Ambrose spoke in this manner, because he knew that they had sent armed men to take possession

on

on of the Basilica; and he was seized with horror, when he considered that A. D. 385. there might happen a massacre which would occasion the destruction of the whole city, and perhaps of all Italy. ^{n. 9.} He exposed his own life, to deliver the Church from the odium of the blood which was ready to be shed. As they were urging him to pacify the people, he replied; It is in my power not to incense them; but the hand of GOD only can quiet them. In short, if you think that I stir them up, punish me, or send me to any desert place you please: After he had spoken in this manner, they withdrew. St. Ambrose continued all that day in the old Basilica; but at night he went home to his house, that, if they designed to seize him, they might readily find him.

THE next morning he went out before day, and the Basilica was surrounded with soldiers: But it was reported that they had sent to the Emperor to tell him that if he had a mind to come abroad, he might; and that they would attend him, if he was willing to go to the assembly of the Catholics; otherwise that they would go to that which was held by St. Ambrose; and indeed they were all Catholics, as well as the citizens of Milan, for there were no hereticks there, except a few officers of the Emperor, and some Goths: And as for the Empress, she took those of her communion with her wherever she went. But at that time none of them dared to appear. St. Ambrose perceived by the cries of the people, that the soldiers had beset the Basilica where he was. But whilst the lessons were reading, he had notice brought him that the new Basilica was likewise full of people, who appeared more numerous than when they were at liberty, and that they demanded a Reader. The soldiers who had surrounded the church where St. Ambrose was, being informed that he had ordered the people to abstain from their communion, began to enter into the assembly. The women seeing them were frightened, and one of them ran away; but the soldiers said, that they were come to pray unto GOD, and not to fight. The people at this exclaimed in a modest and resolute manner, saying, as if the Emperor were present, We beseech you, Augustus, we do not fight, nor do we fear; but we pray: then they desired St. Ambrose to go to the other Basilica, where they said that the people were impatient to see him. ^{n. 11.}

HE now began to preach upon the book of Job, which had just been read, according to the service of the season; which custom is still continued in the Grecian church, where the book of Job is read at evening prayer, during the holy week, beginning it on the Munday, and ending it on the Friday. St. Ambrose applying that subject to the present occasion, commended the patience of his people, and compared it with that of Job: He likewise compared the temptations which he then suffered with those of that holy Patriarch. The Devil, said he, endeavours to deprive me, in you, of my children and my riches; and perhaps, because GOD knoweth my weakness, he hath not as yet given him power over my body. He makes a comparison between the wife of Job, and the Empress, who was pressing him to deliver up the church, and blaspheme, against God. He compares her to Eve, Jcfabel, and Herodias. I am commanded, said he, to deliver up the Basilica. I reply, that it is not lawful for me to deliver it up, nor is it beneficial to you Emperor to receive it: Some assert all things are lawful in the Emperor, and that every thing belongs to him. To that I answer,

XLII.
The Continuation of the same Persecution.

^{n. 14.}

Trodium im-
pres. an. 1636.

^{n. 15.}

^{n. 16.}

^{n. 17, 18.}

^{n. 19.}

A. D. 385. swer, Do not wrong your self so much as to believe, that being an Emperor, you have any right to Divine things. They say in the name of the Emperor; I must likewise have a Basilica. To that I have replied, What have you in common with an adulterer? that is to say, with the church of the hereticks. Whilst St. Ambrose was preaching in this manner, he was told, that the Emperor's escutcheons were taken down, and that the Basilica was full of people, who required his presence. He sent Priests thither, but would not go there himself, saying, I put my trust in JESUS CHRIST, that the Emperor will be for us. Then immediately turning his discourse on this news, he continued preaching, and said: How deep are the Oracles of the Holy Ghost! You remember, brethren, with how much affliction we answered to the words which were read this morning: Lord, the * Heathen are come into your inheritance. There came Goths and other strangers in arms, they have surrounded the Basilica; but they came as Gentiles, and returned Christians; they came to usurp the inheritance, they are become coheirs with GOD; and I have those for my protectors, whom I looked upon as my enemies.

n. 20. Thus he continued to give thanks to GOD for his happy change, admiring how the Emperor was pacified by the affection of the soldiers, the instances of the Counts, and the prayers of the people. When he was informed that a secretary of the Emperor's was come with some orders to him, he went to a remote place, and the secretary said to him: What was your design, when you acted contrary to the Emperor's orders? St. Ambrose replied: I know not what order you mean, nor what is the cause of your complaint. The officer said: Why did you send Priests to the Basilica? If you are a tyrant, I will know it, in order to prepare myself against you. St. Ambrose answered: I have done nothing that is too much for the Church. When I heard that the Basilica was invested with soldiers, I contented myself to mourn; and several persons pressing me to go thither, I said; I cannot deliver up the Basilica, yet I must not fight. When I was told that the Emperor's escutcheons were taken down, tho' the people required my presence, I sent Priests thither, and did not go there myself; in hopes that the Emperor would be for us. If you stile this a tyranny, why do you defer to strike me? My only arms are the power of exposing myself. In the old law the Priests gave kingdoms, but did not take them; and it is a common saying that Emperors are more desirous of priesthood, than Priests are of empire. Maximus does not say that I am the tyrant of Valentinian, tho' he complains that my deputation prevented him from going into Italy. The Catholicks spent all that day in sorrow; the children as they were at play had tore the Emperor's escutcheons, which were made like a banner, bearing his image, to denote that the place belonged to him. But the Basilica being surrounded with soldiers, St. Ambrose could not return home to his own house; so he read Psalms with his brethren, in the little Basilica of the church; that is to say, we suppose that they passed the night in prayer, in some private oratory, which was in the same inclosure with the great church. For there were joining to it several buildings, rooms, halls, baths and galleries, by which we understand in what manner the people used to pass days and nights together in it;

n. 21. Ep. 78.

n. 22.

n. 23.

n. 24.

V. leg. 2. cod. ut nemo priv. lib. II. tit. 16. Greg. iv. ep. 33.

Leg. 4. c. Th. de his qui ad ecclef. lib. ix.

* The French is nations, from the Latin word Gentes in the vulgate.

it, there being likewise convenient places in it, where they could eat, and sleep with decency. A. D. 385.

THE next day, which was holy Thursday, they read according to custom the book of Jonas, which the Church reads but only on Saturday: After the lesson was ended, St. Ambrose began to preach in the following terms: We have read a book, brethren, which foretells that sinners shall return again to repentance. The people received these words, in hopes that this would soon come to pass. St. Ambrose was continuing his discourse, when they told him that the Emperor had withdrawn the soldiers from the Basilica; and that he had restored to the merchants the taxes which he had exacted from them. This news gave joy to the people, who expressed their satisfaction with applauses and thanksgivings, considering that the church on that day granted an absolution to the penitents. The soldiers themselves were striving who should bring this news soonest, climbing up upon the Altars, and kissing them as a token of peace.

St. AMBROSE gave an account of all that passed on this occasion, to his sister St. Marcellina, who was then at Rome, and who having heard of this persecution in its infancy, wrote often, and in very pressing terms, to him concerning it. At the conclusion of his relation, he adds that he foresees still greater commotions; for saith he, as the Counts were desiring the Emperor to go to the church, he replied: If Ambrose should command you to do it, you would deliver me up, with my hands and feet bound. St. Ambrose after this says; The Eunuch Calligonus, præfect of the chamber, sent me this message: Thou despisest Valentinian whilst I am living; I will cut off thy head. To which I replied: God permit me to perform thy threatening; I shall suffer like a Bishop, and thou wilt act like an Eunuch. Soon after Calligonus was beheaded, being convicted of an heinous crime. Aug. vi. cont. Jul. c. 14. n. 41.

THE Empress Justina who was still more exasperated against St. Ambrose, because of the resistance of the people, persuaded her son Valentinian to make a law for authorizing the assemblies of the Arians. Benevolus, præfect of the memorials, that is to say, secretary of state, refused to draw up that law: because he was inclined to the Catholick religion from his infancy, tho' he was not as yet baptized. He was promised a greater employment, if he would comply with this order; but he generously replied, Rather take the employment from me which I now possess, and leave me the integrity of my Faith. Saying these words, he took off the girdle which was the badge of his dignity, and threw it down at the Empress's feet: After this action he was disgraced, and his place being taken from him, he retired into Bressia, which was his own country, where he had learned the Holy Doctrine by the instruction of St. Philaster. However the law in favour of the Arians was made and published, and we have it to this day, dated from Milan, the tenth of the calends of February, under the consulship of Honorius and Evodius; that is to say on the twenty-third of January in the year 386. Honorius was the second son of Theodosius, born on the ninth day of September, in the year 384, and appointed Consul, with the title of Most noble child, soon after his birth. And Evodius was one of the principal ministers of the Emperor Maximus, under whom he had been *Præfectus prætorii* in the year 385, and it was customary

XLIII.

A law in favour of the Arians.

Ruff. ij. c. 16.

Soz. vij.

c. 13.

Gaudent. præfat.

L. ult. C. Th. de fide cath.

Idac. Fast.

Chr. Pasc.

an. 384.

Socr. v. c. 19.

A. D. 386. many in those days to appoint a consul for the East, and another for the West.

THE decree of Valentinian, in favour of the Arians, was as follows: We give leave to all those to assemble, whose opinions are conformable to the exposition of faith, which was subscribed to, under Constantius of happy memory, in the council of Rimini, by the Bishops of the whole Roman Empire assembled, even by those who are now against it, and which was confirmed at Constantinople. Those likewise shall be at liberty to assemble, to whom we have given leave; that is to say the Catholics; but let them know, that if they cause any disturbance in opposition to our statute, they shall be punished with death, as the authors of sedition, the disturbers of the peace of the Church, and as guilty of high treason. Those likewise shall be subject to the same punishment, who attempt openly or in private to make any resistance against this present decree. The true author of this law was Auxentius, whom the Arians acknowledged for Bishop of Milan. He

Ambr. Serm.
de basilic.
n. 22.

was a Scythian by nation, and was called Mercurinus: but being cried down for his crimes, he took the name of Auxentius, which was agreeable to the Arians, because of the former Auxentius, who was predecessor to St. Ambrose.

XLIV.
St. Ambrose's
remonstrance.
Id. ep. 21. ad
Valent. n. 1.

n. 13.

n. 2.

n. 4.

n. 6.

n. 9.

n. 12.

SOME time after the publication of this law, Dalmatius a tribune and notary came to St. Ambrose from the Emperor, to tell him that he might chuse his Judges as Auxentius had done, in order to their cause being judged by the Emperor in his consistory; declaring to him that if he would not come thither, he might retire where-ever he pleased: that is to say, surrender the See of Milan to Auxentius. St. Ambrose consulted the Bishops that were at Milan; and they were of opinion that he should not go to the palace, nor make himself liable to that sentence; being likewise apprehensive that amongst the Judges chosen by Auxentius, there might be some Pagans or Jews. He therefore by their advice drew up a remonstrance, which he sent to the Emperor, and by which he excused himself from obeying this order; first by the example of his father Valentinian, who had often declared both in his discourses and by his laws, that in matters of faith, or where Ecclesiastical persons were concerned, the judge ought not to be inferior in dignity to the parties; that is to say, Bishops ought to be judged by Bishops. Who can deny, adds he, but that in matters of faith Bishops judge even Emperors, that are Christians, so far are they from being judged by them? Afterwards speaking of the Judges chosen by Auxentius, he saith: Let them come to the church; not to sit there as judges, but to hear with the people; that every one may chuse him whom he ought to follow. The matter relates to the Bishop of that Church: If the people hear Auxentius and think that he teacheth better, let them follow his faith; I will not be jealous of it. St. Ambrose speaks thus because he was very confident of the people's adhering to the Catholick faith.

He insists upon the law which had lately been published, and by which people were no longer at liberty to side otherwise than in favour of the Arians, it not being permitted even to present any petition to the contrary. That, says he, which you have enjoined others to do, you have likewise prescribed to yourself; For the Emperor makes laws in order to observe them first himself. Would you have me, says he, chuse judges that are laicks,

that

that if they preserve the true faith they may be proscribed or put to death? A. D. 386.
Would you have me make them either liable to prevaricate or to be punished?

Ambrose is not of so much consequence that the Priesthood should be de- n. 13.
based upon his account; the life of one single man is not to be put in com-
parison with the dignity of all the Bishops.

He afterwards declares his abhorrence of the council of Rimini, and n. 14.
his adherence to the council of Nice. This is the Faith, faith he, which
was followed by the Emperor Theodosius your Father; it is that which is
held in Gaul and Spain. If I must preach, I have learned to preach in the
church as my predecessors have done. If a conference is to be held con-
cerning the Faith, the Bishops ought to hold it as they did under Constan- n. 15.
tine of august memory, who left them at liberty to judge. It was like-
wise done under Constantius; but that which had a good beginning had
not as good a conclusion. He speaks of the council of Rimini; and adds:
I should have gone to your consistory, my Lord, to represent this to you n. 17.
by word of mouth, if the Bishops and people had not hindered me. And n. 18.
I would to GOD you had not summoned me to go where I was inclined to
come. I daily went abroad, no body kept me, you should then have sent me
where you thought fit; but now the Bishops tell me, There is very little
difference between voluntarily leaving the altar of JESUS CHRIST, and
delivering it up. I would to GOD that I was certain that the church n. 19.
would not be delivered to the Arians, I would then willingly offer my self
to whatever you thought fit to enjoin me.

AFTER this remonstrance, St. Ambrose retired into the church, where
he was for some time guarded by the people both day and night; they
being afraid that he would be taken away by force; and indeed there were Paulin. n. 13.
a company of soldiers sent by the Emperor, who guarded the church with-
out, and let all go into it that would, but they suffered none to come out.
St. Ambrose being thus shut up with his people comforted them by his dis-
courses; one of the most remarkable of which is still extant, which was
delivered on Palm-sunday, as seems probable from the Gospel that was then
read. For this second persecution arose about the same time as the other of
the preceding year, that is about the end of Lent. This Sermon begins
thus:

I OBSERVE that you are more troubled than usual, and more careful of XLV.
guarding me; I am surprized at it. Unless it is because you have seen the His Sermon
Tribunes give me orders from the Emperor to go where I please; allowing against Aux-
any that are so disposed to follow me. Are you then afraid that I would entius.
forsake you, to secure my self? But you might have observed my answer, Serm. de
that I could not possibly forsake the Church, because I fear the LORD of Basil. post
the whole world more than I fear the Emperor; that if they carry me by ep. 2. n. 8.
force out of the church, they may drive my body from it, but not my n. 19.
mind; and that if he proceeds against me as a Prince, I will suffer as a Bi-
shop. Why then are you troubled? I shall never quit you voluntarily; but n. 2.
I know not how to oppose violence. I might afflict my self; I might
weep and groan; tears are my arms against arms, the soldiers and the Goths.
But besides I can neither fly, nor forsake the church; lest I be thought to
do it through fear of a more rigorous punishment.

HE

A. D. 386. HE afterwards says : It hath been proposed to me to deliver up the vessels belonging to the church ; I answered, that if they asked me for my land, my gold or my silver, I willingly offered them. But I can take nothing out of the Temple of GOD, nor deliver them what was only committed to my care. If they aim at my body and my life, you ought only to be spectators of the combat ; if it is appointed by GOD all your precautions will be vain : He that loveth me cannot give a better testimony thereof, than by suffering me to become the victim of JESUS CHRIST. And afterwards : You are concerned at finding a door open, through which it is said a blind man got, in order to return home. Acknowledge then that it signifieth nothing to be guarded by men. Do you not still remember, that two days ago there was found a free passage on the left side of the *Basilica*, which you thought very secure ; and which has stood open several nights, notwithstanding the vigilance of the soldiers. Disquiet your selves therefore no longer ; that will come to pass, which CHRIST ordaineth, and which is expedient. It is here that he urgeth the example of St. Peter, to whom JESUS CHRIST appeared at the gate of the city of Rome, saying that he was going to be crucified again ; and this is the most ancient testimony that remains of that story. St. Ambrose adds ; I expected something extraordinary ; either to be killed by the sword, or to be burned for the name of CHRIST. They offer me pleasures instead of sufferings. Let none therefore disturb you, by saying, that a chariot is prepared, or that Auxentius hath spoken severe things.

Paul. n. 12. WHAT St. Ambrose says concerning the chariot, Paulinus explains in his life. A certain person named Euthymius had got an house near the church, and had placed a chariot there, that he might take away St. Ambrose with the greater ease, and carry him into banishment. But a year after, on the very same day in which he intended to have forced him away, he was himself put into the same chariot and carried from that very house into banishment ; and St. Ambrose furnished him with money and other necessities for his journey. Paulinus moreover reports that a certain Haruspex named Innocent, got upon the top of the roof of the church, and there sacrificed in the night time, in order to excite the hatred of the people against St. Ambrose ; but that the more enchantments he used, the more affectionate were the people for the Catholick faith, and their holy Bishop. He even sent Demons to kill him, but they brought him word that they could not so much as approach the door of his lodging, much less his person ; because the whole house was surrounded by an insurmountable fire, which even burnt them at a distance. So that the Haruspex was forced to give over his enchantments. He himself related all this afterwards, when the Empress Justina was dead. For being put to the torture for other crimes, he cried out that the Angel which took care of St. Ambrose made him undergo greater tortures ; and declared all that hath been related. Another came with a sword to the chamber of St. Ambrose in order to kill him ; but having lifted up his hand with the naked sword, his arm remained extended in the air. Then he confessed that Justina had sent him, and immediately his arm recovered.

Serm. de Basil. n. 16. ST. AMBROSE's discourse agrees with this relation ; for he continued speaking to his people after this manner : It was generally said, that murderers

there were sent, that I was condemned to die, I do not fear it, and will not leave this place. For whither should I go? is not every place full of groans and tears? since orders are every where given for driving away the Catholick Bishops; to put those to death who resist; and to proscribe all the officers of cities who do not put these orders in execution: And it was a Bishop who wrote them with his own hand, and dictates them with his mouth. He afterwards enumerates the cruelties of Auxentius in very strong terms, whom he all along supposes to be the author of this law in favour of the council of Rimini, which was to be observed under pain of death. He urges the example of Naboth, whose story had been read, and saith: I answered those who pressed me in the Emperor's name: God forbid that I should deliver up the heritage of JESUS CHRIST, the heritage of my fathers, the heritage of Dionysius who died in exile for the faith, the heritage of the Confessor Eustorgius, the heritage of Myrocles, and of all the faithful Bishops my predecessors. Eustorgius is reckoned the tenth Bishop of Milan, and Myrocles the seventh. St. Ambrose insists upon the indignity of the tribunal which Auxentius had chosen to determine concerning the Faith; the Emperor who was only a young Catechumen, and four or five Pagans; then he adds: The last year when I was sent for to the palace in the presence of the nobles and the consistory, when the Emperor had a mind to take away a *Basilick* from us; was I moved at the sight of the court? Did I not retain the sacerdotal resolution? Do you not remember, that when the people heard that I was gone to the palace, they ran with such violence that none could withstand them; and that when a military Count came out with armed men to drive away this multitude, they all offered to die for the faith of CHRIST? Did they not intreat me to speak to the people in order to appease them, and to give my word that they would not seize the *Basilick*? They desired this office of me as a favour, and though I brought back the people, they were for throwing the odium of this concourse at the palace, upon me: This odium were they likewise for throwing upon me; I think that I ought to suppress it, but without being afraid of it. And afterwards: What have we then said in answer to the Emperor, which is not agreeable to humility? If he asketh us for tribute, we do not refuse it; the church lands pay tribute. If the Emperor desires our estates he may take them, none of us make any opposition to it; I do not give them, but then I do not refuse them; the people's contributions are more than sufficient to maintain the poor. We are reproached on account of the gold which we distribute amongst them; so far am I from denying it, that I glory in it; the prayers of the poor are my defence; those blind, those lame, those aged persons are more powerful than the stoutest warriors. We render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God, the things that are God's; the tribute is Cæsar's, the Church is God's. No body can say that this is wanting respect to the Emperor; what is there more for his honour, than to stile him the Son of the Church? The Emperor is in the Church, not above it.

St. Ambrose likewise observes that they reproached him with deceiving the people by singing of hymns; and he allows that he taught them by this kind of singing to testify their faith in the Trinity. In truth, one of the methods which he makes use of to comfort his people in this persecution, was singing the hymns which he composed, and the *Antiphoni* as

A. D. 386.

n. 23, 24.
Kings xxi.
n. 18.

Sup. lib. xiii.
n. 18.

Mus. Ital. 10.
sp. 110.
De Basil. n.
26, 27, 28.

n. 19.

n. 30.
n. 33.

n. 35.

n. 36.

XLVI.

The singing of
Hymns.

n. 34.

Paul. vii.

n. 3.

Paulinus

A. D. 386. Paulinus calls them, that is Psalms sung alternately by two choirs. It is certain that it was at this time that they first began to sing hymns and psalms at Milan, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, during the watches of the night, and at other hours of prayer; and this custom spread from the church of Milan to all the churches of the West. But as Psalms were always sung throughout the whole Church, it does not appear what St. Ambrose introduced, unless it was hymns and singing by two choirs. However we still sing several hymns of his composing; and they were so much in repute, that in speaking of an hymn in the succeeding ages, it was usual to say *Ambrosianum*.

XLVII.
The relics of
St. Gervase,
and St. Protasius.
Paul. vit.
n. 14.
Amb. ep. 22.
n. 1, 2.

Aug. ix.
Conf. c. 7.
xxii. civit.
c. 8.

Ambr. ep. 22.
n. 12.

Aug. ix.
conf. c. 7.
Serm. 286.
al. 39. divers.
c. 5.
xxii. civit.
c. 8. n. 2.

GOD even gave a visible consolation to the church of Milan, by discovering to St. Ambrose by revelation the relics of St. Gervase and St. Protasius, two brothers and martyrs, whose names and place of burial had long been forgotten. During the heat of the persecution of Justina, St. Ambrose having dedicated the Basilick which is still called *Ambrosiana* from him; the people with one voice desired him to dedicate it like the *Basilica Romana*. That was another church in Milan near the Roman gate, consecrated in honour of the Apostles. St. Ambrose replied: I will, if I find any relics of Martyrs; and immediately he felt a warmth within him, which he looked upon as a lucky omen. For GOD revealed to him in a dream, that the bodies of St. Gervase and St. Protasius, were in the Basilick of St. Felix and St. Nabor. Notwithstanding the apprehensions of his Clergy, he caused the ground to be opened before the rails that surrounded the sepulcher of the martyrs. He found probable signs; perhaps palm leaves engraved, or some instrument of torture. He caused certain that were possessed to be sent for, in order to lay hands on them; but before he had begun to speak, one of them was seized with a devil, and stretched upon the ground in the place where the martyrs, whom they were seeking, lay. Having discovered their sepulchers, they found two men who seemed of more than ordinary size; all their bones were entire, there was abundance of blood, and their heads were separated from their bodies. They set them in order, every bone being put in its place, and they covered them with certain vestments, and laid them on biers. In this manner were they carried towards the evening to the Basilick of Fausta; where they celebrated their vigils all night, and several that were possessed received imposition of hands. That day and the next there was a great concourse of people: and then the old men recollected that they had formerly heard the names of these martyrs, and read the inscription of their tomb. The next day the relics were transferred to the *Basilica Ambrosiana*. There was at Milan a blind man named Severus, who was known to the whole city, being a butcher by trade before he had lost his sight, and who had been blind several years. This man hearing the noise of the publick joy, asked the reason of it; and being told, he rose up hastily, and caused himself to be carried to the bodies of the Saints. When he was come thither, they let him approach so near as to touch the bier on which they lay with an handkerchief. As soon as he had applied the handkerchief to his eyes, they were opened, and he returned without any body to lead him. This miracle was performed before a prodigious number of people, and amongst the rest, St. Augustin who was then at Milan, and who testifies it in three places of his works. Severus having thus recovered his sight, devoted it for the future wholly to God, and spent the rest of his life in serving

serving in the *Basilica Ambrosiana*, where the bodies of the martyrs lay: A. D. 386. He was still alive when Paulinus wrote the life of St. Ambrose. This translation was attended with a great many other miracles; persons possessed, were delivered; sick persons were healed, by touching with their hands the vestments that covered the saints; and some merely by their shadow. A great number of handkerchiefs and garments were cast upon the holy relicks, and preserved as remedies against diseases. It is St. Ambrose himself who bears testimony to this in one of his sermons, which he made upon this occasion. ep. 22. n. 9.

FOR after the relicks of these saints were brought to the *Basilica Ambrosiana*, he spoke to the people upon this publick joy, and these miracles; taking occasion from the eighteenth and hundred and twelfth psalms which had just been read. He returns thanks to JESUS CHRIST, for affording such relief to his Church, at a time when she stood so much in need of it; and declares that he desires no other defence. He afterwards says: Let us put these victims of triumph in the same place where JESUS CHRIST is a sacrifice. But let him who hath suffered for all men be upon the altar, and those whom he hath purchased by his passion under the altar. It is the place which I designed for my self; for it is but just that the Priest repose where he hath been accustomed to offer; but I yield the right side to these sacred victims. He was for burying the relicks immediately, but the people desired by loud cries to have that ceremony, which was called *depositing*, deferred until sunday. At last St. Ambrose prevailed with them to let it be performed the next day. He then made a second sermon, the chief subject of which was answering the calumnies of the Arians. For altho' these miracles put a stop to the violence of the persecution without; the court of Justina made a jest of them in the palace. They said that St. Ambrose had suborned men by money to pretend to be possessed; and they denied that the bodies which were found, were really those of martyrs. St. Ambrose answers them by the evidence of the facts, of which all the people were witnesses, and insists chiefly upon the miracle of the blind man. I desire to know, adds he, what is it that they do not believe? Is it that martyrs have power to assist any person? That is to disbelieve CHRIST, for he hath said: You shall do greater things than these. What then is the object of their envy? is it me? but it is not I who work miracles: Is it the martyrs? they therefore shew that the belief of the martyrs was different from theirs; otherwise they would not be jealous of their miracles. These are the words of St. Ambrose. Ep. 22. n. 13, 16, &c.
Paul. vit.)
n. 15.

HE wrote to his sister St. Marcellina, on account of the finding and translating of these holy martyrs; and joins with this letter the two sermons which he made upon this occasion. In order to confound the Arians the more, a man from amongst the multitude was suddenly seized with an unclean spirit, and began to cry out: That those were tormented like him who denied the martyrs, or who did not believe the Trinity in Unity which St. Ambrose taught: Whereupon the Arians took him and drowned him in a pond. One amongst them who was the most violent in disputing, and the most hardned, testified that being in the church when St. Ambrose preached, he had seen an angel whisper him in the ear, so that he only seemed to report to the people the words of the angel. The Arian who had this vision was converted, and began to defend the faith which he had opposed. Joan. xiv. 12.
Id. ep. 22.
Paul. vit.)
n. 6.
Id. n. 17.

A. D. 386. posed. Thus were the Arians put to silence by the force of miracles, and the Empress obliged to let St. Ambrose remain at peace. Perhaps her apprehensions of the Emperor Maximus might contribute somewhat towards it. For he wrote a letter to the Emperor Valentinian, exhorting him to let the persecution cease. He remonstrates to him, that if he was not desirous of maintaining peace with him, he should not give him such advice, because that division would be for his advantage. He represents to him the danger of changing the Faith, which hath been settled so many ages. All Italy, saith he, Africk, Gaul, Aquitaine, and all Spain believe thus; and in short Rome, which holds the first rank, even in this particular, i. e. in religion, as well as in the Empire. At length St. Ambrose and the Catholick Bishops remained unmolested.

Soz. 2. conc.
p. 1031.
Theod. v.
hist. c. 14.

XLVIII. St. AUGUSTIN had now been two years at Milan, where he was an eye-witness of the miracles and combats of St. Ambrose, and he was converted soon after. He was an African, born on the 13th of November in the year 354, at Tagasta an Episcopal city of Numidia, his parents were Christians, and of no mean condition, his father's name was Patricius, and his mother's Monica. They were very careful to have him instructed in human learning, and every body observed in him an excellent genius, and a wonderful disposition for learning. Falling sick in his infancy, and being in danger of death, he desired baptism; having been already made a Catecheumen by salt and the cross. His mother being surprized got every thing ready for his receiving baptism; but of a sudden he grew better, and it was deferred. He first studied grammar and rhetorick at Madura, until he was sixteen years old, when his father made him return to Tagasta, and kept him there a year; whilst he was making preparations for sending him to finish his studies at Carthage; for the great desire which he had of making this son a scholar, made him strive even beyond his circumstances. Whilst he thus staid at Tagasta, the young man Augustin slighting the good advice of his mother, began to keep lewd company, being induced to it by idleness and the kindness of his father, who had not yet received Baptism; but he was baptized before his death, which happened soon after. Augustin coming to Carthage plunged himself still more and more into criminal conversation with women, which was greatly encouraged by the publick shews and representations of the theatre. However he prayed to God for the spirit of chastity; but he would not as yet hearken to him. In the mean time he made a great progress in his studies, the design of which was to raise him to the magistracy and publick offices; for oratory was then the way to it. Amongst the works of Cicero whom he studied, he read Hortensius, which is lost, and which was an exhortation to philosophy. He was affected with it, and began at that time, being but nineteen years of age, to contemn the vanity of worldly expectations, and to desire wisdom and immortal benefits; and this was the first step towards his conversion.

The first actions remarkable of St. Augustin.
Vid. Pagi. an.
377. n. 3.
Possid. vita
c. 1.

Confess. lib.
I. c. 11.

ii. Confess. c. 3.

iii. Conf.
c. 1.

viii. c. 7.

ii. c. 4.

XLIX. Augustin becomes a Manichee.

c. 5.
c. 6.

THE only thing that displeased him in the Philosophers was, that he did not find in them the name of CHRIST, which he had sucked in, as it were, with his mother's milk, and which had made a deep impression upon his mind; he desired therefore to see the holy Scriptures; but the simplicity of the stile displeased him. At that time he fell into the hands of the Manichees, who always speaking of CHRIST, of the Holy Ghost, and of Truth, introduced

duced him by their pompous discourses, and inspired him with an inclination for their wild dreams, and an aversion for the Old Testament. In the mean time his mother, who was more concerned than if she had seen him dead, would no longer eat with him; but she was comforted by a dream: She imagined herself sitting upon a piece of timber, and that she saw a young man in shining raiment, who came to her with a smiling countenance, asking her the cause of her grief; she answered, that she bewailed the loss of her son. Behold, says he to her, he is with you; and indeed she saw him sitting with her upon the same piece of timber. She told this dream to Augustin, who said to her: The meaning is that you will become what I am. But she replied without hesitation; No. For it was not said: Thou shalt be where he is; but, he shall be where thou art. And from that time she lived and eat with him as formerly.

SHE applied herself to an holy Bishop, and besought him to talk to her son. The Bishop replied: He is as yet too untractable, and much puffed up with that heresy which is new to him. Let him alone, and be satisfied with praying for him; he will find out, by reading, what this error is. I who speak to you was in mine infancy put into the hands of the Manichees by my mother, whom they had seduced; I have not only read, but transcribed most of their books; and I was undeceived of mine own accord. St. Monica would not be persuaded by the words of this holy Bishop; and as she continued, with abundance of tears, to press him to talk to her son, the Bishop replied, being somewhat displeased: Go your way, it is impossible that the son of these tears should perish: Which she received as an oracle from heaven. However her son continued nine years a Manichee, namely from nineteen to twenty eight years of age.

HE kept a concubine, and was faithful to her, as if she had been a lawful wife. Having finished his studies he taught grammar in his own city Tagasta, and afterwards rhetoric. One of the Haruspices offered to make him win the prize in a poetical dispute, provided that he would sacrifice certain animals; but he rejected it with horror, refusing to have any intercourse with the demons. However he did not scruple to consult Astrologers, and to read their books. But he was persuaded from it by a prudent old man named Vinditius, a famous physician, who knew by experience the vanity of such kind of studies. Augustin had at that time an intimate friend whom he had brought over to the Manichees, for he made it his business to seduce others. This friend fell sick, and continued senseless a long time, and as they despaired of his life they baptized him. When he came to himself Augustin made a jest of the Baptism which he had received in that condition; but the sick person rejected his discourse with horror, and died a few days after, being faithful unto Grace. Augustin was about twenty six years of age when he wrote two or three books concerning beauty and decency; but this work is lost.

HE began to dislike the stories related by the Manichees, chiefly concerning the system of the world, the nature of heavenly bodies and the elements. This kind of knowledge, says he, is not essential to religion; but it is essential not to lie, and not to boast of knowing what we know not; especially when we would be thought like Manes to be guided by the Holy Ghost. He relished much better the reasons which the Mathematicians and Philo-

A. D. 386.
c. 11.

c. 12.

Lib. iv. Conf.
c. 1.

iv. c. 2.
Possid. c. 2.

iv. Conf. c. 3.
vi. c. 6.

iv. c. 4.

c. 13. c. 14.

L.
Augustin dis-
likes the Ma-
nichees.
v. Conf. c. 3.

c. 3. n. 6.

A. D. 386. Philosophers assigned for the eclipses, solstices, and the course of the stars. There was a Manichean Bishop named Faustus, much boasted of by those of his sect, as a wonderful man, and perfectly skilled in all manner of sciences. After long expectation he came at length to Carthage, where Augustin taught rhetoric. He found him to be a very plausible man, and a good speaker, but who at bottom said nothing more than the rest of the Manichees; but only he explained it with greater facility and more gracefully. Augustin wanted something more, and was too solid a wit to be contented with externals. All the knowledge of Faustus consisted in having read some of Cicero's orations, a very little of Seneca, and the Latin writings of the Manichees. But when Augustin was for examining deeply with him, the difficulties which he was under concerning the course of the Sun, the Moon, and other heavenly bodies; Faustus freely own'd to him that he had not studied these questions. Augustin perceiving how little satisfaction he received from the most famous doctor of the Manichees, disapproved it entirely, being then twenty nine years of age. At that time he was persuaded to go and teach at Rome, where scholars were more reasonable than at Carthage. Accordingly he embarked, tho' his mother opposed it, and deceived her under the pretence of going along with a friend to the sea-side. Being come to Rome he fell sick of a fever, which reduced him to the utmost extremity, but he did not require to be baptized. He lodged at the house of a Manichee, and he continued to associate with that sect, being held by the bond of friendship. But he had no longer any hopes of finding the truth amongst them, neither did he think of seeking it in the Catholick church, so great was his prejudice against her doctrine. He then began to think that the Academicks who doubted of every thing might well be the wisest men; and he reprov'd his host for giving too much credit to the fables of the Manichees. In the mean time the city of Milan sent to Symmachus the præfect of Rome for a professor of rhetoric; and by the interest of the Manichees, Augustin obtained this place, after having given a proof of his ability by a speech which he made. Thus he came to Milan in 384, being thirty years old.

LI.
Augustin at
Milan.

c. 14.

vi. Confess.
c. 1.

St. AMBROSE received him with a fatherly goodness, which began to win his affection; and Augustin diligently attended his sermons, merely in regard to the beauty of his stile, and to discover whether his eloquence answered his reputation: He found what he said less alluring than the discourses of Faustus, but more judicious and infinitely more solid. He at first gave no attention to the subjects of St. Ambrose's discourses; but however he was insensibly affected with them whether he would or no, and saw that the Catholick doctrine had at least something to be said for it. Upon which he resolv'd entirely to forsake the Manichees, and to remain in the rank of a Catecheumen, as he then was, in that Church which his parents had recommended to him, i. e. in the Catholick church; until the truth appeared more plainly to him. St. Monica had come in search of him, with so much confidence, that as she pass'd the sea she even comforted the seamen in the greatest dangers, by the assurance which GOD had given her, that she should come to her son. When he told her that he was no longer a Manichee, but that he was not yet a Catholick; she was not at all surprized; but calmly answer'd him, that she was confident that she should see him

him a Catholick before she died. In the mean time she continued her prayers, and attended the sermons of St. Ambrose, whom she loved as if he had been an Angel of God, knowing that he had brought her son to this doubtful state, which would be the crisis of his distemper. As in Africa she used to carry bread, wine, and other provisions to the churches of the martyrs; she was for doing the same at Milan; but the porter of the church hindered her, and told her that the Bishop had forbid it. She immediately obeyed, without being zealous for her own custom. Besides, St. Ambrose had abolished these meals in the churches; because instead of the ancient, sober, and modest *agape*, they were now only occasions of intemperance. However he esteemed St. Monica, for her piety and good works; frequently congratulated St. Augustin for having such a mother: For her whole life was virtuous. She was born in a Christian family, where she had been well educated. She was perfectly obedient to her husband, bearing with his irregularities and passions, with such patience as might give example to other women; and she made a convert of him in the latter part of his life: She had a particular talent in reconciling adverse parties; and ever since her widowhood she gave up herself entirely to works of piety; she bestowed abundance in alms, served the poor, and never failed attending the sacrament, nor of coming to church twice every day, in the morning and evening, to hear the word of God, and say her prayers, to which her whole life was devoted. She was very fond of the holy Scripture: God communicated himself to her by visions and revelations, and she knew how to distinguish them from dreams and common thoughts: Such was St. Monica in respect to St. Augustin.

A. D. 386.

c. 2.

ix. Conf.

c. 13. c. 8. 9.

v. c. 9.

L. de ord.

c. 11.

vi. Conf. 13.

vi. c. 3.

He thought St. Ambrose very happy as to the world, seeing him honoured by persons of the greatest consideration. But he could not have an opportunity of conversing with him, as he could have wished, because of the great crowds who came to him, upon various accounts; and he durst not interrupt him in the rest of his time, which the holy Bishop spent in reading. Frequently, says he, when we were at his house; for it was not usual to hinder any person from coming in, or to let him know it; we saw him reading softly; and after having staid a considerable time sitting in silence, we withdrew; supposing that he would not be interrupted in the short space which he had to recover his spirits and his voice. I heard him preach to the people every Sunday; I conceived more and more, that the calumnies, with which impostors attacked the sacred writings, might be dissipated, and I began to perceive the necessity of Authority and Faith.

c. 5.

He had with him two intimate friends, Alypius and Nebridius. Alypius was born as well as he at Tagasta, where his parents were people of the greatest condition: He was younger than Augustin, whose disciple he had been at Tagasta and Carthage. He came to Rome to study law, and was afterwards *assessor* to the *Comes largition*, or great treasurer of Italy. Augustin coming to Rome, Alypius went with him from thence to Milan, not being able to leave him; and continued to perform the same office of *assessor* or counsellor to other magistrates with great integrity; and he had left his country, his mother, and a fine estate which he had, in order to come to Milan and live with Augustin, and search for the truth: Which was the most earnest desire of these three friends. They had even a mind to live in common;

vi. Conf.

c. 7. 10.

A. D. 386. common; and they found about ten who were capable of putting this design in execution; some of whom were very rich, particularly Romanus another citizen of Tagasta, and a relation to Alypius, whom his affairs had brought to court. Augustin considered him as his patron; he had assisted him in his youth to support the expence of his education, particularly after the death of his father, and had afterwards helped him in all his affairs, both with his wealth and his counsel. But this design of living in common was broke off; because some of them had wives already, and others intended to marry; and it was thought that this kind of society would not then be agreeable. Augustin was one of those who intended to marry; his mother had found out a proper person for him; but she was so young that he must stay two years. In the mean time his concubine had left him, and returned into Africa, making a vow of continence for the rest of her life, and leaving him a natural son which he had by her, and whom he named Adeodatus, i. e. given of GOD. He took another concubine for the short time that remained until his marriage; such a slave was he to that evil habit. On the first day of January 385 he spoke a panegyrick for the consul Bauto, who then entered upon his office. At that time being 31 years old, he began to reject corporeal images, to which he had been accustomed by the Manichees, and to form juster notions of GOD, of the spiritual nature, and of the origin of evil. But he did yet comprehend the Incarnation, looking upon CHRIST only as an excellent person; however he already recited the holy Scripture, particularly St. Paul. In this state he addressed himself to the Priest Simplician; who from his youth to a very advanced age had lived in a state of piety. He had instructed St. Ambrose, who loved him like a father: Augustin gave him an account of the whole course of his errors; and told him that he had read some of the books of the Platonists which the rector Victorinus had translated into Latin. Simplician told him, that it was well that he had not met with the writings of the other philosophers which are very seducing; whereas these every where give intimations of GOD and his word. He gave him an account of the conversion of Victorinus, to which he had greatly contributed. Augustin was sensibly touched with it, and earnestly desired to imitate him; not only by receiving Baptism, but renouncing as well as he his office of professor of rhetorick.

ONE day being at his lodging with Alypius, an African named Pontinius, who had a considerable place at court, came to them. When they sat down to discourse together, Pontinius perceived a Book upon the table which stood before them; which he opened, and found to be St. Paul. He was surprized to find that book there alone, instead of books of humanity; upon which he looked upon Augustin with a smile mixt with wonder and joy; for he was a Christian, and frequently said long prayers, prostrating himself before GOD in the Church. Augustin having told him, that he applied himself very much to that kind of study, the conversation fell upon St. Anthony, whose life Pontinius related, it being very well known amongst the faithful. Augustin and Alypius had never heard of him; they were surprized to hear such wonders, and of so late a date; and Pontinius was no less astonished that they had been ignorant of it till then. He told them of the great number of Monasteries which filled the deserts, and of which they had not the least knowledge. They did not so much as know that there was

ii. Cont.
Acad. c. 2.

c. 12, 13.

vi. Conf.
de vit. beat.
n. 4.

viii. Conf.
l. 2.

Sup. l. xv.
n. 6.
n. 5.

LII.
St. Augustin's
Conversion.

one under the direction of St. Ambrose, without the walls of the city of Milan where they lived. At length Pontinius gave them an account of the conversion of two of the Emperor's officers, who as they were walking along with him at Treves, found the life of St. Anthony amongst certain monks, and were so affected with it, that they immediately embraced a monastick life.

AUGUSTIN was deeply affected by this discourse. It was twelve years since the reading of Cicero's Hortensius had excited him to the study of wisdom. He had sought for the truth, and he had found it; he only wanted to come to a determination, and he had no longer any excuse. Pontinius being gone Augustin rose up, and addressing himself to Alypius, he said to him very earnestly, with his countenance entirely altered, and with an extraordinary tone of voice: What is this! What shall we do? Ignorant people come and take heaven, and we with our learning, senseless wretches that we are, behold we are immersed in flesh and blood. Are we ashamed to follow them? And is it not more shameful not even to be able to follow them? Alypius looked upon him without making any answer, being surprized at this change, and followed him step by step into the garden, whither the commotion that he was in carried him. They sat down at as great a distance as they could from the house. Augustin groaned with indignation that he could not resolve upon what seemed only to depend upon his will; he tore his hair, he beat his forehead, and he clasped his knee with his hands joined together. Alypius did not leave him, but waited in silence the event of this extraordinary agitation. Augustin finding himself under a necessity of giving vent to his grief by cries and tears, rose up to get farther from him, and leaving him in the place where they had sat, he lay down under a fig-tree, where not being able to contain himself any longer, he shed torrents of tears, and cried out: When, O Lord, when will thine anger cease? Why to-morrow? why not at this time? Then he heard from a neighbouring house as it were the voice of a child, which, singing, frequently repeated these two words in Latin: *Tolle, lege*: i. e. take and read. His countenance then changed, and he considered very attentively whether children used to sing thus in any place, but he did not remember having heard any thing like it. Upon which he refrained his tears, and thought that God had admonished him to open the book, and to read the first passage which he met with; recollecting that St. Anthony had been converted upon reading the Gospel. He returned therefore with all speed to the place where Alypius staid; he took up the book of St. Paul which he had left there; opened it, and read softly the first passage which he looked upon. It was this: Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: But put ye on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof. He read no farther; and immediately all his doubts vanished.

He shut the book after marking the place, and with an unconcerned look told the matter to Alypius, who desired to see the passage, and made him take notice of what followed: Him that is weak in the Faith receive you; applying these words to himself: and then they came in and told this good news to St. Monica, who was transported with joy. Augustin resolved at the same time to renounce marriage and all worldly expectations, and

A D. 386. first of all to quit his school where he taught rhetoric. But he had a mind to do it without being taken notice of; and as there was but about three weeks to the vacation, which was allowed for the vintage, he deferred declaring himself until that time; having likewise a plausible pretence to the world; for he had an inflammation in his breast that very summer, so that he would have been forced to quit his profession, or at least to leave it off for a time.

LIII.
The first works
of St. Au-
gustin.
viii Conf
ix. c. 3. 4.
c. 6.

Lib. 1.
Retract. c. 1.
iii Contr.
Acad. c. 20.

De beat. vit.
n. 6.
j Retr. c. 2.

ibid. c. 9.
ij De ord.
c. 8.
j Retr. c. 4.

j Cont.
Acad. c. 1.
n. 4.

L. de ord. c. 8.
n. 26.

ij Cont.
Acad. c. 4.

Ibid. c. 3.
iii c. 1.
j de ord.
c. 3. n. 8.

WHEN he was at liberty he retired into the country, to a place called Cassiciac, to the house of a friend whose name was Verecundus, a citizen of Milan, and professor of Grammar. Augustin retired thither with his mother, his brother Navigius, his son Adeodatus, Alypius and Nebridius, and two young men his disciples, viz. Trygetius and Licentius; the latter of whom was the son of Romanus. During this retreat he composed the first of his works, which are written in a very polite stile; but they still favoured, as he himself owns, of the vanity of the schools. The first is against the Academicks, who affirmed that every thing is obscure and doubtful, and that a wise man ought to affirm nothing as sure and certain: and several being persuaded by these arguments, despaired of ever finding out the truth. St. Augustin himself had been affected with them, and he composed this treatise chiefly to strengthen himself against this error. The second work is his treatise of an happy life, consisting of a conversation with which he entertained the company as with a spiritual feast on his birth-day the 13th of November, and the two following days. The subject is to shew that an happy life is only to be found in the perfect knowledge of God. The third work is his treatise of order; wherein he considers the grand question, whether the order of divine Providence comprehends all things both good and evil; but perceiving that what he treated of was too sublime for those to whom he spake, he confined himself to discourse of the order of our studies. The fourth work is his soliloquies, in which St. Augustin talks with his reason as if they were two persons. In the first book he enquires, what sort of person he ought to be, who desireth to acquire wisdom; and proves in the conclusion that whoever is truly so is immortal: In the second book he treats of the immortality of the soul; but this piece remained imperfect. These are the four treatises which St. Augustin composed at Cassiciac during his retreat about the end of the year 386.

THE three first are the product of the learned conversation which he had with his friends, and which he caused to be taken down in notes at the time they were spoken, that he might afterwards preserve what he thought proper. We here find a long account of the free and cheerful manner in which they lived together. Trygetius and Licentius, who were the youngest amongst them, continued their study of humanity; and St. Augustin explained to them every day after supper, half of a book of Virgil. Licentius followed his inclination for poetry, and made verses upon the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, and St. Augustin laboured to disengage him gently from these trifles. When it was fine weather they discoursed as they sat in a meadow; when the weather was bad they shut themselves up in the bathing room. In these conversations they were not forward to answer, but they often considered a long time what answer to give; and when they thought that they had gone too far they readily returned to their question again. For these

these were not vain disputes in order to shew their wit, but enquiries into the truth. At a certain time Trygetius being mistaken, would not have what he had said written down; but Licentius insisted upon its being written. St. Augustin earnestly reproved him for this childish emulation; and as Trygetius laughed in his turn at the confusion of the other, he gave them both a severe reprimand, and concluded it with asking them if they were become virtuous in return for the care which he took in instructing them. St. Monica was present at most of these conversations, she easily comprehending whatever related to morality and religion how sublime soever. St. Augustin spent near half the night in meditating upon these important truths; and in the morning said long prayers accompanied with tears; he was greatly affected with reading the Psalms.

THE vacation being over, he gave notice to the citizens of Milan to provide themselves with another professor of oratory. He wrote to St. Ambrose, giving him an account of his former irregularities and his present disposition, entreating him to give him directions what part of the Scripture he should read in order to prepare himself for Baptism. St. Ambrose advised him to the Prophet Isaiah; but St. Augustin not being able to comprehend what he first read in it, deferred reading it till he was more used to Scripture stile. The time being come when he was to enter his name amongst the *competentes*, in order to prepare himself for Baptism, he left the country and came to Milan; that is about Lent in the year 387. It was there that he wrote his treatise of the Immortality of the Soul; which was nothing but a memorandum for finishing his soliloquies. During this time he undertook to write upon the Liberal sciences, viz. grammar, logick, rhetorick, geometry, arithmetick and philosophy. He finished his treatise upon grammar and afterwards lost it; he composed six books upon musick, which he did not finish till two years after in Africa; he only began the rest, and of all those pieces only that upon musick is extant. His design in all these works was to raise the thoughts of his friends to God, that were addicted to these studies, and to make them ascend by degrees from sensible to spiritual things, as is plain from the sixteenth book of his musick. For after his conversion he devoted all his studies to the service of God. Alypius likewise prepared for Baptism by a sincere humility, and by an extraordinary resolution in getting the mastery over his body; to such a degree as to go barefoot during the winter in that part of Italy; a cold country in respect to Africans.

At length St. Augustin was baptized by St. Ambrose, with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus, who was about 15 years of age. They were baptized on Easter eve, which in this year 387 fell out on the 7th of the Calends of May, i. e. on the 25th of April, as it was determined by St. Ambrose, when consulted by the Bishops of the province of Æmilia. It is thought that upon this occasion St. Ambrose composed his book of mysteries, or of such as are initiated therein, for the instruction of those who were newly baptized. It had been preceeded during Lent with the moral instructions which he daily gave them, upon the lives of the Patriarchs and the proverbs. This shews that the book of Genesis and the proverbs of Solomon were then read at Milan at the evening service, as it is now the custom of the Greeks. Several works of St. Ambrose were taken from these

A. D. 387.

j Cont.

Acad. c. 3.

n. 8

j de ord.

c. 10.

j de ord. c. 3.

ibid. c. 8.

c. 10. n. 29.

ix Conf. c. 4.

c. 5.

id. c. 6.

j Retract.

c. 9.

c. 6.

c. 12.

ix Conf. 4.

n. 7.

Ibid. c. 6.

LIV.

St. Ambrose's

treatise of

mysteries.

ix Aug.

Conf. c. 6.

Ambr. ep.

23. n. 15.

Ambr. de

Myft. c. 1.

Triod. Græc.

A. D. 387. sermons upon Genesis: The *Hexameron* and the following books, particularly those of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, which with great probability are referred to this year 387, tho' it is not to be doubted but that during the course of his office, he might have treated of the same subjects every year, as the same passages happened to be read.

v. admonit.
in lib. de
Joseph.

De myst. c. 1.

c. 2.

c. 6.

c. 7.

c. 8.

c. 9.

IN the book of mysteries St. Ambrose explains to those who were newly baptized, the nature and ceremonies of the three Sacraments which they had just received, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. Which he could not do before; Because, says he, that would be betraying the Secret of the Mysteries rather than explaining them. He then takes notice of the chief ceremonies of Baptism; first opening the ears of the Catechumen, saying, *Ep̄era, i. e. be opened*; then of their being brought into the *holy of holies, i. e. the Baptisterion*; then of the Deacon, Priest and Bishop's being present, and of their renouncing the devil and all his works, the world and the pleasures thereof. In renouncing the devil the Catechumen was to turn towards the West, as it were to oppose him to his face; then he turned towards the East, as it were to behold JESUS CHRIST. St. Ambrose afterwards explains the benediction of the font, magnifying the mysteries of water taken notice of in the lessons of the Old and New Testament, which had been read during Lent, particularly on the saturday, which they stiled *holy*; namely, the Creation; the Deluge; the Passing over the red sea; the Cloud; the waters of Mara; Naaman, and the paralytick that could not get into the pool. When the baptized persons came out of the font, they were anointed on the head; then their feet were washed, and they were clothed in white garments. Afterwards they received the seal and token of the holy Spirit, the seven gifts being pronounced to them; that is the Sacrament of Confirmation. Then they walked towards the altar, saying, as it is still the * custom when they approach it: I will go unto the altar of the LORD, to GOD who rejoiceth my youth. They find the altar prepared, and they assist at the holy sacrifice for the first time.

HERE St. Ambrose explains to them the ancient types of the Eucharist; viz. the sacrifice of Melchisedeck, the Manna, and the water flowing out of the rock; then he adds: You will say perhaps: I see something else; how can I be sure that I receive the body of CHRIST? Prove that it is not what hath been formed by nature, but what the benediction hath consecrated; and that the benediction is more powerful than nature, because it changes even nature it self. He urges the example of the rod of Moses changed into a serpent, and several other miracles, and adds: If man's benediction has been capable of changing the nature of things; what shall we say of the Divine consecration, wherein the very words of our Saviour himself operate? The word of JESUS CHRIST, which could make that out of nothing which was not, can it not change that which is into that which is not? He says that the people answered *Amen* to the words of consecration; which shews that it was pronounced aloud. He recommends to the new believers to keep the mysteries secret.

LV.
St. Cyril's
Catechistical
discourses.

THE five *mystagogical catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem agree entirely with this work of St. Ambrose, and shew that the tradition is the same both in the East and West, for the celebration of the Sacraments; but indeed

St.

* See the Roman office, &c.

St. Cyril's are some years older. He speaks thus in the first of these instructions which are called *Mystagogical*, i. e. an introduction to mysteries: You first, says he, enter into the porch of the Baptisterion, and being in a standing posture turned towards the West, you are ordered to extend your hand, and you renounce Satan as tho' he were present. And afterwards; Why do you look towards the West? because it is the symbol of darkness of which he is the Prince. He explains the renouncing the works of Satan, which are our sins; his pomps which are the shews of the theatre, the circus, &c. his worship, that is not only idolatry, but all manner of superstition, such as enchantments, charms and divinations. He takes notice of the confession of faith; and adds: All this is done without; you afterwards enter into the holy of holies, i. e. the Baptisterion. Immediately you put off your tunick, to shew that you are stripped of the old man. Afterwards you are anointed with the oil, consecrated by exorcism, from the top of your head quite down. This is the oil of the catechumens with which the Greeks still anoint the whole body. St. Cyril continues: You are led to the sacred bath of Baptism. Every one of you is asked whether he believes in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; you have made the salutary confession; you are dipped three times in the water, signifying the three days of our Saviour CHRIST's being in the grave. In the third Catechistical discourse, he explains the unction after Baptism and Confirmation. JESUS CHRIST, faith he, having sanctified the waters of Jordan by his Baptism, came out of it, and the Holy Ghost lighted upon him after a sensible manner; having thus come out of the sacred bath, you receive the unction, the image of that of JESUS CHRIST. You have been anointed upon the forehead, then your ears, your nostrils and your breast: He explains the meaning of all those anointings which are still observed by the Greeks.

St. CYRIL in his fourth Catechetical discourse explains the sacrament of the Eucharist. He first gives an account of the institution of it from the words of St. Paul; then he adds: He himself having said, speaking of the bread, This is my body, who dares any longer doubt thereof? He himself having said, This is my blood, who can ever say that it is not his blood? He formerly changed the water into wine, at Cana of Galilee, by his will only; and shall we refuse to believe that he hath changed wine into blood? Let us therefore receive it with an entire confidence as the body and blood of CHRIST. For under the * *figure of bread*, the body is given you, and the blood under the † *figure of wine*; to the end that partaking of the body and blood of CHRIST you may become one body and one blood with him. And afterwards: Do not stop at the senses, do not judge by the taste, but by faith, and be undoubtedly persuaded, that you are so far honoured as to receive the body and blood of CHRIST. And again: Be persuaded, that what appears to be bread, is not bread, altho' it seems so to the taste, but the body of CHRIST. And that what appears to be wine, is not wine, altho' the taste would have it so, but the blood of JESUS CHRIST. In the beginning of his fifth Catechetical discourses he distinctly takes notice of the three Sacraments, saying: We have said enough of Baptism, of the unction, and of the receiving of the body and blood of CHRIST. He afterwards explains all the ceremonies of the Holy communion. The Deacon gives water to the Bishop and the Priests that surround the altar, and they apply

A. D. 387.
P. 227. C.

P. 228. B.

P. 229. A.

Catech. 2.
P. 230.

Eucholog.
fol. 63.
P. 232. A.

P. 235. B.

Euchol. fol. 64.

1 Cor. xi. 23.
P. 237. A.

P. 238. A.

P. 239. A.

* Εν τύπῳ ἄρτου.

† Εν τύπῳ οἴνου.

- A. D. 387. apply to it these words of the twenty sixth Psalm, I will wash mine hands
 Pf. xxvi. 6. * *with the just, &c.* The Deacon cries, Let us embrace each other : then
 P. 240. B. they give the kiss of peace. The person that officiates, saith, Lift up your
 hearts, and the rest of the preface as it is still said : He beseecheth God that it
 may please him to send down the Holy Spirit upon those his gifts, that he may
 make the bread the body of JESUS CHRIST, and the wine his blood. After
 having finished this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice, they pray for the
 peace of the church, the quietness of the world, for kings, for warriors,
 and for all that have need of assistance. They commemorate those that
 are departed, particularly the saints, that by their prayers God may
 receive ours; afterwards they pray for all the rest of mankind, be-
 lieving that prayer together with the venerable sacrifice will be very ad-
 vantageous to their souls. They say the LORD's prayer, the people an-
 swer, *Amen.* The Priest says, Holy things are for the holy : then they pro-
 ceed to the communion: As you approach it, says St. Cyril, do not stretch
 out your hands, and do not spread your fingers; but put your left hand un-
 der your right that it may serve for a throne, since it is to receive this great
 king; and then receive the body of CHRIST in the hollow of your hand, say-
 ing, *Amen.* Sanctify your eyes by touching them with this sacred body;
 then communicate, and take care not to lose any of it. If you had gold dust in
 your hands, how cautiously would you hold it? this is much more valuable
 than gold or precious stones; take great care therefore not to let fall the least
 morsel. After having communicated of the body of JESUS CHRIST,
 approach likewise to the cup without extending your hands; bend your
 self as it were in a posture of adoration, saying, *Amen;* and sanctify your self by
 the communion of the blood of JESUS CHRIST. Whilst your lips are still
 moist, touch them with your hand in order to sanctify your forehead, your
 eyes, and the other organs of your senses. Preserve these traditions in their
 purity, and never deprive your self of the holy mysteries by your sins.
- St. Monica's death. ix Conf. c. 6. c. 10. St. AUGUSTIN after his baptism, having seriously considered upon a place
 where he might serve God more advantageously, resolved to return into
 Africa with his mother, his son, his brother, and a young man named Evo-
 dius. He was also of Tagasta; was the Emperor's agent, and turning
 Christian, was baptized before St. Augustin, and laid down his employment
 in order to devote himself to the service of God. Being arrived at Ostia,
 they there refreshed themselves for some time, after their long journey from
 Milan to that place, and were preparing to embark. One day St. Augustin
 and St. Monica his mother, leaning together out of a window, which
 looked into the garden of the house; while they were entertaining each o-
 ther with the most kind and tender discourse, forgetting all their past cares,
 and thinking only on futurity, they endeavoured to represent to themselves
 what kind of life the saints would probably lead to all eternity; they raised
 themselves above all the pleasures of sense; and ran over in their imagination
 the whole compass of created bodies, even heaven it self and the stars.
 They proceeded to souls, and passing over all creatures, even those that are
 spiritual, they arrived at last at eternal wisdom, who gave Being to them
 all, and who exists for ever without difference of time. They dwelt on it
 for a moment with the most refined part of their minds, and earnestly wish-
 ed that they might be obliged to return to it; called thereto by the voice,
 and these transient expressions. Then St. Monica said, My son, as for me,

* In Innocency, according to our version.

I no longer take any pleasure in this life. I know not what I am doing A. D. 387. here, nor why I still am here. The only motive that made me wish to live here below, was, that I might see you a Catholick christian before I died. God has granted me still more than this; for I now see you, after having despised all earthly felicity, consecrated to his service.

ABOUT five days after she fell sick of a fever. During her illness, she S. 11. one day fainted away; when being come to her self, she looked on St. Augustin and his brother Navigius, and said to them; Where was I? and afterwards observing them to be overwhelmed with grief, she added, You shall leave your mother here. Navigius seemed to desire that she might rather die in her own country; but she looked upon him with an air of severity, by way of reproof, and said to St. Augustin; Hear what he says? then directing her self to them both; Lay this body, says she, in what place you shall judge proper, let not that give you the least anxiety; all that I desire at your hands, is, that in what part soever of the world you happen to be, you would remember me, at the altar of the LORD. She died on the ninth day of her sickness, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-third of St. Augustin, which was the same year in which he had been baptized, viz. 387.

As soon as she had given up the ghost, St. Augustin closed her eyes; the youth c. 12. Adeodatus burst out into cries and tears, but all the assistants obliged him to be silent, they not thinking that the death of St. Monica was a subject for tears, and St. Augustin suppressed his own, though it was with the greatest difficulty. Evodius took the psalter, and began to sing the hundredth psalm: I will sing mercy and justice. He was joined by the whole house, immediately a great number of devout persons of both sexes came into it. They carried away the body; they offered the sacrifice of our redemption for the deceased; they also, when they were got pretty near the grave, began again to pray, as was the usual custom, before they laid the body in the ground. St. Augustin did not weep during the whole ceremony, but in the night he gave vent to his tears, in order to sooth his grief. He then c. 13. prayed for his mother, as he continued to do a long time after, writing down all the circumstances of her death in his *Confessions*; and he entreats his readers to remember his mother Monica and his father Patricius at the holy altar.

THO' the Empress Justina had used St. Ambrose so ill, yet she besought him to go upon a second embassy to Maximus the Emperor, which he accepted. The subject of it was to demand the body of the Emperor Gratian, and to ratify the peace: for they had great reason to fear that Maximus, not satisfied with commanding in Gaul, would invade Italy, in order to deprive Valentinian of his dominions. St. Ambrose being arrived at Triers, Maximus refused to admit him to audience but in a publick manner in his consistory; and though it had not been customary for Bishops to go thither, St. Ambrose chose rather to concede from his dignity, than not execute his commission. He therefore entred into the consistory, where he found Maximus seated, who rose in order to give him a kiss. St. Ambrose staid among the counsellors, who advised him to go up to the Emperor's throne; and the Emperor himself called to him. St. Ambrose answered, Why do you salute with a kiss him whom you will not acknowledge for a Bishop? for did you acknowledge me as such, you would not see me in

LVII.
The second embassy of St. Ambrose to Maximus.
De ob. Valentin. n. 28.
Epist. 24.

A. D. 387. this place. After some discourse had passed between them, Maximus fell into a passion, and reproached him with having deceived him, by preventing his entering Italy, when nothing could have opposed him. St. Ambrose answered him in a gentle manner, I am come to justify my self from that reproach; although it be glorious for me to have drawn it upon my self for the sake of saving the life of an orphan. But in what part did I oppose your legions, in order to prevent their overrunning Italy? did I shut up the Alps against you with my body? wherein have I deceived you? When you told me that you intended to have Valentinian come to you; I answered that it was not reasonable that a child should cross the Alps with his mother, in the depth of winter; nor that they should expose him to the danger of so long a journey, without her. He afterwards reproached him with Gratian's death, desiring him at least to deliver up his body. After some other discourse, Maximus said he would think upon it, and then St. Ambrose withdrew, declaring that he would not hold Ecclesiastical communion with him; and telling him, that he must do penance for having shed his master's innocent blood. St. Ambrose abstained even from the communion of those Bishops who either communicated with Maximus, or were for putting the Priscillianists to death. Maximus enraged at all these circumstances, commanded him to return back forthwith; accordingly St. Ambrose set out with all the cheerfulness imaginable, though Maximus had threatned him, and a great many people imagined that he was going to expose himself to inevitable danger. The only thing that troubled him at his setting out, was to see them hurrying into banishment an ancient Bishop, Hyginus by name, who seemed just ready to give up the ghost. St. Ambrose besought some of Maximus's friends, to obtain leave for his having at least a suit of cloaths and a feather-bed, in order to give him some little ease and comfort, but he himself was driven away. Being on his journey he wrote to the Emperor Valentinian, and gave him an account of his embassy, being apprehensive lest some persons should prejudice the Emperor against him by some false or malicious report. He concluded his letter with these words; Guard your self against a man, who under the specious appearance of peace, conceals war.

a. 9.

Sup. n. 29.

De ob. Valent. n. 39.

Ep. 24. n. 1.

Epist. 25.

Rom. xiiij. 4.

The reader will not wonder that St. Ambrose should refuse to communicate with those who sought to put the hereticks to death, if he considers how much the Church abhorred even the blood of other criminals. About the same time, a judge, Studius by name, consulted St. Ambrose upon this question, viz. whether it be lawful to condemn a man to death. St. Ambrose applauded his piety, and immediately declared that it is lawful, since St. Paul saith, that *the ruler beareth not the sword in vain*. He indeed owns that some would not receive to the communion of the sacraments, those who had at any time pronounced sentence of death; but he adds that all such are out of the pale of the Church; and these are thought to have been the Novatians. He said that most judges voluntarily abstained, in such a circumstance, from communicating, and that he could not help applauding them. If you communicate, says he, you are excusable; and praise-worthy if you do not. Several heathens have boasted that they had never stained their axes with blood during their administration; how then ought the christians to act in this circumstance? He quotes the example of our Saviour, who sent back the adulterers, and adds the reason why the guilty should be pardoned.

done. There may be hopes of their amendment: they may be baptized; if they are baptized, they may be admitted to penance, and offer their bodies to JESUS CHRIST. For the reader is to understand that the Canonical penances inflicted for great crimes, were at that time so very severe, that they were equal to a rigorous punishment. Our fathers, said he, have been tender and indulgent with respect to the judges, lest if they should refuse them the communion, they might seem to side with the criminals, and procure a general impunity.

HE likewise treats of the same question in another letter, and says that people are grown hot upon it, ever since the time that Bishops prosecuted criminals in the publick courts of justice, and have never gave over their prosecution till they were executed, and that others have approved their proceedings. When we put, says he, the criminal to death, we destroy the person rather than the crime; but when we cause him to forsake his sin, the man is delivered, and the crime is destroyed. He moreover recommends in another place, the custom of interceding for the life of criminals, provided, says he, it may be done without any great trouble; and that lest we should seem to act rather from a principle of vanity, than charity; and that while we are endeavouring to remedy less evils, we should commit greater. For it sometimes happened, that this zeal to save criminals was carried to such an indiscreet height, as to be the occasion of mutinies and seditions.

ABOUT the same time St. Martin happened to be at Triers, and the reluctance which he discovered to communicate with Maximus, sufficiently justifies the behaviour of St. Ambrose, who was not his subject as the Gaulish Bishops were. Many came from various provinces to pay their court to Maximus, and that with the vilest adulation; but St. Martin always maintained his apostolical authority. He came to intercede for certain unfortunate persons, when being invited to dine at the Emperor's table, he refused a long while; saying, that he could not eat at the same table with that man who had deprived one Emperor of his dominions, and another of his life. Maximus protested that he had not accepted of the Empire voluntarily, and with his own consent, but that the soldiery had forced him to it; that the incredible success which had crowned him with victory, seemed to testify that it was the will of GOD, and that not one of his enemies was dead, except those who lost their lives in the battle. St. Martin at length yielded either to his reasons, or his entreaties, which gave the Emperor the utmost satisfaction. He invited to this entertainment as to an extraordinary feast, the most considerable of his courtiers, his brother and his uncle, both Counts, and Evodius the *Præfektus prætorii*. A Priest who had accompanied St. Martin was seated in the most honourable place between two Counts, and on the same bed. St. Martin sat himself down on a little seat near the Emperor. In the midst of the entertainment, an officer presented the cup as usual to Maximus, who caused it to be given to St. Martin, expecting to receive it from his hand; but when he had drank, he gave it to his Priest, as the most worthy person in the company. The Emperor and all that were present, were agreeably surprized at this incident, the whole palace rang with it; and St. Martin was applauded for having done at the Emperor's table, what no other Bishop would have attempted at the table of the most inconsiderable magistrate. The holy Bishop foretold Maximus, that if he went into Italy to make war upon Valentinian, as was his desire, he would come off

Ep. 26. n. 3;

n. 20.

In Pl. 118.
Serm. 8. n. 41.
1 offic. c. 21.

Liv. 15, 16.
C. Th. de
pæn.

LVIII.
St. Martin at
Maximus's table.
Sev. Sulp.
vita. n. 23.

A. D. 387.
Sev. Sulp.
dialog. 2.
n. 7.

with victory at first, but that he would lose his life soon after. Maximus often sent for him to the palace, and all their discourse used to be upon the present life; that to come; and the eternal glory of the saints.

THE Empress, who attended day and night to the Bishop's discourses, sat always at his feet upon the ground, without having power to stir from him; and she being desirous of giving him an entertainment in her turn, she invited the Emperor to it; and both of them together were so urgent with St. Martin to accept the invitation, that he at last could not refuse them. Not but that he did it with the utmost reluctance, for he never suffered himself to come near a woman; but he found it unavoidable in the palace, where he had several things to petition for; such as the delivery of prisoners; the recalling several that were in banishment, and restoring estates that had been confiscated. The Empress's faith made an impression on him, which was no indecorum considering his age, he being then upwards of seventy. The Empress did not sit down at table with him, but attended upon him with cheerfulness. She herself prepared his seat, drew the table to him, gave him water for washing, and set the meat before him, which she had dressed with her own hands. All the time that he was eating she stood at a distance, and was fixed and immovable, in the humble posture of a servant. She herself served him with drink; and when the moderate repast was ended, she laid up very carefully the bits of bread he had left, not leaving so much as the smallest crumbs.

LIX.
St. Martin
communicates
with the Itha-
cians.
Sev. Sulp.
dial. 3. n. 15.

BUT neither St. Martin nor St. Ambrose would communicate either with Ithacus, or with the Bishops who by communicating with him had incurred the same odium. Maximus supported them, and prevailed so far by his authority, that none durst condemn them: there was but one single Bishop, Theognostes by name, who once gave sentence publicly against them. These Ithacian Bishops being assembled at Triers in order to elect a Bishop, prevailed upon the Emperor to send tribunes into Spain, with a sovereign power, to search out hereticks, and deprive them of their lives and possessions. None doubted but that a great number of Catholics would fall undistinguished in this search; for at that time it was usual to pronounce a man a heretick by his aspect; the paleness of his countenance, and his dress, rather than by his confession of faith. Having obtained this order, they heard the next day, when they least expected it, that St. Martin was almost got to Triers; for he was obliged to go there very often, about affairs of charity. They were greatly alarmed at it, well knowing that he would be displeased with their late procedure; and fearing that the authority of so great a man would draw over many to him. They consulted with the Emperor, and it was resolved to send officers to meet St. Martin, to command him not to come nearer the city, unless he would promise to maintain peace and unity with those Bishops who were in it. St. Martin got rid of them artfully enough, by saying that he would come with the peace of CHRIST JESUS.

HAVING got into the city in the night time, he went to church to address his prayers to God, and the next day went to the palace. His chief request was concerning Count Narses and Leucadius the governour, who were obnoxious to Maximus, because of their adhering to Gratian's party. But that which St. Martin had most at heart, was to prevent these tribunes being sent into Spain, with power of life and death; and he was troubled not only for the sake of the Catholics, who might be molested on this occasion; but even for the

the hereticks themselves, whose lives he was for saving. The Emperor kept him in suspense the two first days; whether it were to make a merit of the favours which he sued for, or from the great reluctance which he had to pardon his enemies; or lastly from a principle of avarice, in order to confiscate their estates to his own use. In the mean time the Bishops finding that St. Martin abstained from their communion, waited upon the Emperor, and told him, that in case the obstinacy of Theognostes should be supported by the authority of Martin, their reputation would be entirely ruined. That they ought not to have admitted him into the city: That Priscillian's death would be of no manner of advantage to them, if Martin should undertake to revenge him. At last falling prostrate before the Emperor, they conjured him with tears in their eyes, to employ his power against him.

ALTHO' Maximus was greatly in the interest of those Bishops, he was nevertheless afraid to offer the least violence to a man so remarkable for his piety. He therefore mildly represented to him that the hereticks had been justly condemned by the sentences pronounced in the secular courts, rather than by the prosecutions of the Bishops. That he had no reason to refuse to communicate with Ithacus and his followers; that Theognostes was the only person that had withdrawn himself from their communion, and that it rather proceeded from hatred than from any reasonable consideration: that a council which had been held a few days before, had pronounced Ithacus innocent. The Emperor observing that St. Martin was not prevailed upon with these reasons, fell into a passion, went away, and gave orders immediately that all those whom he came to intercede for should be put to death. St. Martin having notice of it in the night time, immediately ran to the palace; promised to communicate, provided he would pardon those unfortunate persons, and recall the tribunes that had been sent into Spain; and Maximus immediately complied with all his demands.

THE next day being pitched upon by the Ithacians for the ordination of Felix the Bishop, St. Martin communicated with them that day, chusing to comply with them for a little time, rather than to have so many people given up to the slaughter. But the Bishops, though they were extremely urgent with him to subscribe this act, as a testimony that he owned himself a member of their communion, could never prevail upon him to gratify them in this respect. The next day he went suddenly out of Triers, and groaned and lamented as he went along, for having participated with them in this criminal communion. Being come near a town called Andetharina, and at this day *Echternach* in Luxemburgh, at two leagues distance from Triers, he stopt a little in the woods, his company still going forward. There as he was considering upon the fault with which his conscience reproached him, an angel appeared to him and said: Thy remorse is justly founded, but it would have been impossible for thee to have extricated thy self in any other manner; be of good cheer and resume thy courage, lest thou hazard thy salvation. From that time he took strict care not to communicate with any of Ithacus's followers; and during the sixteen years he lived afterwards he never was present in any council, or any assembly of Bishops. It is thus Severus Sulpitius relates this fact, and he adds: St. Martin finding that he had less grace and power to deliver those who were possessed; used to own to us from time to time with tears in his eyes, that he felt a sensible diminution of his power, ever since he had unhappily communicated, though but for a moment, against his inclination. Felix who was ordained on this occasion, was, as is generally thought, Bishop of Triers; he was a very worthy man, and is reckoned among the Saints.

Martyr. Rom.
26 Mart.

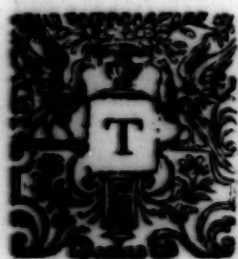
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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XIX.



THE Emperor Theodosius levied new taxes, in order to defray the expence of several wars in which he was engaged, and to bestow largesses on the soldiers, particularly in the tenth year of his reign, which began in 388, and in the fifth of his son Arcadius, which preceded it. These taxes occasioned a sedition at Antioch, which is thought to have happened in 387. The people perceiving that those who did not pay were put to the torture, were enraged at it, and began with throwing stones at the painted images of the Emperor, afterwards they threw down his brazen statues, and not his only, but also those of his father, his children, and of the Empress Flaccilla or Placilla his wife, who died some time before, and was very much esteemed on account of her virtues, particularly her humility and charity to the poor. She used to visit them in the hospitals, and at their houses, without any attendance; she dressed the sick in their beds, tasted what was prepared for them, assisted them in taking it, cut their bread, served them with drink, and performed all the offices of a nurse and a servant. She continually warned the Emperor to be mindful of his former condition; for he had married her before he was raised to the Empire. Such was the Empress Flaccilla.

THE people of Antioch were not satisfied with throwing down the Emperor's statues, but they tied cords to them, dragged them through the city and broke them in pieces, with insolent outcries and severe scoffing. These extravagancies were chiefly committed by children, strangers, and the meanest of the people; but the commotion was so great throughout the city, that the magistrates durst not oppose them, nor even appear, being in dan-

I.
A sedition at
Antioch.
Theod. v.
c. 20.

Liban. in Elle-
bich. p. 526. A.
p. 527. A.

Theod. v.
c. 19.

Soz. vii. c. 29.
Zos. l. 4.
p. 766.
Chryf. hom.
2. to. 1. p. 26.
E.
Liban. ad.
Theod. p. 395.
ger D. 396.

A. D. 387. ger of their lives. These people soon after fell into a terrible consternation when they foresaw the Emperor's resentment: Many forsook the city, and fled to several places in the neighbourhood; others hid themselves in the houses, and the publick places became desolate; for the magistrates began to make a search for the guilty in order to bring them to justice. Various reports were spread concerning the punishment which the Emperor designed them. It was said that he would confiscate all their estates, that he would cause them to be burnt in their houses, and entirely destroy the city, insomuch that the plow might pass over it. All the comfort which Antioch received in this great affliction was from the Christians; especially from the Bishop Flavian, and the Priest John, who was better known by the surname of Chrysostom, or the golden-mouth, which was given him by after-ages on account of his eloquence.

Chryf. hom. 20. p. 224. E. 225. FLAVIAN set out as soon as the disorder happened, to go to the Emperor, being hindered neither by his great age, nor the season of the year, for it was a little before Lent, and still winter; nor yet by the condition in which he left his sister, who had lived with him a considerable time, and who was then sick and at the point of death. He set forward, and his journey was very successful. The weather was fair all the while notwithstanding the season; and the holy Bishop was more expeditious than those who set out on the very day when the sedition happened, in order to carry the news; for tho' they went before him they met with so many obstacles that they were forced to quit their horses, and to get into a carriage.

III. In the mean time the Priest John comforted the people of Antioch, by those discourses which are still remaining, being twenty in number, and the first of which was spoken in the Church called the *Palea*, or ancient. He tells them that he was silent for seven days, like the friends of Job. That is to say, that before he spoke to the people, he stayed till the first heat of the sedition was over, and their minds appeased. He gives a melancholy description of the calamity of that great city, which he ascribes to the little care which they took in suppressing blasphemers, as he had exhorted them in his last sermon, which is placed before these. He afterwards explains the text of Scripture which had been read according to the course of the service. It was this passage of the first epistle of Timothy: Charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high minded. Which shews that they concluded the reading of the epistles of St. Paul, as we do about the same time. In the following homily it appears that Lent was begun. During this holy season, he recommends to them to strive against three sorts of sins, viz. hatred, evil speaking, and blasphemy, against which he had begun to speak, and continues to speak throughout these twenty homilies. It is very plain that the present misfortunes of the city excited them to commit these sins. He particularly attacked swearing the first week, during which he spoke every day. He observes the good effect which affliction and fear had upon this people. The publick place is empty, saith he, but the church is full; men are sought for in the city as in a solitude, but in the church we are crowded by them; every body flies thither as into a port to avoid a storm. For four days together he spent his whole time in comforting them and exhorting them to patience, and to be converted; by the example of Job, of the three children in the fiery furnace, and of the Ninivites, which are generally

Chryf. ibid.
n. 25.

Hom. 17.
p. 193. B.

Chryf. hom.
20. p. 224.
E. 225.

Hom. 6. p. 28.
c. 29.

III.
The homilies
of St. Chry-
sostom to the
people of An-
tioch.

Hom. 2.

Hom. 1. p.
20. D.

p. 28. B.

1 Tim. vj.
17.

Hom. 3. p. 52.
D.

Hom. 4. p.
63. C.

Const. Apost.
lib. 11. c. 22.

nerally made use of to excite people to repentance. He did not begin till the fifth day to explain Genesis to them, which is read after Lent is begun. In the Greek church it begins on the Monday of the first week at evening service; for that is their first day of fasting. St. John Chrysostom continued this explanation on the following days; but he all along applies it to comfort them, and excite them to repentance.

IN one of these discourses he takes notice of an abuse which prevailed very much at that time; which was to take precautions against fasting, by plenteous meals before and after them, as it were to repair a loss. In another he reproves those who rejoyce at Mid-lent, as it were for a great victory; and those who afflict themselves before-hand on account of the Lent of the succeeding year. This all proceeds, saith he, from our supposing fasting to consist in the mere being deprived of food, and not in the alteration of our manners. In another place he reproves those who scruple coming to church after they have eaten. Perhaps, says he, the ill state of your health excuses you from fasting; but it does not excuse you from hearing the word of GOD; and the meals of Christians ought to be so moderate as not to hinder their application to serious matters. This discourse had its effect; and in that which followed St. Chrysostom congratulates his auditors, inasmuch as those who did not keep the fast, nevertheless came to church after they had dined; for in Lent the sermon was preached in the evening, and the Eucharist celebrated afterwards. This holy preacher did not mind the applauses which were sometimes given him by the people: he only regarded their actual conversion. He was not satisfied with speaking; he made a strict enquiry what advantage was reaped by his auditors, as a physician enquires into the condition of his patients; and he was continually employed in it. From thence it is that he still mentions swearing again in his homilies, and does not leave off till he has cured his people of it: He had often spoken to them against shews, but fear was more effectual than all his discourses. They withdrew from them of their own accord in this time of affliction, and not only the Christians but the Pagans forsook the theatre and the hyppodrome, in order to come to church and sing the praises of GOD. The whole city daily amended, and instead of lewd songs and merriment, with which the streets and publick places formerly resounded, nothing was heard but groans, prayers and benedictions; the shops were shut, and the whole city became one Church.

IN the mean time the Emperor heard of the sedition at Antioch, being then at Constantinople, in the beginning of the year 387. At first he only heard it by common report, because the messengers were not arrived; and in the first motions of his indignation, he resolved to deprive that city of all its privileges, and to transfer the dignity of the metropolis of Syria and of all the East to Laodicea, which had long been jealous of the greatness of Antioch. He immediately sent thither two of his principal ministers, Heli-bicus the *Præfectus militiæ*, and Cesarius the *Magister officiorum*, in order to enquire into the affair and punish the ring-leaders. The Bishop Flavian came half way to meet them; and being informed of the cause of their journey, he broke out into a flood of tears and prayed most earnestly unto GOD, foreseeing the affliction of his flock. And indeed their arrival spread a terror throughout Antioch. They declared it deprived of its privileges, they forbid

A. D. 387.

Hom. 7. p.

93. E.

Triodius Gr.

Hom. 15.

init.

Hom. 18. init.

Hom. 9. p.

107. D.

Hom. 10. init.

Hom. 9. init.

Hom. 15.

p. 169.

p. 170. A.

III.

The arrival
of the Empe-
ror's Commis-
saries.

Gothofr. Chr.

Cod. Theod.

Soz. vij. c. 23.

Chrif. hom.

20. p. 227. C.

A. D. 387. bid the plays of the theatre, and of the hyppodrome, and ordered the bath^s to be shut up, which was a severe punishment in hot countries. They began to prosecute the criminals, and chiefly the senators and magistrates who had not quelled the sedition. All the people who remained in the city, appeared at the gates of the palace where they held their tribunal. And these wretched citizens, who suspected one another, stood staring, not daring to speak; because they had seen several persons apprehended contrary to their expectation, and confined in the palace. Thus they continued silent, lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, and praying that God would soften the hearts of the judges. The hall was filled with soldiers, armed with swords and clubs commanding silence, in order to prevent the tumult which might be occasioned by the wives and relations of the persons accused. And amongst others, there was the mother and sister of one of these unhappy men sitting at the door of the room, where the judges were examining them, and tho' they were of the greatest distinction in the city, yet there they remained, alone, disregarded, and covering their faces through shame. They could hear from within the room the threatnings of the judges, the voice of the executioners, the strokes of the rods, and the cries of those who were tortured, which pierced their hearts. The judges themselves, who were good-natured and virtuous men, were concerned at the punishments which they were obliged to inflict. The night being come, they waited for the event; and in the mean time offered up prayers and vows to God, that he would so incline the hearts of the judges, as to make them suspend the process, and refer it to the Emperor. At last, the criminals being loaded with irons, were sent to prison; and thus those who had caused shows to be exhibited at their own expence, and filled up the other publick employments in the state, passed through the open street in this mournful equipage. Their estates were confiscated, and writings were set up at the doors of their houses, giving notice, that they were to be sold, as forfeited. Their wives being turned out of doors, were forced to go and seek for shelter, which was very difficult for them to find; because every one scrupled to take them in, for fear of bringing himself under suspicion upon that account.

IV.
The Monks
come to succour
Antioch.
Sup. xvij. n. 7.
Hom. 17.
p. 193. C.

p. 103. D.

p. 193. D.

THEN the monks who lived in the neighbourhood of Antioch, came down from the mountains; left the grottoes and hutts wherein they had immured themselves for many years, and came into the city of their own accord, purely to administer consolation to the afflicted. They needed but to shew themselves, for they had lived a life of such austerity that their very aspect inspired a contempt of life. They spent the whole day at the gate of the palace, spoke boldly to the magistrates, and interceded for the criminals; crying out, that they would not stir, till the judges had pardoned those people. The judges told them that that was not in their power, and that it would be of dangerous consequence not to punish such disorders. The monks offered to go and wait upon the Emperor, in order to sollicite their pardon; for, said they, our master is pious, and we shall certainly appease him; we either will not suffer you to shed the blood of these unhappy people, or we will die with them. We own the crimes which they have committed are great, but the Emperor's clemency is still greater. The judges astonished at their resolution, for they were just going to embark for Constantinople,

Constantinople, would not suffer them to go, and gave them hopes of obtaining A. D. 387. pardon from the Emperor, provided only that the monks would give them their remonstrances in writing, which they did. The judges having granted what they desired, they immediately returned back to their respective retirements.

AMONG these holy monks, Macedonius, surnamed *Crithobagus*, or the barley-eater, distinguished himself in a particular manner. He was a person of great simplicity, unlearn'd, had not the least knowledge of the world, having spent his life on the mountains in prayer night and day. Meeting with the Emperor's two commissaries in the midst of the city, he took one of them by the cloak, and commanded them both to alight from their horses. They at first looked upon him with contempt, seeing a little old man covered with tatters; but some of their company telling them who he was, they alighted, and embracing his feet, begged his pardon. My friends, says he to them, speak to the Emperor in these terms: You are a man; your subjects are also men made after the image of GOD: You are exasperated for the sake of brazen images; but a living and reasonable image is greatly superior to them: The loss of the former may easily be supplied, and indeed others are already set up in their places; but you cannot give a single hair to those whom you have put to death. Macedonius spoke in this manner in Syriac, and they explained the meaning thereof in Greek to Hellebicus and Cæsarius. They were surprized to hear him discourse in this manner, which they never expected from a rude and ignorant man; and they promised to repeat it to the Emperor. The Bishops discovered as much zeal as the monks: They stopt the judges, and would not suffer them to proceed on their way, till they had promised that this matter should have a happy issue. Whenever they refused them, they grew bolder, in order to prevail upon them the sooner; but when they obtained what they sued for, they embraced their feet, and kissed their hands, thereby shewing that their modesty was equal to their courage. We may reasonably presume, that the Bishops in the neighbourhood of Antioch ran thither to assist them on this occasion, and that the Priests were equally zealous.

BUT the heathen philosophers did not imitate them in this respect; and St. Chrysostom did not fail to put them to confusion upon this occasion. Where are now, said he, those Cynic philosophers, more vile and wretched than the dogs they imitate, who wear cloaks, have long beards, and staves in their hands? they have all left the city, and are gone to hide themselves in caves. Those whose works prove them to be true philosophers, are the only persons that have appeared in the publick place of resort, as if nothing had been the matter. The inhabitants of cities are fled into the desarts, and the inhabitants of the desarts are come into the city. And afterwards: The present transactions are a proof of the falsity of their histories, and the truth of our own: Our monks who received their religion from the Apostles, imitate their virtue and their courage. Thus we have no need of writings to prove it; the thing plainly manifests it self, the masters are known by their disciples. We have no occasion to have recourse to harangues, in order to discover the vanity of the heathens, and the weakness of their philosophers; the effects plainly shew, that the whole has ever been a series of fictions and delusion. Nor would he suffer the Christians to expect consolation

A. D. 387.

Hom. 16. init.

Laban. in
Cæsar.p. 510. In
Helleb.

p. 533. B.

Chryf. hom.

11. p. 127. B.

Hom. 11, 12,

13, 17.

Hom. 18.

p. 211.

V.

Flavian at
Constantino-
ple.

Hom. 20.

p. 226. D.

lation from the unbelievers. A heathen magistrate, to encourage them, had spoke to them, upon a false report which had been raised, of certain soldiers that were said to be arrived. St. Chrysostom reproaches them with it in this manner. I have applauded the vigilance of this magistrate, but have blushed for shame at the thought of your standing in need of any other consolation. I wished that the earth would open and swallow me up, when I heard the terms in which he spoke to you, sometimes to comfort and revive you, and at others to reproach your meanness of spirit; it was not your business to receive instructions from him; but it is yours to instruct the unbelievers. With what face shall we look upon them henceforward? in what stile shall we address our selves to them, in order to animate and encourage them in their afflictions?

The informations and enquiries being ended, and the criminals thrown into prison, the Emperor's two commissaries agreed to make a report to him thereof, and to wait his orders, before they proceeded further in it. Cæsar set out in order to receive them, and returned to Constantinople with the utmost expedition. As for Hellebicus he remained at Antioch. Every thing grew calm there; and when they saw that they had put no body to death, and that the Emperor required time to soften his resentments, they began to breathe again, and to raise their desponding hopes. St. John Chrysostom, who during the time that the Emperor's commissaries were engaged in these affairs, had never once opened his lips, began now to speak; and for four or five days successively, he began his Sermons with a thanksgiving upon the happy turn of affairs; continuing still to preach on the creation, and against swearing. In one of his following discourses, he censures those, who making the prohibition, by which they were forbid going into the baths, a pretence, used to go and wash themselves in the river; where they danced, and committed a thousand irregularities, they having women in their company upon these occasions; and all this at a time when the principal citizens were either in prison, or were fled, and the whole city under the utmost terrors. He tells his hearers that he was sensible they had no share in these disorders; but he exhorts them to endeavour to reform those who had been guilty of them.

IN the mean time Flavianus the Bishop was arrived at Constantinople. When he was entred into the palace, he kept at a distance from the Emperor, without speaking, holding down his head, and hiding his face, as if he alone had been guilty of the crime which the inhabitants of Antioch had committed. The Emperor advanced towards him, and without the least anger in his countenance, laid before him his beneficence towards the city of Antioch, during the whole course of his reign; and as he enumerated each particular favour, he cried out, is this then their gratitude and acknowledgments? What particular complaint have they to make against me? and why must they attack the dead? Have I not always discovered a greater love for this city than for any other, not even excepting that wherein I was born; and have I not continually discovered the desire which I had to see it? Upon this the Bishop groaning bitterly, and bursting out again into tears, cried out: We are very sensible of the affection which your Majesty has ever discovered for our country, and this is the most grating reflection. Destroy, burn, kill, act just as you think proper; and still our punishment will be less

less than we deserve; the damage we have done our selves is worse than a thousand deaths. For what can be more affecting to us, than for the whole world to know, that we have been guilty of the utmost ingratitude? the devils have employed all their efforts in order to deprive this city, once so dear to you, of your good-will. If you destroy it, you will gratify their wishes; but if you pardon its former guilt, you will make its inhabitants suffer the most rigorous punishment. You have now an opportunity of adorning your head, with a brighter diadem than that which you wear; since you owe partly it to another's generosity; whereas the glory that will accrue to you from thence, will result entirely from your own virtue. Your statues have indeed been thrown down; but then you erect others of a much greater value in the hearts of your subjects, and by that means have as many statues as there are men in the world. He afterwards quoted the example of Constantine, who took no farther vengeance on those who had thrown stones at his statue, than by laying his hand on his face, and saying that he had felt nothing of it; he reminded Theodosius of his own laws, whereby the prisoners were to be set free at Easter, and those excellent words he had added, would to God I could also raise the dead! It is now in your power to do it, continued Flavian, and you will raise the whole city of Antioch from the dead. Its obligation will be greater to you than to its founder, even more than if you had delivered it, after its having been taken by the Barbarians.

P. 229.

L. 6, 7, 8.
C. Th. de
indulg. crim.

P. 230.

CONSIDER, that not only the safety of this city, but even your own glory, or rather that of Christianity, is at stake. The Jews and Heathens are informed of this accident, and have their eyes fixed upon you. If you follow the dictates of clemency, they will say to one another: Behold the mighty force of the Christian religion! it has checked the indignation of a man, who has not his equal upon earth; and has inspired him with a spirit of wisdom, of which a private man would be altogether incapable. The God of the Christians must certainly be a great God, since he raises mankind above nature. If any one should tell you that this will be an occasion of puffing up the other cities with pride and insolence, do not listen to them. You might indeed be afraid of them, if the necessity of your affairs obliged you to pardon them; but they are already dead with fear, and are every moment in expectation of punishment. Had you killed them all, they would not have suffered so much as they have done. Several that had fled into the deserts are become the prey of wild beasts: others have hid themselves in caves, where they spent their days and nights; it is not men only that have suffered in this manner, but even little children, and women of quality of a delicate and tender constitution. The city is reduced to a condition worse than slavery; the whole world is sensible of this truth, and were you to raze it, the example which you would thereby set to others, would not be so worthy of imitation, as if you spared it. Suffer it therefore to enjoy henceforward some little tranquility: It is an easy matter for a conqueror to punish, but it is not very common for them to pardon.

P. 231.

How much will it redound to your glory, when it shall be one day said, that the inhabitants of so great a city being involved in a general guilt; when all of them were in the utmost terror; when neither the governors, the judges, or any other person, dared so much as to open their mouths;

P. 232. E.

G g g g 2

that

A. D. 387. *There a single old man being invested with the Priesthood of God, appeared before the prince, and by his single presence, and plain and simple discourse moved and affected him! for your Majesty is to observe, that our city in charging me with this deputation honours you in a particular manner, since it thereby judges, that you esteem the priests of God, how contemptible soever they may be, more than all the rest of your subjects. But I am come not only from these people, but from the Master of the angels in heaven, to declare to you, that if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly father will likewise forgive you. Reflect therefore upon that day, when we shall all of us give an account of our actions. Remember that if you have any sins to expiate, it may be done without the least difficulty, by barely pronouncing one word. The other deputies bring you gold, silver, and presents; but as for me, all I offer you, is our holy laws, exhorting you to imitate our master, who loads us with benefits, although we daily offend him. Do not elude my hopes and my promises; and I know, that if you grant a pardon to our city, I shall return to it with confidence; but if it is refused, I will never set my foot again into it, but will henceforward renounce it, as being no longer my country.*

P. 233.

VI.
Theodosius
pardons the
Inhabitants of
Antioch.

P. 234.

Theod. v.
hist. c. 20.

Liban. or.
12. init.
Zos. lib. 4.
p. 766.
Or. 12, 13.

Or. 20, 21.

Chryl. hom.
22. P. 234.

FLAVIAN having spoken in this manner, Theodosius could scarce refrain from tears, and said: What great wonder will it be if we who are but men, should pardon those who are like ourselves: since the master of the world came upon the earth, and has made himself a slave for our sakes; and that being crucified for those whom he had loaded with benefits, he offered up his prayers to his Father for them? Flavian was desirous of continuing at Constantinople, in order to celebrate the feast of Easter with the Emperor: but the Emperor said to him; I know that your flock are still in a state of affliction, go and comfort them. Flavian insisted and besought Theodosius to send his son thither; but he answered him: Offer up your prayers to God, in order to obtain of him the removal of the obstacles, and the putting a period to these wars, and I my self will go in person. The Emperor also answered the letter which Cæsarius had brought him from the monks of Antioch, and therein seemed to justify his conduct. The heathens were also desirous of having a share in the honour of this reconciliation, and ascribed it to the eloquence of Libanius the sophist. And indeed, he went to Constantinople, notwithstanding his great age, and presented himself before the Emperor, not, as Zosimus assures us, in quality of deputy of the senate of Antioch; but as he himself assures us, from his own proper impulse, without having been sent by any one: Four speeches which he made on this occasion, have been transmitted to us: viz. two to the Emperor Theodosius, the first to persuade him to pardon the inhabitants of Antioch, and the second to thank him for having done it: The two others are panegyrics inscribed to Cæsarius and Hellebicus, the Emperor's two commissaries.

AFTER Flavian had set out, and had passed the Streights, Theodosius sent after him to know whether he pursued his course to Antioch with expedition; for he was afraid that he would stop by the way, and celebrate the feast of Easter in another place. Flavian lost no time; but then he was not so very eager to be the first who should carry this happy news to Antioch, but dispatched messengers before him, to whom he gave the Emperor's

peror's letters. The inhabitants of Antioch, upon the hearing of this news, adorned the publick place with garlands, lighted up lamps, and celebrated this festival, as if it had been that of the founding of their city. When Flavian came thither he had the satisfaction to find his sister alive, whom he had left at the point of death, and to celebrate Easter with his flock. However he did not ascribe any of this good success to himself; and when he was asked by what means he appeased the Emperor, he said: I contributed nothing; it was GOD who softened him, he was appeased of his own accord, before I opened my mouth; and he spoke of what had happened with so much unconcern, as tho' some other person had been offended. Such was the consequence of the sedition of Antioch.

ST. John Chrysostom, who afforded so much consolation to the people upon this occasion, was about forty years old, being born about the year 347, in the very city of Antioch, of a noble family, and which had served with reputation amongst the officers belonging to the *Magister militie* of the East. His parents were Christians, his father's name was Secundus and his mother's Anthusa; they had two children, viz. a daughter and this son, who very much resembled his father, whose physiognomy was noble and generous. Soon after he was born Secundus died, having lived but two years with his wife, who was then but twenty years old; and yet spent the rest of her life in a state of widowhood. John being born with an excellent disposition, applied himself to learning; he was a disciple to the sophist Libanius and the philosopher Androgatius; he pleaded several causes and composed discourses which Libanius himself admired; and this sophist declared when he was dying that he had chosen this John for his successor, if the Christians had not snatched him away from him. When he was eighteen years old he was dissatisfied with the vanity of the rhetoricians and the injustice of the tribunals, and applied himself to the study of sacred literature. St. Meletius, who then governed the church of Antioch, observing the good disposition of this young man, let him be always with him; and when he had instructed him for three years, he baptized him, and made him a reader. John brought over to a retired life, Theodore and Maximus, who studied with him under Libanius. Theodore was afterwards Bishop of Mopsuesta in Cilicia, and Maximus of Seleucia in Isauria. They all three followed an ascetic life under the discipline of Carterus and Diodorus, who was afterwards Bishop of Tharsus.

JOHN had a more intimate friend than these, named Basil, with whom he advised concerning what kind of life they should embrace, and they determined for that of the Solitaries: Basil resolved upon it without hesitation; but John found it more difficult to forsake the world, and was chiefly detained by the entreaties and tears of his mother, who desired no other recompence for having lived a widow, and taken so much care of his education, but that he would not forsake her; leaving him at liberty to live as he thought fit after her death. Basil exhorted John to raise himself above these considerations; when a report was spread that they were to be made Bishops: at which John was surprized, not being able to guess why they thought of him, fearing that they would ordain him by force, which was very usual in those times. Basil came to him in private, thinking to inform him of this news; and desired him to act in concert with him upon this occasion,

A. D. 387.
Ibid. p. 225.
C.

P. 226. A.

VII.
The first remarkable
actions of St.
Chrysostom.
Pallad.
dialog. p. 40.
Socr. vi. 3.
Soz. viii.
2 Chryf.
Sacerd. c. 2.

Ap. Ibid.
Pelaf. 2.
Epist.

Socr. vi. c. 3.

De sacerdot.
c. 1.

c. 2.

A. D. 387. **tion, as they did in all other affairs.** For, said he, I shall make the same choice as you, whether it be to avoid the Episcopal office, or to accept it. John thought that he ought not to injure the Church so much as to deprive it of the service of a man, who, notwithstanding his youth, was so well qualified for a guide to souls; he therefore dissembled with him for once, saying that there was no haste, and that he was for deferring the consideration of that matter to another time. In the mean while he concealed himself; and soon after the person who was to ordain them arrived. Basil, who was under no suspicion, was brought under another pretence, and suffered himself to be ordained, supposing that John would do the like. They even deceived him by saying that the most obstinate and resolute had yielded to the opinion of the Bishops. But when Basil knew that John had hid himself from them, he came to him and complained grievously of the stratagem which he had made use of to engage him in this office. John gave him his reasons, and this conversation was the subject of the books concerning the Priesthood, which John wrote afterwards. It is not known who was this Basil, the friend of St. John Chrysostom, unless he was Maximus Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who then must have had two names.

c. 3.

V. Hermant.
liv. 1. c. 12.Pall. dialog.
p. 41.

IN the mean time, St. John Chrysostom after having been ordained Reader, not thinking in his conscience that his employment in the city was sufficient to allay the heat of his youth, retired into the mountains that were near Antioch; and having found an old man a Syrian who greatly mortified himself, he imitated his austere way of living, and continued under his discipline four years. He afterwards retired to a cave alone, endeavouring to conceal himself. He staid there two years, hardly ever sleeping, and never lying down either by night or day; so that some parts of his body were so benumbed by the cold, as to be almost dead. His employment was reading the holy Scripture, and composing certain religious discourses.

VIII.

The defence of
the Monastick
state.To. 4.
Lib. 1. c. 2.
p. 356. A.

IT was during this retreat that he wrote his three books in defence of the monastick state: For several thought that their austerities were carried to excess, and had recourse to threats and violent measures, to hinder the propagation of them. This was done not only by Pagans, but even by Christians; and there were some, who went so far as to say: This was enough to make them renounce the faith, and sacrifice to demons. It was the common subject of their jest in the publick place, and in all places where idle people met together. One said; I was the first who laid hands upon such a monk, and I beat him heartily. Another, I have exasperated the judge finely against him. Another boasted that he had dragged him along the street and put him in a dungeon. Upon which the standers-by burst out with laughter. Thus did the Christians act, and the Pagans made a jest of each of them.

c. 3.

ST. John Chrysostom undertook to shew the world their mistake in this matter; not for the advantage of the monks who placed their glory in their sufferings, but for the benefit of the calumniators. In the first book he shews the usefulness of the monastick state, and the necessity of retirement, by reason of the corruption which prevailed at that time, even amongst the Christians, especially in the great cities. In the second he addresses himself to a Pagan father, whom he supposes to be overwhelmed with grief that his son embraced the monastick state. He shews him that it is the true philosophy;

philosophy; that by contemning riches, glory and temporal power, a monk A. D. 387.
~~is the richest, the freest, most powerful and most honoured of all men.~~ In
order to shew the power of the monks, he has these remarkable words;
Let us persuade your son to desire of the richest amongst the religious
persons, to send him what quantity of gold you please; or rather to
give it to such a poor man; you will see the rich man obey him more rea-
dily than one of your stewards obeys you. And if this person should be-
come poor, your son would order another to do the same, and afterwards
another. He concludes with this story: I had a friend the son of a Pagan,
who was rich, in great esteem and considerable in every respect. The fa-
ther at first stirred up the magistrates against him, threatned him with im-
prisonment, stript him of every thing, and left him in a strange country, in
want even of necessary food. By this means he hoped to bring him to a
more tolerable life. But finding that he was invincible, he suffered himself
to be prevailed upon; he now pays him more respect than if this son had
been his father; and tho' he has several other children of great repute in
the world, he saith, that they are not worthy to be slaves to him.

The third book is addressed to a christian father, and the saint therein c. 11. p. 426.
more fully explains the excellency of the monastick state. He there plain- E.
ly says, that we see as few monks grow remiss as we see other men suc- c. 12. p. 430.
ceed in their studies; and that which destroys the whole world is, that we C.
think that it concerns none but monks exactly to practise the rules of the
Gospel, and that others are allowed to live after a careless manner. He
there brings in a remarkable story of a monk, who by the persuasion of a c. 10.
virtuous mother undertook to instruct her son. He carried him from his fa-
ther's house to another city, under pretence of studying the Greek and Latin
authors. There the young man lived in appearance like other people;
there was nothing rigid or severe in his behaviour, nothing particular in
his dress, his looks or the tone of his voice; but when he was at home you
would have thought him one of the solitaries of the mountains. His house
was ordered according to the exactness of the monasteries, having nothing in
it beyond what was necessary. As he had a penetrating wit, a small part
of the day was sufficient for his studying of human literature, and he de-
voted all the rest in prayer and reading the holy Scripture; and even spent
part of the night in it. He went all day long without eating, frequently
two days and even more. He slept in an hair shirt, having found out this
invention for rising with more expedition. He could not endure to have
his manner of living spoken of abroad; for he was solidly virtuous; and
his tutor had instilled the desire of perfection in him after such a manner
that all his trouble was to restrain him, and to keep him from solitude.
But he brought over to God several young men who studied with him.
St. Chrysostom relates this story, as having heard it from the monk himself
who was the tutor. He looks upon the monastick state as a school of vir-
tue for all the world, since he advises a father to engage his son in it, as
soon as he comes to such an age as to be capable of sinning, as for instance
at ten years old; and to leave him in it as long as it is necessary, even ten
or twenty years, after which he may bring him again into the world. Which
shews that all that were in monasteries, were not all equally engaged there.

How-

A. D. 387.

IX.

Other works
of St. Chry-
sostom.

To. 4.

Soz. viii. c. 2.

Serm. 2. c. 2.

p. 588. A.

c. 2. p. 588.

A.

c. 6. p. 111.

Pallad. p. 41.

P. 42.

Pallad. ibid.

To. 4. p. 834.

P. 838, 840.

To. 1. p. 523.

HOWEVER we find by St. Chrysostom's two discourses to his friend Theodore, that it was not looked upon as a matter of indifferency to quit the exercises of a monastick life in order to return into the world and lead an unrestrained life. This Theodore was of a noble family, he possessed great riches, had abundance of wit, and wrote and spoke very correctly; having been very conversant with the rhetoricians and philosophers. When he began to read the sacred writings, and to associate with religious persons, he imitated their manner of living, and became famous amongst the solitaries. But he soon yielded under temptations, returned into the world, and had serious thoughts of marriage. He even pretended to justify his conduct by examples drawn from history, in which he was well skilled. St. Chrysostom being informed of it, wrote to him in such strong terms that he brought him back to the right way; he renounced marriage; quitted his estate, and reassumed the monastick state. He was as yet but twenty years old, and was afterwards Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. In one of these discourses St. Chrysostom expressly says; that he that hath contracted spiritual matrimony ought not to marry.

HIS two discourses upon compunction are referred to this time, being addressed to two monks Demetrius and Stelechius. In the first he says: When I had resolved to leave the city to go to the cells of the monks, I made strict enquiry who was to supply me with necessaries; whether I could have new bread every day; whether I should not be obliged to eat of the same oil, which I used for my lamp; whether I was to live upon pulse, to be put to hard labour, such as digging the ground, and carrying of wood; in a word I was very careful to make myself easy. He corrected this infirmity so well that he ran into the contrary excess, so that after having been five years in the desert, finding his constitution weakned, and that he could not recover it there, he was forced to return to Antioch, and to enter again into the service of the Church; he was then at least twenty six years of age.

WHEN he had served five years at the altar probably as subdeacon, St. Meletius ordained him Deacon, he being thirty one years old. It is thought that he at this time composed his books of providence; for the consolation of one of his friends a monk named Stagyrus, who had been possessed of an evil spirit, and had fallen into a deep melancholy since that accident, which had not happened to him till after his retreat and conversion, and against which he in vain had recourse to all manner of remedies. In this work St. Chrysostom chiefly enlarges upon the advantages of afflictions.

HIS capacity for instructing was already universally known, and the people found abundance of sweetness in his discourses: He was ordained priest by the Bishop Flavian, and officiated as such at Antioch twelve years. His ordination is referred to the year 385. and as Flavian at the same time conferred the ministry of the word upon him, he made a discourse upon this occasion, which begins with expressions of great astonishment; enquiring whether it is a dream or a reality, seeing a man so young and of so little experience raised to so high a station; and yet considering the time that he was a Deacon he must be at least thirty five years old. A great part of this discourse consists of an eulogy upon Flavian; and soon after St. Chrysostom made

made a panegyrick upon St. Meletius, in which he takes notice, that he had been dead five years; which is referred to the year 386. A. D. 387.

He composed several discourses to shew, in opposition to the Anomæans, that the nature of God is incomprehensible to created Beings; but of his first sermons, the most famous is that concerning *Anathema*. Several of the Catholicks of Antioch through a mistaken zeal had pronounced anathema against those whom they thought hereticks, i. e. against such as were not of their communion. For the followers of Flavian charged those of Paulinus's party with Sabellianism; and the followers of Paulinus accused Flavian's party of Arianism. St. Chrysostom thought himself obliged to speak against this excess. I see, says he, certain persons whose minds are not formed by the holy scripture, or rather who are entirely ignorant of it; I omit the rest for shame; mad wretches, desiring to be teachers, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm; knowing only how to dogmatize like those that are ignorant, and to anathematize what they know not; so that infidels make a mock of us. He afterwards represents to them the force of the word anathema, which signifies being abandoned to Satan; and adds: Why then do you usurp so great an authority, which none but the council of the Apostles have been honoured with; and those who according to the most exact rules are their true successors? Our fathers adhered so strictly to the commandments of God, that they never drove the hereticks out of the Church, but with the same caution, as if they had pulled out their right eye, according to the expression of the gospel. We ought to anathematize those heresies that are contrary to our tradition; but we must always spare their persons. It is plain that St. Chrysostom in this discourse speaks only against laicks, who pronounced anathema against whomsoever they pleased of their own private authority; and we may therein plainly perceive the difference between the anathema and cutting off a person from communion; for neither he nor Flavian, nor any of their communion, communicated with the followers of Paulinus.

It was likewise about the same time that St. Chrysostom first preached on the feast of the nativity of our Saviour, which had lately been introduced into the Church of Antioch in imitation of those of the west; as he tells us in the beginning of that discourse. It was whilst he was a Priest, and at Antioch, that he composed his homilies upon Genesis, during Lent. He there cites the Hebrew in some places; and he might have learnt it by conversing with the Jews, who were very numerous at Antioch, and by its agreement with the Syriack, which was the language of the country. At Antioch, he likewise explained the Psalms; the entire gospel of St. Matthew and St. John; the epistle to the Romans, the two epistles to the Corinthians and those to Timothy. He takes notice that after Easter he preached only on Sundays, and during the course of the year about once a week, tho' he preached at all the assemblies. Such was the Priest John, who comforted the people of Antioch, being under apprehensions of the just resentment of the Emperor Theodosius.

In the mean time Maximus, amusing Valentinian with proposals of peace, and under the appearance of friendship, advanced without noise towards Italy, passed the Alps, and marched to Aquilea, in order to surprize it; but Valentinian went on board a vessel with his mother Justina, cross the sea,

To. 4.

V. sup. liv. xii. n. 47.

sup. liv. xvii. n. 45.

P. 304.

1 Tim. i. 7.

P. 305. D.

Matth.

P. 306. A.

P. 309. A.

To. 5.

To. 1.

Hom. 20.

Hom. 41.

To. 5. serm.

Serm. 60.

X. Maximus in Italy. Zof. lib. 4. p. 766, 767.

A. D. 388. sea and came to Thessalonica, where he threw himself into the arms of Theodosius about the end of the year 387. Maximus easily made himself master of Italy, and even of Rome it self, and likewise subdued Africa. Being informed that they had burnt a synagogue at Rome, he sent an edict thither, as it were to maintain the publick tranquillity. Which made the inhabitants that were christians say, This Prince can hope for no good, he is become a Jew.

Ruff. 11.
hist. c. 16.
Chron. Cod.
Th.
Ambr. ep. 41.
ad Theod.
n. 23.

Socr. v. c. 12.
Sozom. vii.
c. 14.
Theod. v.
c. 5.

Aug. v. civit.
6. c. 26.

L. 14. C. Th.
de hæret.

sup. xviii.
n. 43.

XI.
The death of
St. Gregory
Nazianzen.

Or. 26. p. 721.

Soz. vi. c. 27.

Philast. x. c. 6.

THEODOSIUS being informed that Valentinian was at Thessalonica, went thither to him, leaving his son Arcadius at Constantinople. He said to Valentinian, You ought not to be surprized at the ill success of your Affairs, nor at the progress made by Maximus; because you oppose the true religion, and he supports it. Thus did he free that young Prince from the ill impressions which he had received from his mother, and brought him back to the doctrine of the Church. He even undertook to restore him, and to revenge the death of Gratian; tho' it would have been more to his interest to have taken advantage of Valentinian's misfortune, and to have divided the empire with Maximus, who was very powerful, and with whom he had 'till then kept measures. But Theodosius declared against him, and prepared for War.

WHILST Theodosius staid at Thessalonica, he made a law against the hereticks, dated the tenth of March in 388, and addressed to Cynegius the *Præfæctus prætorii* of the East. It ordered them to be driven out of the cities, particularly the Apollinarians; and prohibits them from making any Bishops or Clerks, or holding assemblies, and even from appearing before the Emperor. On the fourteenth of June following, the two Emperors being at Stoba in Macedonia, made another law addressed to Trifolius the *Præfæctus prætorii* of Italy, which contains in general the same prohibitions, and seems intended to revoke a law, which Valentinian, or rather his mother Justina, had made in favour of the Arians on the twenty third of January in the year 386.

As to the law against the Apollinarians, it is thought to be owing to the zeal of St. Gregory Nazianzen. His retirement did not hinder him from being concerned for the misfortunes of the Church, particularly that of Constantinople. He wrote thereupon to the Bishop Nectarius in these terms: They who are of the sect of Arius or Eudoxius boast of their heresy, holding assemblies as if they were permitted. The Macedonians are so insolent that they assume to themselves the name of Bishops, and boast that Euleusius is the author of their ordinations. Eunomius, who is our domestick evil, is not satisfied that he lives, but thinks himself a loser if he does not draw every body over to his pernicious doctrine. And what is the most intolerable is the presumption of the Apollinarians. For I wonder how your holiness suffers them to hold assemblies as solemn as ours. He concludes with exhorting Nectarius to represent to the Emperor, that the affection which he hath shewn to the Church in all other respects, will be unprofitable, if this error prevails over the sound doctrine. St. Gregory calls Eunomius his domestick evil, because he was a native of Cappodocia, and was at that time banished thither. For the Emperor Theodosius having found that certain of the officers of his chamber were attached to the doctrine of Eunomius, he banished them from the palace, and caused him to be immediately

mediately carried away from Chalcedon. He at first sent him to Muffia, A. D. 388. but the place of his exile having been taken by the Barbarians, he was banished to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and being hated there on account of what he had written against St. Basil, he was sent to his own estate in a place called Dacorohena.

AFTER this letter to Nectarius we find nothing of St. Gregory's relating to the affairs of the Church. He was still at his retirement of Arianza in his native country. All his entertainment was a garden, a fountain and a few shady trees. As to other particulars, he fasted, he prayed, shedding abundance of tears; his bed was a mat, his coverlid a large sack, his habit only a tunick; he went barefoot, lived without the use of fire, and had no company but wild beasts. But notwithstanding his austerities, his continual sickness, and his great age, he still felt some very violent assaults of the flesh against the spirit. Which is the reason that he says, that altho' he was a virgin in respect to his body, he is not certain that he is so in thought. He very carefully avoided the sight of women, as we find by a letter to one of his relations named Valentinian, who under the pretence of enjoying his company, came and lodged with certain women, who lived over against him. This neighbourhood made him leave the place, tho' he had cultivated it by his own labour, and tho' it was near a church of martyrs. But this is not supposed to have happened during his last retreat.

Carm. 39.
P. 138.

Carm. 40.
P. 70.
Ibid. C.

Carm. 58.
P. 136. A.

Ep. 196.

THE chief remedy which St. Gregory made use of against temptations, was prayer and trust in God. He speaks of it in this manner in one of his poems: Virtue is not only a gift of God, but it proceeds likewise from thine own will; but it does not entirely depend upon thy will, a greater power is requisite; my sight is not sufficient for discerning visible objects without the light of the sun. Two parts of good proceeds from God, namely, the first and last; there is but one which is mine, he hath made me capable of good; and he gives me strength; it is I who run in the midst of the race. JESUS CHRIST is my guide and my strength, it is through him that I breath; he enables me to see and to run successfully; without him all we mortals are but vain fantomes, but living carcases, infected by our sins. As birds cannot fly without air, nor fishes swim without water, so man cannot walk one step without JESUS CHRIST. From whence he concludes that we ought to glory in nothing, and to attribute nothing to our own strength, but to humble our selves as much as possible.

Carm. 58.
P. 136. C.

THESE sacred poems were St. Gregory's employment in his last retirement. He therein recounts the history of his life and sufferings; he therein describes his temptations, and bewails his infirmities. He prays, he instructeth, he explains the mysteries, and lays down rules for morality. Besides the inclination to poetry with which he was inspired by the excellence and facility of his genius, he considered this exercise as a work of penance, compositions in verse being always more difficult than those in prose. His design was to give those who were fond of musick and poetry, proper subjects for their entertainment; and not let the Pagans think that none but they could succeed in polite literature. Besides he had a mind to oppose the poems of Apollinarius by such as were useful and religious, as he himself explains the matter. Thus did St. Gregory Nazianzen make use of the lei-

Greg. Presb.
P. 33.
Or. 51. in
fine.

A. D. 388. sure which he had in his retirement, where he happily ended his days in extreme old age. He seems himself to acknowledge that he wrought miracles; saying that he was called upon for his assistance in sickness, and that he often cast out devils only by pronouncing the name of CHRIST. He died at above ninety years of age, in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius, that is in the year of CHRIST 391. The Greek church honours his memory on the twenty-fifth of January, and the Latin church on the ninth of May.

Carm. 60.
p. 140. B.
Carm. 61.
p. 142. A.
Suid. Greg.
V. Pagi. an.
389. n. 4.

XII.
*The prophecy
of St. John of
Egypt.*
Pall. Laus.
c. 43.
Cass. iv.
hist. c. 24.
31. vit.
Patr. c. 1.

Aug. de cura
pro morte.

AMIDST the preparations of war against Maximus, the Emperor Theodosius sent to consult the famous anchoret St. John of Egypt, who lived in the upper Thebais near the city Lycus. From his infancy he had been bred a carpenter, and he had a brother a Dyer. When he was 25 years old he renounced the world, and put himself under the direction of an old man, who inured him to obedience, by making him water dry wood, and perform such like offices. He spent five years in a monastery; afterwards he retired alone to the top of a mountain, into a rock where it was difficult to climb up. He had there cut out three cells; one for the use of the body, the other for labour, and the third for prayer. He there shut himself up when he was forty years old, and lived there thirty years, without seeing any person, receiving what he had occasion for through a window. At the end of this time, that is, when he was seventy years old, he received the gift of prophecy, and of healing diseases. The Æthiopians having made an inroad into Thebais, the person that had the command of the forces that went against them came to consult him; being afraid of engaging because his forces were by no means equal with them. John said to him, If you march against them on such a day you shall come up with them and vanquish them, and you shall be esteemed by the Emperors; which accordingly happened. He suffered no body to come into his cell, but spoke to such as came thro' the window. He never saw any women; and men only at certain times, and that very seldom. He permitted an hospital to be built without his cell, for those who came to him from foreign countries. There appeared to him in a dream the wife of a tribune, who earnestly desired to see him. He restored sight to a Senator's wife with blessed oil with which she rubbed her eyes three days together. For thus he healed the sick by the oil which he sent them, without suffering them to be brought to him, that he might avoid Vanity. He often foretold the increase or decrease of the river Nile, which was of very great consequence in Egypt. The Emperor Theodosius therefore caused this holy anchoret to be consulted, concerning the success of the war against Maximus; and John foretold him that he should be victorious. He frequently gave him the like predictions concerning the inroads which the Barbarians made into his territories, and the manner of overcoming them, and he foretold him that he should die a natural death.

XIII.
*The defeat of
Maximus and
his death.*
Chron. Cod.
Th. Zosim.
lib. 4. p. 770.

THE Emperor Theodosius advanced immediately from Thessalonica into Pannonia, and there defeated Maximus's forces in two battles, tho' superior in number to his own. He passed the Alps without any difficulty, surprized Maximus in Aquilea, and entered it without resistance. Maximus being forsaken by his men was divested of the Imperial ornaments, and led barefoot with his hands tied, before Theodosius and Valentinian, three miles from

from the city. Theodosius upbraided him, in few words, with his tyranny and his crimes; he was in suspense between justice and mercy, but the soldiers took Maximus from his presence and cut off his head. This happened on the 5th of the calends of August, i. e. on the 28th of July in this year 388. Maximus had reigned about five years since the death of Gratian. A few days after Count Arbogastes, who was sent into Gaul by Theodosius, took Victor the son of Maximus and put him to death. Andragatius, the chief leader of the same faction and Gratian murderer's, was in the mean time at Sea, with a fleet, between Greece and Italy; but being informed of the defeat of Maximus, he leapt out of his vessel into the Sea, in his armour, and was drowned. Such was the success of this war, wherein there was hardly any blood spilt. Theodosius afterwards entered Aquilea, and continued in Italy until the year 391.

IN the mean time at Constantinople false reports were spread concerning the battle, in which Maximus was said to have gained a considerable advantage; and even the number of the dead were mentioned. The Arians being angry that the Catholics had possession of the churches, magnified these reports, so that those who had only heard them, affirmed them even to those by whom they were invented. The rage of the Arians was so great that they burnt the house of Nectarius the Bishop: But this sedition had no ill consequences; for the Emperor Arcadius who staid at Constantinople, tho' he was affronted himself, interceded with his father Theodosius for the offenders, and obtained their pardon. Theodosius only made a law by which he forbids the Arians pleading any order which they pretended to have obtained in their favour; and as this law is dated in this year on the 9th of August after the defeat of Maximus, it is with reason referred to this sedition. The Arians of Constantinople had Dorotheus for their Bishop, who had been their Bishop at Antioch. For Demophilus died in 386, and they had sent into Thrace for a Bishop of the same Sect named Marinus, to succeed him; but not finding him sufficiently qualified for it, they put Dorotheus in his place soon after, which at length occasioned a schism amongst them.

FROM Aquilea the Emperor Theodosius came to Milan, where he spent the winter, and staid there until May in the following year 389. St. Ambrose was at Aquilea when he heard that the Emperor Theodosius had condemned a Bishop to rebuild a synagogue of the Jews upon this following account. At Callinicus, a little town in the Province of Osroena in the East, the Jews had a synagogue which was burnt by the Christians; and the Bishop was accused of having advised them to it. In the same place certain Valentinian hereticks, seeing some monks pass by, who were going to church to celebrate the festival of the Maccabees according to the ancient custom; and being enraged at hearing them sing hymns, they rushed into the midst of them and crossed their march. The monks exasperated at this insolence burnt the temple belonging to the Valentinians; and it is even asserted that they took away several things of value that had been offered there. The *Magister militie* of the East gave an account of these disorders to the Emperor Theodosius; who looking upon this as a matter merely political, answered that, without consulting him they ought to have begun with punishing the offenders, and it was ordered that the Bishop of Cal-

A. D. 388.
Pacat. paneg.
c. 34, 35, &c.
c. 43. Prosp.
Chr. an. 389.
Socr. v. c. 14.
Soz. viii. c. 14.
Idat. fast.
Sup. liv.
xviii. n. 28.

Oros. vii.
c. 35.

Socr. v. c. 134.
Socr. vii.
c. 14.

Ambr. ep.
40. n. 13.

L. 16. C. Th.
de her.

Socr. v. c. 12.

XIV.
A Synagogue
burnt in the
East.
Paul. n. 21.
Ambr. ep.
40. n. 6.
Ep. 41. n. 1.
n. 16.

n. 13.

linicus

A. D. 388. cinicus should rebuild the synagogue, or pay the value of it; that the monks and people should be severely punished on account of the fire; and that enquiry should be made after the offerings and other things of value that had been taken out of the temple of the Valentinians.

St. Ambrose being informed of this at Aquileia, where he then was, wrote to the Emperor, at Milan, a long letter to persuade him to revoke this order. He begins with enlarging upon the liberty which a Bishop ought to have of making remonstrances. Who, says he, dares tell you the truth, if a Bishop is afraid to do it? Proceeding to the fact, he complains that they had condemned the Bishop of Callinicus without hearing him, and affirms that if he submits to the sentence he will become a prevaricator; and that if he is punished for not obeying it, he will be a martyr, and that the Emperor will be either guilty of his fall or his death. This was because the Christians thought it unlawful for them to contribute in any manner whatsoever to the exercise of a false religion. Thus in Julian's reign Mark of Arethusa chose rather to suffer martyrdom than to give any thing towards rebuilding an idol Temple, which he had destroyed. St. Ambrose declares that he is ready to take upon himself the crime which is charged upon the Bishop of Callinicus; and that if they dismissed the Bishop it would not be lawful to take any thing from the rest of the Christians, in order to rebuild the synagogue. He objects against the political reason, and says that religion ought to prevail. He represents to him greater disorders than these which had not been punished, viz. the houses of Prefects burnt at Rome, and the house of the Bishop at Constantinople; the churches which the Jews had burnt in Julian's reign, two at Damascus, one of which was repaired at the expence of the Christians, and not by the Jews; and the other lies still in ruins; others at Gaza, at Ascalon, at Berytus, and at Alexandria. The Church, saith he, hath not been avenged, and shall the synagogue and the prophane temple of the Valentinians be avenged? The Jews have burnt Churches; and nothing has been restored, nor any thing required. And what could there be in a synagogue, in a little frontier town; which in the whole could contain nothing considerable or valuable in it? These are the artifices of the Jews, in order to calumniate the Christians; and draw upon them some military execution, or imprisonment or torture. And afterwards; If you do not believe me, send for what Bishops you think fit; if you consult your Counts upon pecuniary matters, how much rather ought you to consult the Priests of the LORD in a matter which concerns religion? What shall I answer hereafter, if people are informed that by an order which came from hence Christians have died by the sword, or under the rods? how shall I be able to justify my self to the Bishops, who already groan so bitterly under the injuries that are done to the Church, in the person of her Priests and Ministers, by forcing them into the offices of cities? We here find that St. Ambrose was lookt upon as the chief defender of the rights of the Church, on account of the great interest and freedom of access which he had with the Emperor.

This letter had not the desired effect; for which reason as soon as he returned to Milan, the Emperor coming to Church he spoke to him publicly, as he had threatned at the end of his letter. He concludes with representing to him the favours which he had received from GOD, and exhorting

ing him to pardon Offenders. When he came out of the pulpit, the Em- A. D. 388.
peror said to him: You have preached me. St. Ambrose reply'd: I spoke ^{n. 27.}
what was profitable for you. Theodosius said: It is true, I did give too
severe an order for rebuilding the synagogue by the Bishop; but it has been
corrected. The monks commit a great many crimes. Then Timasius the
Magister militie, a proud and insolent man, began to abuse the monks.
St. Ambrose continued standing for some time, and said to the Emperor:
Make me capable of offering for you, and quiet my mind. The Emperor
continuing sitting, made a sign to him, and perceiving that he still remain-
ed standing, he said that he would correct his rescript. St. Ambrose pressed
him to put a stop to the whole proceeding. The Emperor promised it.
St. Ambrose said twice: I depend upon your word. Yes, said the Emper-
or, depend upon my word. So St. Ambrose approached the altar, which
otherwise he would not have done. As he had written an account to his
sister St. Marcellina of the uneasiness that this matter gave him, he likewise
gave her an account of his good success.

WHILST the Emperor staid at Milan, it happened on a festival day,
that being come into the church, and having brought his offering to the
altar, he remained within the rails of the sanctuary. St. Ambrose asked him
if he wanted any thing: The Emperor answered, that he staid for the com-
munion service. St. Ambrose ordered his Arch-deacon to say to him: My
Lord, It is lawful for none but the sacred ministers to remain within the
sanctuary; therefore go out and continue standing with the rest; the pur-
ple robe makes Princes, but not Priests. The Emperor signified, that it was
not through pride that he had staid within the rails, but because it was the
custom of the church of Constantinople. He thanked St. Ambrose for this
reprimand; the holy Bishop appointed him a particular place without the
sanctuary, which placed him at the head of the laity; and this order was
ever afterwards observed. When Theodosius returned to Constantinople
he came to church upon a festival day, and having presented his offering at
the altar, he went out of the sanctuary. The Bishop Nectarius asked him
why he did not stay within it. Theodosius reply'd smiling: It is with
difficulty that I learn the difference between the Empire and the Priesthood:
It is with difficulty that I meet with any person who will teach me the
truth: I know none but Ambrose who is properly stiled a Bishop.

XV.
*The resolution
of St. Ambrose.*
Theod. v.
c. 18.

St. AMBROSE likewise contended for the interest of religion against
part of the Senate of Rome, who sent a deputation to the Emperor Theo-
dofius, to solicit again the restoring the altar of victory. When he was be-
fore the Emperor he did not dissemble what it was his duty to tell him up-
on this subject; he was even some time without coming near him, and the
Emperor was not displeased at it. Symmachus was probably the chief of
this deputation; for it is certain that he made a speech in praise of the Em-
peror in the consistory, this same year 388. But when he desired that the
altar of victory might be restored, the Emperor drove him from his presence,
caused him to be put into a chariot, and sent to Centumcellæ, ordering him
to continue there that day. Symmachus was likewise obliged to justify him-
self for having made a panegyrick upon Maximus; but at length Theodo-
sius pardoned him, used him kindly and even made him consul in the year
391.

Ep. 57. ad
Eugon. n. 4.

Prosp. de pro-
mifs. lib. iii.
c. 28.
Symm. ii.
ep. 13.

Id. ep. 31.
Socr. v. c. 14

A. D. 389. From Milan Theodosius went as far as Rome with his son Honorius, whom he had sent for from Constantinople, and with the young Emperor Valentinian. They entered it on the ides of June under the Consulate of Timasius and Promotus, i. e. on the thirteenth of June in the year 389. Then it was that idolatry received the greatest stroke. You might see the senators of greatest quality, and the most ancient families, such as the Probi, the Pauli and the Gracchi, embracing christianity; the people ran in crowds to the Vatican to pay their devotion to the tombs of the apostles; or to the Lateran to receive baptism. There were but few who adhered to their ancient superstitions. The temples were full of cobwebs and fell to ruin; the idols were left alone under their roofs with the owls and bats; but Theodosius suffered them to preserve the antique statues which were the workmanship of excellent artists, for the ornament of the city.

Idal. Fast.
Prud. 1. cont.
Sym.
Hier. ep. 7.
ad let. c. 1, 2.
Prud. ibi. v.
503.

XVI.
The Manichees
at Rome.
L. 10. C. Th.
de her.

Aug. 11. de
Mor. Manich.
c. ult.

During his abode at Rome, Theodosius made a law against the Manichees, ordering them to be driven from all places, and particularly from Rome; forbidding the executing their wills, and ordering their estates to be confiscated for the benefit of the people; and in short depriving them of every thing which they enjoyed in common with the rest of mankind. They were very numerous at Rome, and some years before one of their hearers named Constantius had undertaken to make the *Elect* live in common; for thus they stiled the most perfect amongst them. Constantius who was very zealous for the sect, and had had a good education, could not bear the reproaches which he suffered on account of the immoralities of these *Elect*, who lived in a miserable manner dispersed up and down the several quarters of the city of Rome. He offered to assemble together in his house and to maintain at his own expence all those who would live according to the abstinence which they pretended to; for he had a great estate, and was not fond of riches. But he complained that their Bishops, so far from assisting him, opposed his design, being fond of their dissolute way of living. One of these Bishops who seemed fittest for an austere life, because he was clownish and ill-bred, being come to Rome, Constantius who had expected him a great while, imparted to him his design, which the Bishop approved. He was the first who lodged in Constantius's house, where they assembled all the *Elect* whom they could find at Rome. A rule of life was proposed to them taken from the epistle of Manes. Many of them thought it intolerable, and went away, but shame retained several. The rest began to live according to this rule; Constantius excited them very earnestly to it, being the first in practising it himself.

In the mean time there arose frequent quarrels amongst the *Elect*, and they reproached each other with several crimes. Constantius was grieved to hear them; and so ordered it that in their disputes they unwarily discovered themselves, and published unheard-of abominations. It was then known what kind of persons amongst them were reckoned the most perfect. In short, endeavours being used to make them observe that rule, they murmured and alledged that it was intolerable; and so the matter proceeded to an open sedition. Constantius affirmed in few words, that they must either observe all these precepts, or imagine him that contrived them to be very foolish if they were impracticable. The noise of the greater number prevailed

prevailed over his reasons; even the Bishop himself yielded, and fled away in a shameful manner. It was said that he had brought money with him in a bag, and concealed it very carefully, in order to buy provisions, which he eat in secret, contrary to their rule. At length they all dispersed; and those who were for still continuing this rule were called by the rest *Matterii*, from their lying upon mats. Constantius was afterwards converted to the Catholick religion.

Aug. cont.
Faust. lib. v.
c. 5.

St. AUGUSTINE relates this matter as having been informed of it from undeniable witnesses at Rome it self, where he lived after the death of his mother, the rest of the year 387, and all the year 388. For he having just forsaken their errors, his first labour after he was baptized was to convert them. He could not bear the insolence with which they boasted of their pretended continence and their superstitious abstinence, in order to impose upon the ignorant; insomuch as to value themselves above the true Christians. This was the occasion of his composing, whilst he continued at Rome, his two books of the manners of the Catholick Church, and of the manners of the Manichees. In the first he explains the principles of Christian morality, shewing that the love of God is the only foundation and soul of all virtues. He concludes with describing those who practised it in the church; in order to confute the calumnies of the Manichees by indisputable facts.

XVII.
The writings
of St. Au-
gustin.
The manners
of the church,
i. Retract.
c. 7.

IN the first place he describes the monks, and amongst them the most perfect, that is to say, the anachorets or hermits. These men, says he, who cannot forbear loving mankind, tho' they forbear seeing them; who being absolutely separated from all the world, content themselves with bread and water, and live in the most desolate places; but conversing with God they were happy by the contemplation of the Divine beauty. It is true that according to the opinion of some persons, they have disengaged themselves too much from the affairs of the world; but these persons do not apprehend how useful they are to us by their prayers and their good example. He afterwards proceeds to the Cenobites; who having, says he, contemned the world, live in common after a very virtuous manner, praying, reading, and discoursing together: Being free from pride, obstinacy, and envy; but modest, peaceable, and perfectly united. None of them possess any thing as their own; none of them are chargeable to any person. They employ their hands in labour sufficient for the support of their bodies, without taking off the mind from God. They give their performances to those whom they call deans, from their having the direction of ten persons, so that none of them is troubled with taking care for the body, in respect to food, raiment and other necessities, in sickness or in health. These deans discharge their trust very carefully, and give an account to him whom they stile father; and these fathers excelling not only in the sanctity of their lives, but also on account of their divine knowledge, govern these their children without pride, but yet however with great authority; and they obey them with wonderful affection.

c. 11.

At the close of the day they all come out of their lodging, still fasting, in order to attend to this father; and every father has at least three thousand men assembled with him; for there are communities still more numerous. They hear them with incredible attention and in great silence,

A. D. 389. expressing the sentiments which his discourse excites, by groans, tears or a modest joy. Afterwards they administer nourishment to the body, as much as is conducive to health, making a very sober use of that small quantity of ordinary food that is given them. They not only abstain from flesh and wine, but from whatever may gratify the taste. What remains after this, and they have a great deal remaining from the frugality of their meals and their great labour, is distributed amongst the poor with more care than it was acquired; so that they send vessels loaden with provisions to such places as abound with poor people. It is unnecessary to say any more of a matter so well known. This is the description which St. Augustin gives of the monks who lived in the East in his time, and especially in Egypt; and he twice challenges the Manichees to contradict it.

n. 68. n. 74.

c. 32.

c. 33.

He afterwards proceeds to the religious women, and then to the clergy. How many Bishops, says he, do I know that are very virtuous and holy? How many Priests, Deacons, and other ministers of the Church? whose virtue seems to me so much the more valuable, as it is more difficult to preserve, in the midst of the people, and in a life of business. He speaks of the communities of religious people in the cities. I have seen, says he, at Milan a numerous household of saints, who were governed by a very virtuous and learned Priest. I am likewise acquainted with several at Rome. They are chargeable to no man; but after the example of those of the East, and according to the Apostles authority, they maintain themselves by the work of their hands. I have also been informed that several practise incredible fasting; not only by making but one meal towards night, which is the general custom, but spending three days together without eating or drinking, and even a longer space. However no body is forced to austerities, which he cannot bear; nothing is imposed upon any person which he refuseth, and the rest do not condemn those who are not able to follow their example.

c. 34.

Lib. 1. de
conf. evang.
c. 10. Inf.
n. 43.

He afterwards owns that there are some weak and superstitious Christians, even in the true religion, or such as were so given up to their passions, that they forgot what they promised. I know, says he, that there are several who adore sepulchres and paintings; I know that several drink to excess on occasion of burials, and there make great feasts, under the pretence of religion. * *It is not the respect paid to saints and their reliques that St. Augustin blames here; he explains himself so very clearly as to that point in several other places, that there is no room for the least doubting.* Neither can we say, that he condemns the use of paintings, since he himself mentions those in which our Saviour was represented with St. Peter and St. Paul; and since it was a usual custom in the Churches both of the East and West. Those therefore whom he stiles worshippers of sepulchres and paintings, are those who devote themselves in too gross a manner to the tombs and images of the saints, without raising their minds to the saints themselves, who are reigning in heaven; The Church reproves and instructs them, without forsaking these holy Customs.

XVIII.
The manners
of the Mani-
chees, &c.

IN the second book which relates to the manners of the Manichees, St. Augustin confutes their chief error concerning the nature and origin of Evil;

* M. Fleury's forced distinction in relation to Image Worship is so very obvious, that any impartial Reader must acknowledge that St. Augustin here speaks expressly against it.

Evil; then he examines into what they call the three seals of the mouth, A. D. 389. the hand and the breast; which comprehends all their abstinences and superstitious customs; and at last relates several crimes, of which they were convicted. In speaking of abstinence from meats, he shews that all the merit of it proceeds from the motive. If any person, says he, is contented with only one meal in a day, or is served with herbs seasoned only with a little bacon, of which he eats merely to appease his hunger, drinking two or three glasses of wine, which is requisite for his health: And if another tastes neither flesh nor wine; but eateth twice, at *none* and in the beginning of the evening, and then makes a sumptuous meal of pulse of a delicate and uncommon sort, seasoned and varied after different ways, and if he drinks dry wines, or such as are meliorated, or cyder, or lemonade, or such kind of liquors that are almost of the nature of wine, or perhaps more delicious; if he drinks as much as he has a mind to, and makes his usual meal upon these delicacies when he is under no necessity to do it; which of these two do you think seems to observe the strictest abstinence? It is plain that St. Augustin here only attacks the superstition of the Manichees, who condemned wine and flesh as not good in themselves, taking full liberty as to those meats and drinks which they allowed the use of. But he makes it sufficiently appear in this work, how much he esteemed the abstinences practised in the Church, which were performed with a true spirit of mortification, particularly those of the monks: and he himself after he was a Bishop usually eat nothing but herbs and pulse.

He moreover composed at Rome a dialogue between Evodius and himself, in which he examines several questions relating to the soul. But because its greatness is therein exactly discussed, to shew that it is not a corporeal extension; the whole book is entituled: *Of the quantity of the soul*. It was likewise at Rome that he began his three books of free-will against the Manichees, on account of the question about the original of Evil. For after a thorough examination we find that it proceeds only from the Free-will of the creature. This work abounds with excellent metaphysics; and therein we find an answer to the most specious objections to the providence and goodness of the Creator. St. Augustin composed only the first book of it at Rome; he finished the second and third in Africa, being then a Priest. It is all along a dialogue between him and Evodius. After having staid above a year at Rome he returned into Africa about the year 389, with certain of his friends and countrymen, who served God in the same manner as himself.

It was Siricius Bishop of Rome who procured the banishment of the Manichees from the Emperor Theodosius; and as they dissembled their profession and mixt with the Catholicks in the churches; he ordered that care should be taken not to let them receive the sacrament nor touch the body of our Lord with their impure lips. He desired the same even of those who were converted; banishing them into monasteries, there to spend the rest of their lives in fasting and prayer; and did not permit them to receive the viaticum at their death, 'till after they had greatly approved themselves. He ordered in general, that hereticks should be received by imposition of hands, and reconciled in the presence of the whole congregation. Which we find ordered in particular in respect to the Novatians, and the Montan-

c. 13. n. 29.

c. 14.

Possid. c. 32.

Retract. c. 8.

Lib. ii. init.

Lib. iii.

c. 2. &c.

Possid. c. 3.

Lib. pontiff.

in Siric.

Conc. Rom.

c. 8.

A. D. 389. **See** of Donatists of Rome, in a council which was there held by that Bishop, with twenty four other Bishops, on the 8th of the ides of January under the consulate of Arcadius and Bauto, i. e. on the 6th of January 386. There

To. 2. Conc. p. 1028. remains a synodical epistle of that council, containing nine canons concerning discipline, and addressed to the Bishops of Africa.

XIX. **Another** council of Rome held about the time of Theodosius's journey or soon after, condemned the heretick Jovinian. He had spent his youth in the austerities of a monastick life; fasting, living upon bread and water, going barefoot, wearing a black garment, and labouring with his hands.

Amb. ep. 42. n. 9. But he left his monastery, which was at Milan, and went to Rome, where he began to spread his errors. The chief of them may be reduced to four, viz. That those who had been regenerated by Baptism with a perfect faith, could not be again vanquished by the devil: That all those who shall have preserved the grace of Baptism, shall have the same reward in heaven: That virgins have no more merit than widows or married women; if their works did not distinguish them in other respects; In short that there is no difference between abstaining from meats, and using them with thanksgiving. He likewise denied that the holy virgin Mary continued in that state after having brought Christ into the world; pretending that the contrary was attributing an imaginary body to Christ, with the Manichees.

Hier. in Jov. l. 2. c. 19. **JOVINIAN** lived according to these principles. He was nicely drest, he wore fine white stuffs, linnen and silk; he curled his hair, frequented the baths and houses of entertainment, was fond of games of chance, sumptuous feasts, delicate meats and exquisite wines; which indeed appeared by his fresh and ruddy complexion and his portlyness. However he still boasted of being a monk; and observed celibacy that he might avoid the inconveniencies of matrimony. Since he preached so convenient a doctrine, he had a great many followers at Rome; several of both sexes, after having lived a long time in a state of continence and mortification, married and returned to a voluptuous and dissolute life. But there was not one Bishop who suffered himself to be seduced by Jovinian.

He even met with some opposition from several laicks remarkable for their noble birth and great piety, amongst whom Pammachus is reckoned. They carried a writing to Siricius, in which Jovinian had published his errors, and asked him his opinion of it. The Bishop of Rome assembled his Clergy; this doctrine was found to be contrary to the Christian law; with the advice of all that were present, as well Priests as Deacons, and others of the clergy, they condemned Jovinian with eight others, who are named as the authors of the new heresy; and it was decreed that they should be cut off from the church for ever.

JOVINIAN and the rest that were condemned went to Milan, to which place the Emperor had returned. But Siricius Bishop of Rome sent thither three Priests, Crescens, Leopart and Alexander, with a letter to the church of Milan, which contained the condemnation of these hereticks, and a brief confutation of their errors. So that they were likewise rejected there by every body with horror, and the deputies of the Bishop of Rome caused them to be driven out of the city. The Bishops who happened to be then at Milan with St. Ambrose condemned them according to the sentence of Siricius, to whom they wrote a synodical letter. They therein applaud his

pastoral

pastoral vigilance; and afterwards confuted Jovinian's errors by Scripture, A. D. 390. enlarging more particularly to prove that the holy virgin Mary always continued in that state. This letter is subscribed by seven Bishops, Evagrius of Ceno, Maximus of Emona, Felix, Jadres, Bassian of Lodi, Theodore of Octodura, Constantius of Orange; and by the Priest Aper in the name of Genusius Bishop of Modena. Their sees may be known by the council of Aquileia, where we meet with the same names.

In this council of Milan or in some other which followed it soon after, and to which the Bishops of Gaul came, they confirmed the condemnation of Ithacus and those of his party, which had been ordered the year before. For the ordination of Felix of Treves, when they had prevailed, disturbed all parts of Gaul; and he was cut off from communion by letters from Siricius and St. Ambrose, which happened immediately after the defeat of Maximus, the protector of the Ithacians. Ithacus was not only deposed from his Bishoprick, and excommunicated; but also sent into banishment, where he died in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian; that is two years after at most. Whilst St. Ambrose held this council, he heard the melancholy news of the massacre at Thessalonica, of which here is an account.

Mon. Chr. an. 389. Conc. Trier. c. 6.

Botherick who commanded the forces in Illyricum, and resided at Thessalonica, caused a charioteer who belonged to the circus to be put in to prison, he having endeavoured to seduce a young man who was one of his servants. At a certain festival upon which there was to be extraordinary races, the people thought [this charioteer necessary, to grace the shew; and earnestly required to have him set at liberty. But not being able to obtain it, they grew enraged, and proceeded to so violent a sedition, that some officers were stoned to death in the fray, and dragged along the streets; and Botherick himself was killed in it. Upon this news the Emperor Theodosius, who was naturally hasty, became furiously enraged; but St. Ambrose and the rest of the Bishops who were present pacified him, so that he promised to pardon the people of Thessalonica. Afterwards he was again exasperated by the principal officers of his court, and chiefly by Rufinus the master of the offices. They represented to him, that it was a matter of great consequence not to let those violences go unpunished, and made him resolve to punish them very severely. But they took care to have that resolution kept as secret as possible, and to have it executed before St. Ambrose could have any notice of it. When the people therefore of Thessalonica were assembled together in the circus, they were secretly surrounded by soldiers, who had orders to put all that they met with to the sword, to such a number, without having any regard to the innocent, or guilty; so that in this massacre which lasted three hours, there fell about seven thousand people, strangers and passengers. There was a slave so generous as to offer himself to be massacred to save his master. A merchant did the same to save his two children; offering the soldiers all the money which he had about him to save them. They took pity on him and give him liberty to make choice of one of them; telling him that they could not let both live, without being punished themselves, because of the number which they were ordered to massacre. The father looked with tears in his eyes on both his children, and was not able to make his choice, before they were both massacred in his presence. The news of this massacre being arrived at Milan, the Bishops who

XX. The Massacre of Thessalonica. Soz. vii. c. 25. Ruf. Hist. c. 18. Theod. v. c. 17. Aug. v. civit. c. 26. Ambr. ep. 51. n. 16. Paul vit. Amb. n. 24.

Paul. vit.

A. D. 390. who were assembled there, were sensibly concerned at it; but particularly St. Ambrose. However he would not appear before Theodosius, during the first transports of his grief; and likewise thought that it was more proper to wait for his return. Therefore as the Emperor was not then in Milan, St. Ambrose left it two or three days before his return; and went into the country, under the pretence of an indisposition, which was indeed real, but which upon any other occasion would not have prevented him from attending the Emperor. The night before his departure, he dreamed that he saw Theodosius coming into the church, and that it was not in his power to offer the sacrifice; which he looked upon as a token that it was the will of God that the Emperor should do penance. Whereupon he wrote the Emperor a letter with his own hand, that he might be sure no body had seen it, and it is still extant.

XXI. At first he excuses himself for not attending on him at Milan: and tho' he belonged to his court, and was one of his greatest friends, he was the only person who was not allowed to be informed of the resolutions of the consistory, and to speak about it. Nevertheless, says he, my conscience would be charged with this reproach of the prophet: If the priest does not warn the wicked of his wicked way, and he dies in his sin, the Priest will be answerable for it. Give ear, my Lord, continues St. Ambrose, you have a zeal for the faith and the fear of God before you; I cannot deny it; but you have a natural warmth in your temper which you turn immediately into compassion, if endeavours are used to calm it; but if it is excited, you give so much way to it, that you cannot command your self. It is the will of God that none encourage that passion, though none should endeavour to assuage it. I willingly I leave you to yourself. He afterwards represented to him the heighnoulness of what had passed at Theffalonica, and how much the Bishops who were assembled in council at Milan were concerned at it. Then he adds: By communicating with you, I should not have justified your proceeding; on the contrary, I should have taken upon my self the heinousness of that sin, if no body had told you, that it was necessary for you to reconcile yourself to God. He afterwards urges the examples of Princes, who have done penance; particularly David: Then he adds: you are a man, you have given way to temptation, overcome it; sin is never blotted out but by tears: there is neither angel nor arch-angel that can forgive it any otherwise: the LORD himself pardons none but those who do penance. I advise you; I entreat you; I exhort you; I admonish you. Whatever success you have had in your battles; whatever praise you have deserved in the rest of your actions; goodness has always been the chief of your virtues. The devil has envied you that advantage, get the better of him, whilst you are strong enough to do it. Do not add to your sin, that of assuming to yourself what several have attributed to themselves, to their own prejudice. I dare not offer sacrifice, though you may be willing to assist at it. How can that which is not permitted, after the spilling of an innocent person's blood, be permitted after the spilling the blood of numbers? Should not I be very glad to be in favour with my Prince, in conforming to his will, if the thing would permit me? Prayer alone is a sacrifice; it gains pardon by shewing humility, but an offering would bring down indignation, as implying disrespect. He concludes thus: I love you, I cherish you,

A. D. 390.

Ambr. ep. 51.
n. 5.

n. 14.

XXI.
Theodosius's
penance.

Ezech. iii.
18.

n. 4.

n. 6.

n. 11.

you, I pray for you. If you believe it, return, and acknowledge the truth of my word; if you do not believe it, blame not me if I give the preference to God. A. D. 390.

St. AMBROSE being returned to Milan, refused to admit the Emperor Theodosius into the Church. When the Emperor represented to him that David had committed adultery and murder; St. Ambrose answered him immediately: As you have committed the same crime, you should do the same penance. The Emperor submitted, and did not go into the church for eight months afterwards. Paul. vit. n. 24.

THE feast of our Saviour's nativity being come, he remained shut up in his palace, shedding of tears. Rufinus the *Master of the offices*, and his greatest favourite, desired to know the reason of it. The Emperor redoubling his tears and sighs, said to him: I weep when I consider that the temple of God is opened to slaves and beggars, and shut against me, and consequently heaven too. Rufinus answered him: I will go if you are willing to the Bishop, and will use so many arguments with him, that I will persuade him to absolve you. It will not be in your power to do it, answered the Emperor; I know the justice of his censure; and the respect that is due to the Imperial power, will never make him do any thing against the law of God. The Emperor knew very well, that sinners could not be absolved 'till they had performed Canonical penance. Rufinus insisted upon it, and promised to persuade St. Ambrose to it. Go quickly then, says the Emperor; and flattering himself with the hopes that Rufinus had given him, he followed him soon after. St. Ambrose seeing Rufinus, told him, that it was very imprudent in him to endeavour to support this massacre, of which he had been the author by his evil councils. As Rufinus entreated him, telling him that the Emperor would come, St. Ambrose being enflamed with zeal said to him: I give you notice, that I will hinder him from coming into the sacred vestibulum; but if he has a mind to change his power into tyranny, I shall joyfully present my throat to the sword. Rufinus having heard this discourse, informed the Emperor of it, and advised him to stay in the palace. The Emperor received this information in the midst of the high-street, and said: I will go and receive the affront which I desire. Theod. v. hist. c. 18.

WHEN he came to the inclosure of the holy place, he did not go into the church; but went to the Bishop, who was sitting in the auditory, and besought him to give him absolution. St. Ambrose said, that he stood up against God himself, and that he trod his laws under foot. I respect them, says the Emperor, I will not enter into the sacred vestibulum contrary to the rules; but I beseech you to free me from these bonds; and not shut the door against me, which the Lord hath opened to all those who do penance. What penance have you then performed after such an offence? It is your part, says the Emperor, to inform me what I ought to do. Whereupon St. Ambrose ordered him to do publick penance; for altho' he had forbore coming into the church, he had not yet performed regular penance; he moreover required him to pass a law, that no person should be put to death for thirty days. The Emperor accepted both these conditions; he caused the law to be written, and subscribed it with his own hand; and he submitted to the publick penance: Whereupon St. Ambrose immediately took

A. D. 390. took off the excommunication, and permitted him to come into the church. However the Emperor did not pray either standing or kneeling, but having pulled off his imperial robes, which he never put on again during the whole course of his penance, he remained prostrate on the pavement, repeating these words of David: My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken me O Lord according to thy word. As he uttered this he tore his hair, struck his forehead, and watered the pavement with his tears, desiring mercy. The people seeing him thus humbled, prayed and wept with him; and he retained his concern for this sin all the rest of his life. There is a law which bears the name of Theodosius, ordering the punishment of all manner of criminals to be suspended for thirty days. But it likewise bears the name of Gratian, and is dated the 15th of the calends of September, under the consulate of Anthony and Syagrius, that is on the 18th of August 382. Therefore it is not that which was made upon this occasion.

XXII. *The discipline of penance in the west.* St. AMBROSE made it his chief care to administer penance, without any distinction of persons. It is thus that Paulinus who wrote his Life speaks of him. Whenever any person confessed their sins to him, in order to receive penance, he shed tears to that degree, that the penitent could not contain himself from doing the same; for he seemed to have been in the same state. But he never mentioned those sins which had been confessed to him, to any other, but to God; leaving a good example to the Bishops who succeeded him, to be rather intercessors before God, than accusers before men. In this testimony of Paulinus we find the secret confession of sins made to the Priest, in order to penance. The Bishops were still the ordinary ministers of it, in the west; for they never had recourse to that remedy unless it was for notorious sins, which were not common among the Christians. This discipline was chiefly observed at Rome. There was a place assigned to the penitents, where after the celebration of the mysteries, at which they were not allowed to be present, they flung themselves flat on the earth, shedding tears and groaning; and all the people did the same. Then the Bishop rising up, and likewise raising the penitents, said the prayers that were proper for the occasion, and then sent them away. Every one performed the penance which was allotted him; fasting, abstaining from bathing, and from his ordinary sustenance, or practising other austerities, according as he was prescribed. He stayed till the time fixed by the Bishop; and then having finished his penance, he received absolution of his sin, and entered again into the assembly among the people. This was the custom at Rome till the time of Sozomen the historian, which was about the middle of the fifteenth century. There was seen at Rome a remarkable example of penance in St. Fabiola, as hath been already mentioned, which was much about the same time as that of Theodosius.

The same discipline was observed in the church of Africa, as is evident by two canons of a council, which was held at Carthage, by the Bishop Genethlius, and several Bishops of divers provinces, under the consulship of the Emperor Valentinian and Neoterius, on the 16th of the calends of July, that is to say, the 16th of June, in the year 390. Numidius Bishop of Maxula, demanded according to the decree of the preceding councils, that Priests should not be allowed to make the Chrism, nor reconcile the penitents publicly, nor consecrate young women; all which was ordered. But Genethlius

Ambr. de ob.
Theod. a. 34.
Soz. vii. c. 25.
Psal. cxviii.

Ambr. de ob.
Theod. c. 34.
Aug. 5. civit.
c. 26.
L. 13. C. Th.
de pen.
V. Pag. an.
390. n. 4.

XXII.
*The discipline
of penance
in the west.*
Paul. n. 39.

Soz. vii. c. 10.

HIERON.
ad ocean.
c. 1. 2.
Sup. liv. xviii.
n. 21.

Hier. ep. 30.
ad ocean.
c. 1. 2.
Sup. liv. xviii.
n. 21.

Ann. concil.
p. 1827.
Schellstr. Eccl.
Afr. diff. 3.
c. 4.
c. 3.
c. 4.

Genethlius added: If any one thinks himself in danger, and desires to be reconciled to the holy altars; in case the Bishop is not present, the Priest ought to consult him, and so by his order reconcile the person.

ALL which the council approved of. The Bishop was then the ordinary minister of penance, and the Priest so only in his absence, in case of necessity, and by his order. This council made several other canons relating to discipline, most of them to hinder Priests from attempting any thing against the Bishops, and of the Bishops against their brethren. They renewed the law of continency, which was imposed on the three first orders of the clergy, viz. Bishops, Priests, and the Deacons; as being of an apostolick institution. They forbade any Priest under pain of being deposed, to celebrate the holy sacrifice in a house, or any other place whatsoever, without an order from the Bishop. If a Priest that is excommunicated by his Bishop, instead of making his complaints to the neighbouring Bishops, holds any separate assemblies, and offers the holy sacrifice, he shall be deposed, excommunicated and driven far from the city. We farther perceive here the difference between a temporal excommunication, for correcting a sinner, and the Anathema. They forbid any Bishop, Priest or Clerk, to receive those who have been excommunicated for their crimes; and who instead of submitting themselves to their Bishop, appeal to court, or to the secular judges, or to any other Ecclesiastical judges. Whosoever was found guilty of a crime was not suffered to accuse a Bishop or a Priest. According to the ancient rules, a Bishop that is accused ought to be judged at least by twelve Bishops; a Priest by six, a Deacon by three; including their own Bishop. The execution of this canon is not difficult, because of the number of Bishops, and even of councils. It is not allowed that any Bishop should concern himself with the diocess of his neighbour. No Bishop ought to be put into a diocess, that has never had one; unless the believers are increased, and desire it: then they may establish a new Bishop, but with the consent of him in whose diocess it is. No Bishop ought to take upon him to ordain another in any council, let it be never so numerous, without an order in writing from the Primate of that province, and with that order, three Bishops are sufficient in case of necessity.

IN the East the discipline of penance was something different. For to every church there was a penitentiary Priest, whom the Bishop trusted with the examination of penitents. This took its first rise from the heresy of Novatian, who would not allow of any penance after Baptism; and it is said, that after his condemnation, that Priest was added to the list of the Clergy. The hereticks themselves had followed this rule, except the Novatians. The office of the Penitentiary therefore was to receive the confessions of those who had fallen after baptism. Therefore they chose a person of a singular integrity, and of great secrecy and extraordinary prudence. He prescribed to each person according to his sin, the penance that he was to perform, and sent him back to perform what was allotted him.

AT Constantinople a woman of quality came to find out the Penitentiary, and confessed to him in particular all the sins which she had committed since her baptism. The Priest ordered her to fast and pray continually. As upon this occasion she abode in the church a long time, she suffered herself to be seduced by a Deacon, who abused her. She publicly declared this sin,

XXIII.
The suppression
of the peniten-
tiary at Con-
stantinople.
Sup. liv. vi.
n. 35.
Socr. v. c. 19.
Sozom. vii.
c. 16.

A. D. 399.

L. C. Th.
de Monach.
& de Gothof.

Eph. v. 11.

Orig. hom.

2. in ps. 37.

19. in ps. 37.

XXIV.

Laws con-
cerning the
Deaconesses
and Monks.

Soz. vii. c. 16.

L. 7. C. Th.
de episc.

1 Tim. v.

9. 10.

Sup. liv. xvii.

n 33.

Conc. Gangr.
c. 17.L. 28. C. Th.
de episc.

which occasioned abundance of scandal in the people, and a great indignation against the Clergy; because of the shame which is brought upon the whole church. The Bishop Nectarius was very much perplexed to know how he should act in this affair. He deposed the Deacon; and by the advice of a priest called Eudemon a native of Alexandria, he turned out the Penitentiary, and gave every one liberty to partake of the mysteries, according to the direction of his conscience. It is thus that Socrates the historian relates the matter, which he says he had from Eudemon's own mouth; and says farther, that he said to him: Whether your advice has been of service to the church or not, God knows; but I perceive that you have given occasion to the faithful not to reprove one another; contrary to the precept of the Apostle, who says: Partake not of the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. These words of Socrates cannot be applied but to the publick confession of certain sins, which the Penitentiary could enjoin as he thought proper, and which gave occasion to the faithful to reprove and correct the sinners.

THE greatest part of the Eastern churches followed the example of the church at Constantinople, and suppressed the penitentiary Priest. That is to say, they returned to the ancient custom, which was kept up in the West; where the Bishop himself took care of publick penance, unless the sinners were obliged to apply themselves to any particular Priest. They retained the ancient liberty, prescribed by Origen, which was to chuse their spiritual physician themselves, and even to confess some of their sins in publick, if they thought proper, or to approach the holy mysteries without having recourse to penance, if they thought in their conscience it was not necessary, as it is now a custom among us. Besides it will be plainly seen by what follows in this history, that the suppression of the penitentiary Priest has been of no disservice, neither to the secret confession, which is always necessary for the administration of penance; nor to publick penance, which is always practised in some cases even in the church at Constantinople.

SOZOMEN seems to suppose that the person who caused this scandal was a deaconess. For he thinks that it was the occasion of the law which Theodosius made, for the honour and reputation of the church, by which he forbids that any women under the age of sixty should be chosen for deaconesses, according to the precept of the Apostle. It is his will also that they have children, that they desire a guardian for them, if they have need of one; that they leave to others the management of their goods, and only enjoy the revenues; which they may dispose of as liberally as they please. He forbids them to make away with their jewels and other goods of value: or to appoint the Church or any Clerk for their heir; or to leave them any thing by way of legacy, by *Fideicommissis*, or by any latter will; upon penalty of its being declared null. He will not suffer any women who have cut off their hair under pretence of religion to be admitted into the church, upon the penalty, if any Bishop permits it, of his being deposed. This is done according to a canon of the council of Gangres.

THIS law is addressed to Tatian *Præfatus prætorii* of the East, and dated the eleventh of the calends of July, at Milan, under the fourth Consulship of Valentinian with Neoterius; that is to say the 21st of June in the year 390. But two months after, viz. the 23d of August, it was revoked

in

in part by another law, which permits the deaconesses during their lives, to dispose of to the clerks or to the church, their slaves, and all their other goods, even their jewels.

THEODOSIUS at the same time made a law against the monks, which enjoined them to retire into desert places, and to lead a solitary life. It is dated the 3d of September in the same year 390, and addressed to the same Tatian the *Prefectus pratorii* of the East. Which makes it thought that it related chiefly to the Egyptian and Syrian monks; who under pretence of zeal, came into the towns to importune the judges to pardon criminals, till they excited sedition; and caused an open war with the Pagans, demolishing their Idols and Temples. We have seen how Theodosius complained of it to St. Ambrose. However he revoked this law about twenty months after, upon his return to Constantinople, by another law of the seventeenth of April in the year 392, which was addressed to the same Tatian; and in which he ascribes the former prohibition to the vexatiousness of the judges, and permits the monks to have free access into the cities. The Emperor Theodosius having spent almost three years in Italy, left the younger Valentinian there, and returned with his son Honorius to Constantinople, into which he entered on the 10th of November under the Consulship of Tatian and Symmachus, i. e. in the year 391.

AMONG the several vagrant monks who at that time infested the East, may be reckoned the Messalian hereticks who made profession of renouncing the world, though indeed they were not all monks. They are call'd in the Syriac tongue *Massalins* or *Messalins*, and in greek *εσχισται* *Eschitai*, that is to say people accustomed to pray; because they made the whole essence of religion to consist in prayer only. They were also called in Syriac *Abin* and *Paanin*, that is to say perverse. These were of two sorts; the most ancient were heathens, whose principles of religion were entirely different both from the Jews and Christians: for although they admitted a plurality of gods, they nevertheless worshipped but one only, whom they named the Almighty. It is commonly thought, and with some foundation, that they are the same with those whom others call *υποστητοι*, *Hypostitai*, or worshippers of the Most-high. Their oratories were very large buildings open at the top like market-places; here they met together every night and morning, and by the light of several lamps, sung certain spiritual songs to the praise of God: whence they were also called in greek *εὐφημιται*, *Euphemitai*. Several of these, because they corrupted the truth, and imitated the customs and practice of the Church, without being Christians, were put to death by certain magistrates. The *Euphemitai* took the bodies of such of their members as had been put to death, and buried them in the places in which they used to assemble at their devotions; whence they were called *Martyrians*. Some of these reflecting on the great influence and power which the devil has to hurt mankind, addressed themselves to him, worshipped him, and directed their prayers to him in order to appease him; whence they were denominated *Satanians*. Such were the heathen *Messalians*.

THOSE among them who bore the name of Christians, began about the reign of Constantius, but their origin was uncertain. They came from Mesopotamia; and some of them were at Antioch when St. Epiphanius wrote his treatise on heresies, that is in 376. He ascribes the errors into

A. D. 390.

L. 1. C. Th.
de Monach.
& ib. Gothofr.

Sup. n. 4.
L. 2. Cod.

XXV.
The Heresie of
the Messalians.

Epiph. hær.
80. n. 1.

Hier. proem.
in dial. adv.
Pela.]

Sup. l. vi.
n. 33.

Epiph. n. 2.

n. 6.

cor. A.D. 390.
A.D. 390.

which they fell, to the extraordinary simplicity of some among them, who had taken in too literal a sense the precept of Jesus Christ, of forsaking all to follow him, and selling their goods to give to the poor. They indeed abandoned every thing, but they afterwards led an idle and vagabond kind of life, asking alms, and both sexes lived together promiscuously, inasmuch that they lay scattered up and down the Streets during the summer-season. They never observed fasting, but used to eat as early as eight or nine in the morning, and even before day-break; according as they were provoked by their appetite. They rejected all manual labour as wicked, abusing those words of our Saviour, Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. St. Epiphanius opposes chiefly this erroneous opinion with respect to labour; he shews the inconveniencies of living upon alms, and the mean actions which such as profess that way of life are obliged to stoop to, with respect to the rich, even such among them as had acquired their possessions by unlawful and indirect methods. He cites the precept of the Apostle, and the practice of the monks, particularly those of Egypt, who united so well the duties of labour and prayer; and adds the example of Priests and Bishops; who though they might justly claim a subsistence from their flock, and who owed them the first-fruits and oblations of all their lawful gains, nevertheless made a sober and moderate use of them. The greatest part, says he, though not all of them, imitating the example of the Apostle St. Paul, labour with their hands at some such art, or trade, as may be consistent with their dignity, and their continual application to the government of the Church; that, after having instructed the people committed to their care, they may moreover have the conscientious joy of having satisfied the wants and cravings of nature by the labour of their own hands; and of having given to the poor the overplus of their oblations, as well as of what they have gained by the labour of their hands; all which flows from their great zeal towards God, and love for their neighbour. This is the account which St. Epiphanius gives of the greatest part of the Bishops and Priests of his time.

THE Messalians maintained, that every man had a demon who never left him from the moment of his birth, and inspired him to commit evil; that the only way to drive him from the soul, was prayer, which at the same time tore away the very root of sin. As for the sacraments, they considered them as things indifferent; it was their opinion that the Eucharist did neither good nor harm; that baptism, like a razor, cut away sin, but left the root still standing. They said that this familiar demon was cast out by blowing the nose, and by spitting; and that when a Man had purified himself in this manner, a sow and her litter of pigs was seen to issue out of his mouth, and that a fire that did not burn was observed to enter in at it. Be this as it will, it is certain that some people have ascribed this fiction to them. They took the precept, which enjoins prayer without ceasing, in a literal sense, and carried the practice of it to an incredible excess. They slept away the greatest part of the day; after which they affirmed that several things had been revealed to them; they likewise pretended to prophecy, the falsity of which was discovered by the events. They boasted of seeing the blessed Trinity with their bodily eyes, and their receiving the Holy Ghost in a visible and sensible manner. And indeed they fell into such transports

transports during prayer, as threw them into the most incoherent and extravagant actions; for they would start up on a sudden, and cry out that they had leaped over all the devils; and said that they shot at them, imitating at the same time with their fingers the gestures of a man drawing a bow. They committed several other extravagancies of the same nature, from whence they were called *Enthusiasts*. When any of them was asked if he were a patriarch, a prophet, an angel, or JESUS CHRIST himself, he boldly answered yes. In a word, they were of opinion, that man might attain to such a degree of knowledge and virtue, as not only to resemble, but even to equal God; insomuch that it was impossible for those among them, who were arrived at the height of perfection, to fall into the least sin, not even a sin of thought or ignorance. They did not withdraw from the communion of the faithful; but concealed their heretical opinions with so much care, as to deny in the most impudent manner their believing of any such, and anathematiz'd it whenever it was proved against them. The heads of this sect, were Adelphius, a man who was neither monk nor clerk, but a meer layman: Sabbas, who wore a religious habit, and had made himself a eunuch, from whence he received that name; another Sabbas, the venerable Eustathius, Dadoes, Hermas, Simeon, and certain others.

FLAVIAN Bishop of Antioch being informed that they lived at Edessa, and that they spread their poysonous tenets in that neighbourhood, sent thither a company of monks who brought them to Antioch; and as they denied the heresie of which they were accused, he convicted them in this manner. He said that their accusers were back-biters, and the witnesses liars; when calling with a soft tone of voice to Adelphius, who was very ancient, he caused him to sit down by him and spoke to him thus: We who are old, are better acquainted with human nature, and the artifices of the devil; and we know by experience the nature and influence of grace. The minds of these young people, who have not examined these several particulars, cannot bear spiritual discourses. Tell me then in what manner you explain the evil spirit's withdrawing, and the Holy Ghost's communicating his influence. Adelphius flattered with this discourse, replied that Baptism was altogether useless; that the familiar demon, which every man received at his birth with the nature of our first parents, was to be cast out by prayer only. That when, by the efficacy of prayer, this devil was cast out, the Holy Ghost supplied his place, and discovered his presence in a sensible and visible manner, by freeing the body from the impulses of the passions, and the soul from all tendency to evil: insomuch that fasting to weaken the body, and instruction to regulate the mind, were no longer necessary. That whoever was in this state, had a clear sight of futurity, and contemplated the blessed Trinity with his eyes. Whereupon Flavian addressed himself to Adelphius in these words of the scripture; Unhappy old man, thou art condemned out of thine own mouth.

He afterwards held a council with three Bishops, who in all probability met together at Antioch, with thirty Priests and Deacons. The three bishops were Byzus of Seleucia, Maruthas of Sopharene near Melopotamia, and Samus whose see is unknown. Although Adelphius confessed his repentance, and that he renounced his heresy, yet the council condemned both him and his accomplices; and they were afterwards convicted of infir-

cerity

A. D. 390.

Epiph. n. 3.

Hier. proem. in dialog. ad ver. Pelag.

Phot. Cod. 52.

XXVI. The Condemnation of the Messalians.

Theod. iv. hist. c. ii. Hær. fab. iv. c. ii.

Dan.

Phot. Cod. 52.

A.D. 390 city in their abjuration. For it was afterwards found, that they communicated by writing with those whom they had condemned as Meffalians, and own that they entertained the same opinions. Flavian wrote a letter to the faithful of the province of Orlhoene, in which Edessa was situated, to acquaint them with all that had passed; and he took notice in it, that the hereticks had been vanquished and anathematized. The Bishops of Orlhoene thanked Flavian, and approved his conduct; however there still remained great numbers of Meffalians in Syria.

Phot. ibid. Such as had been driven from thence withdrew into Pamphylia, but St. Amphilocus, Bishop of Iconium in Lycania, near the confines of that province, freed the country of them, and assembled in opposition to them a council at Sydon the Metropolis of Pamphylia, consisting of twenty five Bishops besides himself. They wrote a Synodical letter to St. Flavian of Antioch, wherein they acquainted him with all that had happened. St. Amphilocus had caused to be inserted in the acts of this council, the very words which the hereticks had made use of, which plainly discovered the difference of their doctrine. Letorius Bishop of Melitina in Armenia, wrote also to St. Flavian, to know what had been done with the Meffalians, and was informed of their having been condemned in a council: Upon which Letorius being inflamed with zeal, and finding that several monasteries were infected with this erroneous doctrine, he burnt them, and drove out the hereticks. However they were protected by another Bishop of Armenia, to whom St. Flavian was obliged to make complaint upon that account.

XXVII. The schism of Antioch. The Council of Capua. Socr. v. c. 15. Soz. vii. c. 15. Hier. Chr. an. 273. Theod. v. c. 23. Ibid. n. 2. Epist. Synod. ap. Ambr. v. Not. in c. 5. n. 35. Ambr. de instit. virg. Mar. Merc. dissert. de 12. anath. n. 15. p. 128. The schism of Antioch still subsisted. Paulinus the Bishop died about the year 389, notwithstanding which his adherents still refused to acknowledge Flavian. They had another Bishop, viz. the priest Evagrius, a friend of St. Jerome's, son of Pompeianus, of an illustrious family at Antioch. Paulinus had established him by his sole authority during his life-time, thereby violating several canons; for they prohibited a Bishop's nominating his successor. All the Bishops of the province were to be summoned to be present at the ordination, and three at least were to assist at it. However those of the western church did not scruple to acknowledge Evagrius as Bishop of Antioch, and to correspond with him as they had done with Paulinus, whose adherents still reproached Flavian for having violated his oath; pretending that being a Priest, he had sworn with the rest, not to appoint a successor to Meletius during the life of Paulinus. Thus on both sides each laid greater stress on the invalidity of the ordination of his competitor, than on the validity of his own. A council was held at Capua in Italy, where all those who professed the Catholick faith, were admitted to the communion; and as to the dispute between Evagrius and Flavian, they referred the examination thereof to Theophilus of Alexandria and the Egyptian Bishops, who were presumed not to be byals'd, as not having embraced the communion of either party.

The same council of Capua referred the judging of Bonosus Bishop of Sardica to the neighbouring Bishops, particularly to those of Macedonia, with Anysius of Thessalonica their metropolitan. Bonosus attacked in the same manner as Jovinianus the perpetual virginity of Mary, pretending that she had brought forth other children after the birth of our Saviour, whose divinity he even denied in the same manner as Photinus, so that the Photinians

tinians were afterwards called Bonosacks. The Bishops of Macedonia would have referred the judging of Bonosus to the Bishops of Italy; but the latter answered them in this manner: Since the council of Capua has nominated you to be judges, it is not in our power to act in that capacity; you alone are invested with the authority of a Council. We here see an instance of the deference which Bishops paid to their brethren, and how fearful they were of encroaching upon each other's authority; and this example is so much the more remarkable, as some even among the Romanists ascribe this letter of the Italian Bishops to Siricius Bishop of Rome. At last Bonosus's cause was judged by Anysius of Thessalonica and the rest of the Macedonian Bishops; when it was decreed that all those whom, by virtue of his usurpation, he had ordained, should be received, but he was first suspended. The Macedonian Bishops by this decree acted against the common practice, but they were obliged to it from the necessity of affairs at that time; for fear lest Bonosus's clerks by living with him, should increase the scandal.

Sup. n. 40.
Gennad.
atal. c. 14.
ad Audent.

Holsten.
collect. R.
p. 189.
Innoc. I. ep.
22. n. 5.

Ambr. ep. 36;

n. 3.

n. 4.

n. 5.

n. 6.

n. 7.

Theod. V.
hist. c. 2.

Evagrius was urgent to have the decree of the council of Capua put in execution; but Flavian would neither submit to it, nor to the judgment of the Egyptian Bishops; so far from it that he again began to present petitions to the Emperor, and obtained rescripts from him. Theophilus of Alexandria wrote to St. Ambrose upon this subject, who answered him in these terms: Evagrius has no occasion to be so urgent, and Flavian has cause to fear, which is the reason of his endeavouring to shift off the having sentence pronounced against him. Let them pardon our just grief; all are troubled upon their accounts, and nevertheless they do not sympathize with us in our afflictions; nor act agreeable to the peace of CHRIST JESUS. He proceeds: the old Bishops must still be wearied out, they must leave the holy altars in order to pass the seas: such as were not oppressed with poverty, will be either reduced to that miserable state, or else deprive the poor of part of their subsistence. And yet Flavian alone shall fancy himself exempt from all subordination to the laws; neither the orders of the Emperor, nor the assembly of Bishops can prevail upon him to appear in person. However we do not upon that account pronounce our brother Evagrius to be altogether in the right; for it is with grief that we perceive, each lays greater stress upon the invalidity of the ordination of his opponent, than on the validity of his own. He goes on: You must therefore again be urgent with our brother Flavian, in order that if he should still persist in his refusal, we may keep peace with all, pursuant to the council of Capua, and thereby prevent the flight of one of the parties concerned, which would render the decree of it ineffectual. In a word we are of opinion, that it would be proper for you to acquaint our holy Brother the Bishop of Rome with this matter; for we do not doubt but that the judgment you shall pronounce, will meet with his approbation; and the only means of establishing a solid peace, will be to subscribe unanimously to your decisions.

MOREOVER the Bishop complained to the Emperor with relation to the conduct and behaviour of Flavian. You humble, says he, those tyrants who take up arms against you, and not those who attack the laws of CHRIST. Theodosius immediately after his return to Constantinople in November, 391. had sent for Flavian thither, and had commanded him to go to Rome; being desirous of complying with the instances of the Pope and the other

Bishops

A.D. 311. The Emperor, who was then at Milan, received the news of the death of the Bishop of Rome, and immediately wrote to the Bishop of Rome, ordering him to return to his see. The Bishop of Rome, however, refused to do so, and wrote back to the Emperor, informing him of his refusal. The Emperor, in reply, wrote to the Bishop of Rome, ordering him to return to his see. The Bishop of Rome, however, refused to do so, and wrote back to the Emperor, informing him of his refusal. The Emperor, in reply, wrote to the Bishop of Rome, ordering him to return to his see. The Bishop of Rome, however, refused to do so, and wrote back to the Emperor, informing him of his refusal.

Socr. v. c. 15.

Soz. vii. c. 15.

XXVIII.

The sedition of
the heathens
of Alexandria.

Auff. ii. hist.

c. 22.

Soz. vii. c. 15.

Socr. v. c. 16.

The Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, applied himself to destroy idolatry in Egypt, where it had taken such deep root. There was at Alexandria an ancient temple dedicated to Bacchus, which had been suffered to run to ruin, so that the walls only remained entire. Theophilus thought proper to buy it of the Emperor Theodosius, in order to augment the number of the churches, in proportion to the increase of the faithful. He had no other design than to have it cleansed, and to clear it of the idols. In secret and subterraneous places which the heathens call *grottoes*, and which they looked upon as sacred, they found certain monstrous figures called by the Greeks *Phallans*, and others only of a ridiculous and grotesque kind, which Theophilus caused to be shewn in public, and to be carried up and down the city, in order to make the Pagans ashamed of their mysteries. But they could not bear it. The philosophers were offended at it, the people began to be inspired with rage and fury; and not content with breaking out into seditious cries, they came to blows, and took up arms. Several battles were fought in the streets, wherein many were killed on the spot, on both sides; but the Christians, though the stronger of the two, were nevertheless restrained by the modesty which religion inspires; and the Pagans after having killed many of them, withdrew to the temple of Serapis, as to their fortress. Hence they rushed out on a sudden, and dragging thither all such Christians as they could surprize, they forced them to sacrifice on their altars; and in case of refusal, they made them suffer the most cruel torments; they crucified them, brake their legs, and threw them into cellers, built for that purpose, that they might be as to many common sewers to receive the blood of the victims, and such other filth, as were the consequences of bloody sacrifices.

The Pagans at first committed these outrages with caution, but they afterwards grew more bold; and at last giving a loose to all restraint, they acted like so many desperate people, and maintained themselves for some time in this temple, living upon plunder. They chose for their chief, one Olympus a philosopher by name as well as habit. He came out of Cilicia in order to dedicate himself to the worship of Serapis, and settled himself in Alexandria, in quality of doctor of the Pagan religion. He assembled indifferently in all places, such as he met with in his way; taught them their

Suid. Olym-
pus.

ancient

which were and remained in the same place of the city till the year A. D. 1171, when the city was destroyed by the Saracens. The temple of Serapis, which was built on a high hill, was a very spacious and magnificent edifice, and divided into various offices, which had their communication with each other, and large openings at top. In the middle part, the two ends of the temple consisted of halls, chambers, and lodges, wherein the officers of the temple, and such persons as pursued their duty, were lodged. After this there was a range of galleries, which formed a square court, in the midst whereof stood the temple, a very large and magnificent edifice, built of marble, and supported on four columns. The walls of the temple in the inside were lined with copper plates, and as was reported, were others of silver, and underneath these plates of gold, that the most precious metal might be the best preserved. The idol of Serapis was of so enormous a size, that it was lying extended, and reached to the opposite walls of the temple. He was represented under the figure of a venerable man, with a beard and long hair, as we see it at present. It stood another monstrous or mysterious figure, of a man's body, and the greatest of which, being in the middle, expressed a lion on the right hand was the head of a dog, of a swift and gentle aspect, and on the left that of a voracious wolf; and a dragon, entwining these three animals with its folds, laid its head in Serapis's right hand. On his head he bore a helmet, which made some conjecture that it represented the patriarch Joseph, to whom the superstitious Egyptians had paid divine honours, for the plenty which he had procured them; but it was not well known whom that idol represented, nor the place from whence it came. It was of a mixed composition, and was said to be made up of all kinds of metals, precious stones and wood, was painted of a blue colour, which was grown black by time. In the temple there was a very little window, situated in such a manner, that when the sun shone upon it, it directed its beams full upon the mouth of Serapis, and thus on the very day, when according to the usual custom, the idol of the sun was brought to pay a visit to Serapis; so that the sun seemed to salute him with a kiss, in the presence of all the people. Divers other artifices are related which are said to have been made use of at that time, in order to deceive the idolaters. Be that as it will, it is certain that the city of Alexandria was looked upon as a holy city, upon account of Serapis, and that there was an idol in it, to whom the people paid greater veneration.

Ruff. ii. hist. c. 23.

Macrobi. i. Saturnal. c. 20.

v Aug. xviii. civit. c. 5. Clem. Alex. Protrep. p. 14.

Jul. Imp. epist. 10. 51. Eunap. in Edessa. p. 72.

Ruff. ii. c. 22. Soz. vii. c. 15.

EVAGRIUS was at that time prefect of Egypt, and the *Comes Romanus* commanded the troops, who when they heard of the sedition, immediately ran to the temple of Serapis, and asked the Pagans what was the meaning of their bold proceedings, and the occasion of their meeting together; and the reason why the blood of the citizens was shed around the altars. The mutineers having shut up the avenues, answered only by tumultuous shouts

and

A. D. 391. and a confused noise. It was to no purpose to set forth the Roman power, and the punishment which they might justly expect. The situation of the place, which they had made stronger, was such, that it was impossible to attack them any other way than by open force; and the officers, before they would come to that extremity, thought proper to acquaint the Emperor with it. The mutineers were animated by their despair, and the exhortation of Olympus. He told them, that they should resolve to die, rather than abandon the laws of their ancestors. And when he saw that the demolishing of the idols threw them into a consternation, he told them, that the substance of which they were made, was of a perishable nature, and that they were statues subject to moulder away; but that they had been inhabited by certain virtues, which had taken their flight to heaven. He had moreover foretold his friends, that Serapis would soon leave his temple.

XXIX.
The destruction
of the temple
of Serapis.
Martyr.
Rom. 17.
Mart.

Vita patr.
Ros. p. 572.
n. 63.

Ruff. ii. c. 22;
23.

Socr. v. c. 16.

Sozom. vii.
c. 15.

Ruff. ii. c. 23.

Theod. v.
c. 22.

When the Emperor Theodosius heard what had happened at Alexandria, he said, that he looked upon those christians as happy, who had lost their lives on this occasion, as having received the crown of martyrdom. The Church still honours them as martyrs on the seventeenth of March. He gave orders, that those who had put them to death should be pardoned; that their martyrdom might not be sullied with blood, and also to gain over the murderers to the Christian faith. But he commanded that the temples of Alexandria should be demolished, as having been the cause of that motiny. Theophilus the Bishop, who had solicited this order, took care to have it executed, together with the magistrates Eurygius and Romanus; and likewise sent for monks to Alexandria, to assist him with their prayers. The Emperor's answer being come, all the people, both Christians and Pagans, met together, as having made a truce for some time. As soon as the beginning of the letter was read, by which the vain superstition of the Pagans was condemned, the Christians set up a great shout, and the Pagans were struck with terror; they all endeavoured to hide themselves by mixing with the crowd of Christians. Many left Alexandria, and fled to different places, and among the rest two grammarians, who taught afterwards at Constantinople, one of whom, Helladius by name, was a Priest of Jupiter, and boasted that he had killed nine men in the sedition; the other, whose name was Ammonius, was a Priest of the Ape whom the Egyptians worshipped. The temple of Serapis was abandoned by its defenders. Olympus himself left it, and it is said, that the night before, he had heard *Hallelujah* sung in the temple; when seeing no body, and finding the gates shut, and all in a profound silence, except the voice above mentioned, when knowing the omen, he came privately out of the temple, and meeting with a ship, went on board it, and was carried into Italy. It is probable that he invented this prodigy, in order to give some colour to his flight. The Pagans had spread a notion, that if any man touched the idol of Serapis, the earth would immediately swallow him up, the sky would fall, and the world would sink into its primitive chaos. The people being possessed with this notion, were afraid of touching it, after the reading of the Emperor's rescript; but a soldier, by order of Theophilus the Bishop, took up an ax, and struck it with all his strength into Serapis's jaw bone, when immediately the whole assembly, both Christians and Pagans, set up a great shout; their fears were removed; the soldier repeated his strokes on the limbs

limbs of the idol, when it fell and was broke to pieces. Upon their striking off the head, a great number of rats ran out of it; the scattered limbs of the idol were dragged up and down the city, and were afterwards thrown into the fire, piece by piece; the remaining part of it, viz. the trunk, was burnt in the amphitheatre. This end had Serapis in the presence of his worshippers, who made a jest of it.

AFTER the demolishing of the idol, they fell upon the temple, which they razed to the foundations, i. e. to that heavy mass on which it stood, and which could not be easily pulled down, because of the prodigious size of the stones with which it was built. The whole was now no more than a heap of Rubbush. They here met with crosses engraved on certain stones, and certain Christians who were skilled in the Egyptian hieroglyphicks, that is to say, the writing which they looked upon as sacred, discovered that this figure was by them employed, as the symbol of the life to come. This gave occasion to several Pagans to embrace the christian faith, to which they were prompted by an ancient tradition, whereby it was declared, that upon the appearing of the figure of the cross, their religion should have an end. Hence it was that the sacrificers and ministers of the temple were first converted, as being the most knowing. There was not a house in Alexandria, on which a busto of Serapis was not seen on the walls, the doors and the windows; but they were all taken away, insomuch that there did not remain the least sign, either of that, or of any other idol, and they painted the figure of a cross in their places.

Socr. v. c. 17.
Soz. vii.

Ruff. ii. c. 19.

Ibid. c. 306.

Sup. l. xv. n. 3.
Sup. liv. xi.
n. 33.

Soz. vii. c. 20.

Ruff. ii. c. 27.

Sup. liv. xv.
wrote n. 20.

IN this temple was kept the standard of the Nile's increase, which the Pagans ascribed to Serapis, and the Emperor Julian had caused it to be again deposited in that place. The Pagans therefore said, that it would never overflow any more; but there afterwards happened a greater inundation than had been known in the memory of man. They again lodged this standard in the church, where Constantius had before placed it. When Theodosius heard what had happened at Alexandria, particularly with respect to the standard of the Nile, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and in the transports of joy cried out; I thank thee JESUS, that so ancient an error should have been abolished without causing the ruin of so great a city. Some years after, the Nile rose later than was usual, which the Pagans ascribed to the prohibition, whereby they were not allowed to sacrifice to it, according to their ancient custom. The governor seeing that they were ripe for sedition, gave notice thereof to the Emperor, who sent this answer: We must prefer religion to the waters of the Nile, and to the fertility it produces; may its stream be ever dried up, if in order to make it flow we must be obliged to employ incantations and bloody sacrifices. A little after the Nile overflowed in such a manner, that it rose above the highest standard. The inhabitants of Alexandria were then afraid that the whole city would have been laid under water; and the Pagans cried out in the theatres, that the Nile was grown so old, that he was no longer able to check the course of his waters. Many were converted upon this occasion.

THE area in which the temple of Serapis stood being cleared, they built two churches on it, in one of which they deposited the relicks of St. John Baptist, which had been brought to St. Athanasius, about thirty years before, in the reign of the Emperor Julian. A learned man, Sophronius by name,

837
838
839

These idols were made of metal, to be made. A. D. 1011. The idols were made of metal, to be made. A. D. 1011. The idols were made of metal, to be made. A. D. 1011.

XXX.
Idolatry rooted
out of Egypt.

Ruff. ii. c. 29.

Socr. v. c. 61.

Theod. v.
c. 22.

Hier. de loc.
Hep. Mosab.

Ruff. ix. c. 13.

Ammon. xlii.

This destruction of Scorp was followed by that of the rest of the idols and temples, not only of those of Alexandria, but of all Egypt in general. Every Bishop caused all to be demolished, that were to be met with in the cities, the towns, in the country, on the banks of the Nile, and even those in the desert. By the ruin of the temples in Alexandria, they discovered the cruel mysteries of Isis; in the private places, called *Adys*, they found the heads of children that had been cut off, with their lips gild, like those of victims, and paintings representing variety of inhuman methods of putting to death. For they used to murder children, particularly young girls, in order to inspect their entrails. The heathens, surprised and confounded at these dismal spectacles, were converted to Christianity in great numbers. They also discovered the artifices which the Priests of the false gods used to employ, in order to impose upon the people. They had hollow idols of wood or brass fixed against the walls, in which they had made private openings, so that the Priests ascended by subterraneous passages, got into the idols, and made them utter whatever they thought proper to put into their mouths. A Priest of Saturn, Tyrannus by name, imposed in this manner upon several of the chief women of the city, by telling their husbands, that Saturn had commanded their wives to spend the night in his temple. The husband, overjoyed at the honour which he received from the Gods, saw his wife dressed in the utmost pomp, and loaded with offerings. Being come to the temple, she was shut up in it, in the most public manner; when Tyrannus giving up the keys of the doors, withdrew. But he used to come in the night time into the idol, through a subterraneous passage. The temple was illuminated, when the woman who was attentive at her prayers, seeing no body, and hearing on a sudden a voice issue out of the idol, was filled with a fear mixed with joy. After that Tyrannus, under the name of Saturn, had told her what he thought proper, in order to surprise her the more, or to dispose her to yield to his desires, he put out all the lights on a sudden, by drawing certain pieces of linnen, which he had hid for that purpose. He then came down, and favoured by the darkness, indulged the utmost of his wishes. After he had thus deluded several women for a considerable time, one of them, who was more prudent than the rest, and had this action in the utmost abhorrence; as she listened with great attention, she knew that the voice was that of Tyrannus, upon which she returned home, and discovered the whole imposture to her husband, who informed against him; upon this Tyrannus was put to the torture, and convicted by his own confession: This circumstance was injurious to the reputation of several families in Alexandria, by discovering a great many adulteries, and making the birth of a great number of children doubtful and uncertain. These stories being published in the world, very much contributed to the abolishing of the temples and idols.

THEOPHILUS caused these idols that were made of metal, to be melted down, and changed into chandeliers and other vessels for the use of the churches of Alexandria; for the Emperor had given him that power to supply the wants of the poor. This gave occasion to the heathens to think that the Bishop had started this war from a principle of interest. The only person served one idol, which was the most ridiculous among them; it is thought to be of the ape, and he caused it to be exposed in publick; in order, said he, that the heathens may not hereafter deny their having worshipped such gods. The demolishing of the idols and temples of Egypt is referred to the year 389, when it probably began; but it continued two or three years, as appears by a law of Theodosius, directed to the same officers, who were employed in it, viz. the prefect Evagrius, and the Comes Ruffinus, dated at Aquileia the fifteenth of the calends of July, under the consulates of Taurus and Symmachus: that is the seventeenth of June in 391. By it all persons are prohibited sacrificing, or going round the temples in processions, and even visiting and paying any worship to the Gods. Any judge, who during the exercise of his function shall have entered into those profane places, is condemned to the penalty of fifteen pounds weight of gold; and his officers to as much. The reason of which was, because several magistrates continued in their idolatrous principles. But notwithstanding the zeal of Theodosius, several famous temples were left standing in several cities of the East, by reason of the opposition of the people; as in Arabia, at Petra, and at Jeropolis the ancient capital of the Moabites; at Raphia and Gaza in Palestine, where the temple of Mars still continued, but it was shut up.

THE city of Canopus was one of the most celebrated in all Egypt; it was situated in an island, at twelve miles or four leagues distance from Alexandria, on one of the mouths of the Nile, in a healthy and very pleasant soil. It was filled with a great number of temples, and frequented by a great concourse of foreigners. A vast multitude of crimes were committed in that place; and under pretence of instructing the people in the sacerdotal learning of the Egyptians, a school of magick was kept there in a publick manner. A sophist, Antoninus by name, and his mother Sosipatris, had distinguished themselves in it a little before: but Antoninus concealed his art, through fear of the Emperor. It was said, that he had foretold the ruin of the temples, and even the destruction of Serapis himself; which prediction was so famous among the Pagans, that it afterwards gave occasion to St. Augustine to write his book of the divination of demons. The peculiar god of Canopus was a ridiculous idol, composed of a prominent belly, on which a head was fixed, with feet under it; but it had neither arms nor legs, nor any other part of the body. We are told the following story of it: The Chaldeans carried the fire which they worshipped in all places whereforever they went, and bragged of it as the conqueror of all other gods; for there was no idol that could withstand it, but was either burnt, melted down, or calcined. The Egyptians had several large earthen vessels, at the bottoms of which several little holes were bored, in order to make the muddy waters of the Nile more clear. The Priest of Canopus took one of these, which he covered over with wax at the bottom, filled it with water, lopped off the head of an old statue, and fixed it upon it very artfully. The

A. D. 389

Eunap. in Eclia. p. 74.

Chr. Marcel. an. 389.

Hier. de loc. Heb. Moab. cp. 7. ad Lxx. 6. 2. Ammian xxii. c. 16.

Eunap. Eclia. p. 71.

Ruff. ii. c. 26

A.D. 391. Chaldeans had no sooner let the fire to it, but the wax melted away; the water put out the fire; and Canopus came off conqueror.

Religious Houses in Canopus.
Ruff. c. 27.

ges of Saints. Eunapius the sohist, one of the most zealous sticklers for idolatry, gives the following account thereof. After having bewailed the ruin of the temple of Serapis, and compared Theophilus the Bishop to Eurymedon king of the giants, who warred against the Gods, he adds: the people called monks were afterwards established in the sacred places, who under a human shape led a life like swine. Eunapius exclaims against the monks in this manner, because of their poverty, and their abstaining from bathing; whereas the Egyptian Priests used to bathe themselves thrice every day, and anoint themselves with odoriferous oyls. For indeed, the monks led a life of the utmost sobriety. He observes that they wore a black habit, and adds; these monks were settled even at Canopus; and they obliged men, instead of the Gods, to attend upon the vilest slaves: for after having got together the heads of those who had been executed according to law for their crimes, they acknowledged them for their Gods, prostrated themselves before them, and thought that by polluting themselves at their graves, they thereby became more virtuous. They gave the name of martyrs, deacons and mediators with the Gods, to men who after having spent their lives in a wretched and captive state, died under the violence of scourging, and whose images still bore the marks of their punishment; and yet the earth bears such Gods. These are the words of Eunapius. We thereby see the custom of depositing relicks in such places as were consecrated to God, and of peopling them with monks to look after them. * We thereby see that the Saints, and particularly the martyrs, were acknowledged as intercessors with God; and honoured in such a manner, that the heathens themselves, who saw nothing but the outside of those honours, looked upon them as divine. It is manifest that it was usual to fall prostrate before their graves; that it was thought that the visiting them inspired men with greater holiness; in a word, that their images were preserved, and that they bore the marks of their sufferings.

Hier. præfat.
in reg.
S. Pach. Conc.
Cal. ched.
Act. III.
p. 408. E.
Vita S.
Pach. c. 53.

THE most famous monastery in Canopus, was that of Meranea, which in Greek signifies penance: they followed here, as well as at Tavenna, the rule of St. Pacomius, and it retained no privilege of sanctuary, which the heathens had ascribed to this place. This is very near the time of St. Pacomius's death. Two days before which he assembled all his brethren; and after having given them some instructions, with respect to their future conduct; he nominated one Petronius, a member of their fraternity, as the most worthy person to succeed him. Thus he died in peace on the fourteenth day of the Egyptian month Pachon, that is May; the day on which the Church solemnizes his memory. His disciples performed his funeral obsequies according to the usual custom; they spent the night by his body, singing psalms and hymns, and the next day buried him on the mountain.

* This is no argument for the superstitious use of Relicks, &c. any more than the practice of the Anthropomorphites is a reason for our imitating that Idolatry of the Egyptian monks.

St. Petronius was sick in the monastery at Cimobole, and St. Pacomius had sent for him. He was a man of an extensive faith, of an humble behaviour, and strict in his morals; he was thoroughly prudent and discreet, but he enjoyed an ill state of health. This sickness did not hinder him from coming to Tabenna, where after having presided over his community but a few days he died, and left one Orselius, a very pious man, for his successor.

NOW idolatry less opposed in the West, notwithstanding it had a greater number of powerful defenders in that part of the world. Theodosius, who was still in Italy, made, in conjunction with Valentinian the younger, two laws which related to the West, where he left him: the first directed to Albinus prefect of Rome, and dated at Milan the twenty-seventh of February 391, prohibiting all persons to sacrifice victims, to visit temples, or to worship idols. The judges themselves are expressly comprehended in the inhibition, under the penalty of fifteen pounds of gold, and their officers as much, in case they did not impeach them. The other law dated at Concordia the eleventh of May 391, and directed to Flavianus captain of the pretorian bands of Illyrium and Italy, made against those apostates who profaned their Baptism by turning pagans: By this law they are prohibited from being admitted witnesses, and incapacitated from making a will, or from inheriting any thing that might have been bequeathed them. That is to say, that they were by this law declared infamous, and according to the latin expression *infestabiles*. By it they were likewise deprived of every kind of dignity, whether of inheritance or acquired, and left without the least room to hope of ever being restored to their former condition, how great soever their repentance might appear.

AFTER the departure of Theodosius, Valentinian, who was but twenty years old, was not strong enough to resist the power of the pagans, many of whom were still in the Roman senate, and among the rest the famous Symmachus who was consul the same year, viz. in 391, but the most powerful of all was the Count Arbogastes; he was by nation a Frank, was courageous, a great soldier, and disinterested; but then he was brutish, bold, and ambitious. The Emperor Gratian had employed him with Bauto, and he rose to the post of General of Valentinian's armies. He had the greatest share in the defeat of Maximus, whose son Victor he slew, and concluded a peace with the Franks in 389. From that period he did what he pleased with Valentinian; he spoke to him with the utmost freedom, and even disposed of a great many things contrary to his inclinations, and that because he commanded his troops. He filled up all the military posts with Franks, and the civil offices with his own creatures; not a single officer of the court dared to execute the Emperor's orders, before they had been first approved by Arbogastes. The young prince could not bear to live in such a state of slavery, he was continually sending letters to Theodosius, wherein he complained of the contemptuous usage which he received from Arbogastes; and conjuring him to come speedily to his assistance, or else that he might come to him.

VALENTINIAN was beloved by all men, the pagans only excepted. Justina his mother died a few years before: and the pernicious impressions which she had instilled into him, had been removed by the instructions and examples of Theodosius. He was already very grave, and knew how to subdue.

He was in Gaul when the Senate of Rome sent a deputation to him, to desire him once more to restore the privileges of which his brother Constantine had deprived the idol temples; but he absolutely refused it, notwithstanding all the instances of the Pagans who were about him; he was informed at the same time that the Barbarians threatened the Alps on the side of Italy, and gave the necessary orders for his coming to Milan. The very report of his march made the Barbarians retire, so great a fear he inspired in them. They even restored the prisoners, saying by way of excuse that they did not know them to be Italians. St. Ambrose had persuaded the people and the other Magistrates, to go and find out the Emperor, to desire him to send some assistance into Italy; but he did not know that the Emperor had not long parted from him. Valentinian who was still at Vienna, sent a *silentiary* to him; this was an officer who belonged to his chambers, and wrote him word to come to him with all possible haste, designing that he should be security to Count Arbogastes for his keeping his promise; for that Count had a great respect and friendship for St. Ambrose. To press him the more to do it, he added that he was

The death of
Valentinian.
Dionysius Em-
per.
Paul. vi.
Ambr. n. 26.
Ambr. de ob.
Valent. n. 1.
Jd. op. 57.
n. 4.
De ob. Va-
lent.
n. 22. n. 2.
n. 4.
n. 33. 34.
n. 25.
Paul. vit.
n. 30.

was to be baptized by him before he was made holy. It was not that
and did not afford freedom to great sinners, such as St. Martin, St. Val-
entinian, and St. Oribasius of Rheims, but he placed a particu-
lar confidence in St. Ambrose, and regarded him as his own father. From
the time that he sent to him, he waited for his arrival with a continual im-
patience. The journey set out in the night time, and three days after in
the morning the Emperor asked if he was returned, but Valentinian did
not arrive that day. For after dinner as he was alone at Vienna, diverting
himself on the borders of the Rhone within his Palace, and his attendants
being gone to dinner, Arbogastus caused him to be strangled by some of his
guards, who afterwards hung him up with his own handkerchief, that it
might be thought that he had hanged himself. This happened on Saturday
the 15th of May which was Whitsun-Eve, under the second Consulship of
the Emperor Arcadius and Rufinus, that is to say in the year 392. Valen-
tinian was twenty years of age when he was murdered, and had reigned se-
venteen.

ARBOGASTUS knowing that he could not take the title of Emperor
upon himself, because of his birth, bestowed it upon one named Eugenius,
who was a man of learning, and from teaching grammar and rhetorick, was
made secretary to the Emperor, and was much esteemed for his learning and
eloquence. He favoured the pagans, and trusted greatly to the predictions
of the Aruspices and Astrologers: So that it was properly Arbogastus who
reigned under his name. The funeral rites of Valentinian were celebrated
the very day after his death, which was Whitsunday, and they carried his
body to Milan to be interred there. St. Ambrose heard of this sad news on
his way to him, which made him turn back, and having received Theo-
dosius's orders, about Valentinian's sepulchre, he caused him to be laid in a
tomb of porphyry, near that of the Emperor Gratian, and he spoke his fu-
neral oration, in the presence of his two sisters Justa and Grata: the third
sister was the Empress Galla, wife to Theodosius, but the other two con-
tinued virgins.

IN this oration, St. Ambrose deplores the death of Valentinian, with a
fatherly tenderness; and comforts his sisters on account of his not having
been baptized; after this manner: Tell me what more can be required of
our hands, than to be willing to do a thing, or to desire to have it done?
It is a long time since he first desired to be baptized; and that was the
chief reason which made him write to me. Grant then, O Lord, to thy
servant Valentinian that grace which he desired whilst he was in perfect
health. If he had deferred it upon the account of sickness, he would not
have been entirely excluded from thy mercy, because it would have been
rather his want of time, than inclination which had prevented him. And a
little after: If what concerns you, is that the holy mysteries have not been
solemnly celebrated; the martyrs ought not to be crowned, if they are but
catechumens. If they are washed by their blood, this Prince has been wash-
ed by his piety. He afterwards prays to God that this Prince may not be
separated from his father Valentinian and his brother Gratian; then he
adds: Give me the holy mysteries, let us desire rest for him, with a tender
affection, let us make oblations for his dear soul. By which we see that he
pronounced his discourse before the celebration of the holy sacrifice, as is

A. D. 392

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

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St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

St. Martin

St. Valentinian

St. Oribasius

St. Ambrose

A.D. 392. still done upon these occasions; and he promises to offer it, during his whole life, for the two brethren Gratian and Valentinian.

XXXIV. Theodosius had already heard the news of Valentinian's death, when he received an Embassy from Eugenius who offered peace to him, upon the condition of his acknowledging him for his Collegue. There was no mention made of Arbogastus, and there were no letters from him: only certain Bishops who were employed in that embassy, testified that he was innocent of Valentinian's death. Theodosius, after he had retained Eugenius's ambassadors for some time, dismissed them with presents and a great deal of civility, and as soon as they were gone, he forthwith made preparations for war; thinking that it was neither honourable nor safe to treat with traitors, and to let the death of the younger Valentinian his brother-in-law go unpunished. During the preparations of this war, there were performed several acts of religion. Theodosius sent Eutropius an Eunuch who belonged to his palace, a man in whom he confided, to the famous hermit St. John of Egypt, with orders to bring him to him if possible; if not, to consult him about that war; and to know whether Theodosius should march against Eugenius, or stay till he came to him. The Emperor was so well satisfied with his having consulted that holy man about the war against Maximus, that he put an entire confidence in him.

Ruff. ii. c. 19. **AFTER** his return from the East he applied himself, as he did in the beginning of his reign, to restore the churches to the Catholics; and without punishing what had passed with severity he contented himself with removing the obstacles to preaching the truth. The Bishops had free access to him, he treated familiarly with them, he prevented their demands and was very liberal towards building and adorning the churches. But that they might not make an ill use of the respect that is due to religion, he made a law in that year 392, on the fifth of March, forbidding the judges to alledge for a pretence, that a criminal had been taken from them by the Clergy; and another on the 18th of October, to this effect, viz. that those who take sanctuary in the churches to avoid the payment of their debts, should be taken out; unless the Bishops would undertake to pay it for them. This was what St. Augustine practised after he was Bishop. On the 8th of November in the same year 392, he made a law forbidding any person, in any place whatsoever, to sacrifice victims to idols; to offer wine or incense to the Household-Gods, or to the Genii; to light lamps, or to hang up garlands in honour of them. Whosoever sacrificed animals or consulted their entrails, was to be punished as a traitor. If any person offered incense to idols, or tied ribbons to trees, or set up altars of turf, the house or the ground where this superstition had been practised, was to be confiscated. If any person sacrificed in the publick temples, or upon the property of another man, he was to pay a fine of 25 pounds of gold; the proprietor was to undergo the same penalty if he was an accomplice. The judges of the cities were to be punished if they did not accuse the guilty; and the magistrates who did not pass sentence upon them were to pay 30 pounds of gold, and the officers who were under them as much. This law is addressed to Ruffinus, *praefectus praetorii* of the East, and at the same time Consul; and it is thought that

n. 78.

n. 30.

XXXIV.

Theodosius

makes prepa-

rations for

War.

Zof. lib. 4.

R. 77.

Ruff. ii. c. 37.

sup. n. 12.

Ruff. ii. c. 19.

Socr. v. c. 20.

L. i. C. Th.

de his qui ad

Ecclef. con-

fug. L. 15. C.

Th. de pen.

Aug. ep.

238. al. 215.

L. i. C. Th.

de pag.

that he had a great hand in it: We find in Claudian and Zosimus that he also was very odious to the pagans. A. D. 392.

SOME months before, namely on the 15th of June in the same year 392, Theodosius made a law, which condemns every heretick who shall have ordained Clerks or received ordination, to pay 10 pounds of gold; the place where it was performed was to be confiscated. If the proprietor knew nothing of it, the tenant being a free man was to pay 10 pounds of gold; if of servile condition, he was to be beaten and banished. About a month after, on the 18th of August, he made another law which was addressed to Patamius prefect of Egypt, by which all those who should presume to disturb the people in disputing about the Catholick faith were to be banished; notwithstanding the two other laws which he made upon the same account.

L. 21. C. The de her.

L. 3. de his qui sup. relig. C. The.

L. 1. & 2. idem.

THE hereticks ruined each other by their divisions. Dorotheus and Marinus, both Arian Bishops at Constantinople, held separate assemblies; having fallen out about this question: Whether God could be called Father before the existence of the Son. The Goths joined Marinus with Selinas their Bishop who succeeded Ulfilas; which was the occasion of that party's being called the Goths. They were also called *Psatyrians*, on account of a person named Theostus, who sold a particular sort of cakes. They divided again into two parties; Agapius who was ordained Bishop of Ephesus by Marinus, composed one sect, who were called *Cartians* or *Pithecians* on account of a little deformed fellow who very much resembled a monkey. Several Arians of the Clergy, who were offended at these divisions, united themselves to the Church. The Eunomians divided also on questions about words, some of them following one named Theophronus, who had applied himself very diligently to the study of Aristotle's logick: as to the rest, one of them called Eutychius perverted the form of Baptism, and did not baptize in the name of the holy Trinity; but in the death of JESUS CHRIST. The Macedonians were divided between the followers of the priest Eutropius and of Carterus who held separate assemblies. There was also a schism among the Novatians: a Jew named Sabbathius became a Christian of their sect, and was ordained priest by Martianus who was at this time their Bishop at Constantinople. Sabbathius led a regular and austere life; but he always retained some inclination for Judaism, and sought to be made a Bishop. He began to hold assemblies under divers pretences. Martianus repented of his having ordained him, and said; it would have been better for me to have put my hands upon thorns, than laid them upon his head. At last, he held a council of Bishops of his sect at Sangara, a city of great trade near Helenopolis in Bithynia, whither Sabbathius was summoned: they asked him the reason of his discontent. He told them that they did not observe the decree of the council of Para, concerning Easter. Para was a village in Phrygia, where Novatian Bishops had assembled under the Emperor Valens; and to distinguish themselves the more from the Catholicks they had ordained that they should follow the Jewish calculation, in observing Easter-day, unless they always celebrated it upon Sunday. The Council of Sangara, to remove all manner of pretence from Sabbathius, declared that every body might celebrate Easter as they pleased; provided they did not separate themselves from the communion of the rest. This decree of the Novatians was contrary to that of Nice, and to their own principles; since they separated themselves from the Church, only under pretence of preserving its discipline.

XXXV.
A division among the Hereticks.
Sup. n. 13.
Socr. v. c. 23.
Soz. vii. c. 17.
Theod. hær. fab. iv. c. 4.

Socr. v. c. 24.

idem. c. 21.
Soz. vii. 18.

A.D. 325.

XXXVI.

The Heresy of
the Arians.
Epiph. har.
75.

Har. 59.

XXXVII.

St. Augustine's
retreat.
Civit. xxii.
c. 18.

HIVXXX

St. Augustine's
retreat.
Civit. xxii.
c. 18.

Well may we also reckon the Arians among the branches of Arianism, they held no particular opinions concerning the Trinity. Their Chief was Arius a friend of Eustathius of Sebaste, with whom he had enjoyed an ascetic life. He desired to be a Bishop, and perceiving that Eustathius had obtained it before him, he conceived a great jealousy against him. Eustathius did his utmost to appease him, he ordained him priest, and gave him the management of his hospital, and as he was always murmuring against him, he spoke to him about it, sometimes caressing, and at other times threatening; but nothing would reclaim him. He quitted the hospital, and drew after him a great number of men and women. They being driven away from all the churches, and out of all the towns and villages, they assembled in the woods, caverns, and open fields, so that they were sometimes quite covered over with snow. Arius was still alive when St. Epiphanius wrote his treatise concerning heresies, about the year 376. But his sect continued some time, and St. Augustine writing on the same subject about the year 428, mentions them as still in being. Arius was a thorough Arian, but his particular opinions were chiefly reduced to three, viz. That there is no difference between a Bishop and a Priest, that it is useless to pray for the dead; that it is unnecessary to fast and observe feasts, even Easter it self; considering them all as Jewish observances. St. Epiphanius for his part treats of this heresy as very extravagant, and confutes it chiefly by the tradition and consent of all the Churches. He shews the difference that there is between a Bishop and a Priest, in as much as the Bishop begets fathers to the Church by ordination; and the Priest only begets children, by baptism. For the Priest has no right to lay hands on any person. And as Arius mis-applies certain passages, where St. Paul seems to make use of the names of Bishops and Priests indifferently; St. Epiphanius maintains that in the first establishment of the Church, the Apostles sometimes settled Bishops and Deacons without Priests, and at other times Priests and Deacons without Bishops, according to the situation of places, and the capacity of the persons.

In Africa, St. Augustine continued resolutely to oppose the hereticks, particularly the Manichees, who also destroyed themselves by their divisions. At his return from Italy, he came to Carthage with his friend Alypius; and lodged at the house of a person named Innocentius, formerly an advocate in the tribunal of the *Vicarius prefectura*, who with his whole family lived very religiously; he had long been under the care of the physicians for several fistulas, and they had cut him several times; but a sinus that was deeper than the rest had escaped their operation, and they not having laid it open, pretended to cure it with outward applications. After a considerable time they confessed that he must again be cut, according to the advice of an excellent surgeon of Alexandria. The sick person was afraid of this operation, looking upon it as certain death; and the whole house was in great affliction. He was daily visited by holy men, namely Saturninus Bishop of Ufala, Gelosius a priest, the Deacons of the church of Carthage, and amongst the rest by Aurelius who was afterwards Bishop of that city; and he besought them to come the next day, and attend his death. They comforted him, and exhorted him to trust in God, and to submit to his will. Afterwards they fell on their knees to pray according to custom, and prostrated

prostrated themselves on the ground. Innocentius likewise threw himself down with violence, and began to pray with so many tears and groans, and so much struggling that he seemed ready to expire; and then they all rose up and went away, after the Bishop had pronounced the blessing. The next day they returned, and the physicians coming in, the sick man was laid on the bed, and the bandages being taken off they laid open the sore; the surgeon took his instruments and searched for the place where he was to make his incision; he viewed it with his eyes, he felt it with his hands, and he found a very firm scar, and the wound entirely healed. St. Augustine, who was present, afterwards related this miracle, as one of the most notorious of his time, to shew that these wonders had not ceased in the Church. Upon his return into Africa he retired to his house in the country, with some of his friends who were religious persons as well as himself. He lived there about three years entirely disengaged from all temporal concerns, serving God in fasting, prayers and good works; meditating upon his law day and night, and instructing others by his discourses and his books, upon what God discovered to him in his meditations and prayers. He at that time wrote his books upon Genesis against the Manichees, in order to oppose them more openly, and in a more simple stile than he had hitherto made use of.

IN this work he begins with confuting their calumnies against the Old Testament; by answering the objections which they raised against the beginning of Genesis; concluding where Adam was driven out of the earthly Paradise. He at the same time composed his book entitled *The Master*, which is a dialogue between him and his son Adeodatus; in which he curiously examines the use of speech, and proves that there is no other master that instructs us but the eternal truth which is JESUS CHRIST. St. Augustine takes God to witness in his confessions, that all the thoughts which he ascribes to his son in this work were really his, tho' he was at that time but sixteen years old; and he says that he saw some effects of his understanding that were still more wonderful, so that he was astonished at them; but he lost this son soon after. The last product of his retreat was his book upon the *True Religion*; where after having shewn that it was not to be met with, either amongst the Pagans, or in any sect out of the Catholick church; he explains the account of God's method of proceeding in the salvation of mankind; and confutes the error of the Manichees, concerning two principles. He treats of the two methods by which God governs mankind, namely authority and reason; of the three principal vices which we are to avoid in order to raise our selves to God, the love of pleasure, pride, and curiosity; at length he concludes that True Religion consists in adoring one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This is one of St. Augustine's most excellent pieces both in respect to the sentiments and stile.

WHILST he was thus employed in his retreat near Tagasta, there was one of the Emperor's agents at Hippo, a maritime town in the neighbourhood, who having been one of his friends for some time, was desirous of seeing him, and hearing the word of God from his mouth. He was a Christian already; but St. Augustine was in hopes of gaining him entirely to God, and inducing him to live with him in his monastery. He therefore came to Hippo through the desire which he had to save this man, but did not persuade:

A. D. 424.

XXXV.
The history of
the African
Bishop.

Possid. c. 3.

Retract. c. 10.

Ibid. c. 12.

Conf. ix. c. 6.

Retract. 13.

XXXVIII.

St. Augustine.

made a Priest.

Possid. c. 3.

Serm. 335.

1. De vita

com. n. 2.

A. D. 392. persuade him to a retired life at that time. Valerius was then Bishop of Hippo, as he was one day speaking to the people of the necessity that he was under of ordaining a Priest for his church, certain who were acquainted with St. Augustine's virtue and doctrine, laid hold on him, and presented him to be ordained: For he was amongst them, suspecting nothing of it; and he only avoided coming into such churches as wanted a Bishop, being afraid of his being chosen for that dignity. The people of Hippo having seized him, presented him to the Bishop Valerius, unanimously desiring him, and that with great earnestness and cries, to ordain him Priest. St. Augustine burst into tears, which some interpreted as if he had been afflicted, that he was to be no more than a Priest, and accordingly said to comfort him: In truth you deserve a more considerable office, but the Priesthood is next to the Episcopal dignity. He in the mean time wept in consideration of the great dangers which threatened him in the government of the Church; in which the Priests had then a great share. At last the desire of the people was fulfilled, and St. Augustine was ordained priest about the beginning of the year 391.

Post. c. 5.
Eod. Serm.
355.
Act. iv. 32.

He always retained his inclination to retirement, and desired to live at Hippo in a monastery as he did at Tagasta. Valerius the Bishop knowing his intention, gave him a garden belonging to the church, where he began to assemble the servants of God, who were poor like himself; for he had sold his small patrimony, and had given it to the poor; so that when he came to Hippo, he brought nothing with him but his cloaths. They probably subsisted by their labour, and observed the rule established in the time of the Apostles; that no body should call any thing their own, for every thing was in common, and they distributed to every one according as they had need. In the mean time Valerius returned thanks to God, for having heard his prayers. For he had often desired a man, who might edify the Church by his instructions; knowing in what he was deficient, because he was a Greek by birth, and not sufficiently acquainted with the Latin language, neither as to speaking nor writing. He therefore gave St. Augustine power to explain the gospel in his presence, contrary to the custom of the African church, where none but Bishops used to preach, so that some of them were displeased at it. But Valerius knowing that he followed the custom of those of the East and the Eastern Churches, and seeking the advantage of the Church, he was not concerned at these discourses.

Aug. ep. 21.
ch. 14.

St. AUGUSTINE did not at first yield to this order of his Bishop; he desired time to instruct himself further, and wrote to him in these terms: I intreat you to consider before all things, that there is nothing in this life, especially at this time, that is more easy and pleasant than the office of a Bishop, a Priest or a Deacon, if they discharge it carelessly, and by complying with people's humours; but there is nothing worse in the sight of God, and nothing more unjust and despicable. On the contrary, nothing is more difficult, more laborious, and more dangerous than these functions; and nothing more happy in the sight of God, if they discharge them in the manner that he hath ordained. I did not learn it in my youth; and when I began to learn it, they took me by force to put me into the second rank. I believe that God designs to chastise me for my presuming to reprove others for their faults; and I have since been fully convinced of my rashness.

ness. But if I perceived what I was in want of only to let me see that I shall never be able to acquire it; you would have me perish; where then is your charity for me and the Church? He concludes with desiring a little time, as untill Easter, in order to instruct himself by reading and prayer; not in things necessary to Salvation, for he owns that he knows them; but in the manner of teaching them, without seeking his own profit, but only merely the Salvation of others. After this he began to preach, and that with such success, that other Bishops followed the example of Valerius, and appointed Priests to preach.

Post. c. 5.

IN the mean time he continued writing against the Manichees; and it was upon his entrance into the Priest's office, that he wrote his book *Of the benefits of faith*, to a friend named Honoratus, whom he himself had formerly drawn into that error, and who was detained in it chiefly by the great promises of the Manichees, to teach nothing which was not evident by reason, making a jest of the Catholick church, which enjoins us to believe. St. Augustine therefore shews in this piece the benefit of faith, in order to prepare those for the mysteries, who are not yet capable of understanding them; and in particular defends the Old Testament against the calumnies of the Manichees. He therein defines an heretick after this manner. A person who with a view to some temporal interest, especially the glory of the primacy, publishes or embraces false or novel opinions. He therein shews the difference between faith and rash credulity; the necessity of human faith, in most of the transactions of life; and gives solid reasons for following the authority of JESUS CHRIST and the Catholick church. St. Augustine afterwards wrote his book *Of the two souls*, which the Manichees affirmed to be in every man, the one good and the other evil. The good soul they supposed to be a part of GOD, and the evil of the nation of darkness, that GOD had not made it but that it was eternal like him; that it was peculiar to the flesh, and the cause of all the miseries of mankind, as the good soul is the cause of all their happiness.

Retract. 14.

Init.

c. 11, 12, &c.

Retract.

c. 15.

THERE was a great number of Manichees at Hippo, under the direction of a Priest named Fortunatus, who had lived there for some time, and was pleased with the place on account of those whom he had seduced. The citizens of Hippo, and the strangers, as well Catholicks as Donatists, went to St. Augustine and besought him to hold a conference with him. St. Augustine did not refuse them, provided that Fortunatus agreed to it. He had been acquainted with St. Augustine at Carthage, whilst he was a Manichee, and was afraid to confer with him. However he was so urged to it, particularly by those of his own sect, that he was ashamed to go back. They pitcht upon the time and place; and there was a great concourse of curious persons, and a great crowd of people; the dispute was taken down in short-hand, and we have the acts dated the 5th of the Calends of December, under the consulate of Arcadius and Ruffinus, that is on the 27th of August in 392, in the baths of Sossius; a convenient place for avoiding the heat. St. Augustine began the dispute in this manner. I now look upon that as an error which I before held for truth: I desire to know from you that are present if I judge right. Amongst other things I count it a very great error to imagine that the omnipotent GOD

XXXIX.

His conference with Fortunatus. The first day's conference.

Postid. c. 6.

Ap. Aug.

to. 8.

A. D. 392. in whom is all our hope, can in any respect be altered, defiled, or corrupted. I know that your heresy maintains it; not in these very terms, for you likewise say, that God is unalterable beyond comparison. But you affirm that a certain kingdom of darkness hath revolted against God; and that he perceiving the destruction that threatened his kingdom, if nothing opposed that kingdom of darkness, he sent a certain power whose mixture with evil and with the kingdom of darkness made the world; whence it proceeds that good souls are here in pain and bondage, and that they err and are corrupted; so that they stood in need of a redeemer, who should deliver them from error, from their mixture and from servitude. This I think unlawful to believe, viz. that the omnipotent God could be afraid of any kingdom that opposed him, or that he was forced by necessity to precipitate us into misery. Fortunatus replied: I know that you was one of us, these are the chief articles of our faith; but the dispute is concerning our manner of life, and the calumnies which are laid to our charge. Declare then before these good people that are present, if that which we are accused of is true or false. Have you assisted at our prayers? Yes, replied St. Augustine; I have. But there is a difference between the question concerning faith and that of morals. My proposition relates to the faith. If those that are present chuse rather that we speak of morals I do not refuse it. Fortunatus said, I will first clear my self in your opinions by the testimony of a man worthy of credit. St. Augustine said: As to your morals you that are the elect may be well instructed in them. You know that I was only an auditor amongst you. Therefore notwithstanding my being present at your prayers, there is none but God and your selves that can tell whether there is any other form amongst you. In that at which I assisted, I saw nothing that was unseemly. The only thing that I observed contrary to the Faith which I have since been taught, is that you pray looking towards the Sun. Whoever objects any thing to your morals ought to apply to your elect. What I received from you is the faith which I now condemn; let an answer be given to what I propose.

FORTUNATUS said: We likewise maintain that God is incorruptible, luminous, inaccessible, incomprehensible, impassible, dwelling in an Eternal light which is peculiar to him; that he produces nothing that is corruptible, neither the darkness, the demons, nor Satan; and that nothing can be found in his kingdom that is opposite to him. That he hath sent a Saviour like unto himself; that the Word, born ever since the creation of the world, afterwards came amongst men; and chose those souls that were worthy of him, who are sanctified by his heavenly commandments and endow'd with faith and reason; who under his conduct are to return hither to the kingdom of God according to his holy promise. St. Augustine says: These souls when come, as you acknowledge from death unto life by JESUS CHRIST, what cause hath precipitated them into death? Fortunatus said; Answer me I desire you, whether there is any other besides God. St. Augustine said: do you answer if you please, hath he deliverd these souls unto death? Fortunatus continuing to use evasions, St. Augustine said: We ought not to amuse this great assembly, by running from one question to another.

another. We both agree that GOD is incorruptible, from whence I make A. D. 392.
this conclusion: That if GOD could suffer nothing from the kingdom of
darkness, he hath sent us hither without any cause; if he could suffer, then
he is not incorruptible. Fortunatus answered: JESUS CHRIST hath suf-
fered. St. Augustine reply'd: He suffered in his Humane nature, which he
took upon him for our salvation; from which nothing can be inferred in
respect to the Divine nature.

FORTUNATUS instead of answering, asked: Whether the soul is from n. 9.
GOD or not? St. Augustine said: I am ready to declare what you desire; n. 11.
only remember that you would not answer my questions, and that I answer
yours. GOD is one thing, the soul is another. GOD is impassible and in-
corruptible; we see that the soul is sinful, and subject to change and misery.
If it is the substance of GOD, the substance of GOD is then liable to error;
which it is not lawful to assert. You say then, replied Fortunatus, that the
Soul is not of GOD, inasmuch as it is subject to sin and error. St. Augustine n. 12.
reply'd: I say that the soul is not of the substance of GOD, but he is the
author of it. He that made it is one thing, and what he hath made is an-
other. That which he hath made cannot be equal to him that made it.
Fortunatus reply'd: Since you say that the soul is made, and that there is
none other besides GOD; I ask from whence he took the substance of the
soul? St. Augustine said: Remember that you allow as well as I that GOD is
omnipotent. Now he would not be so if he stood in need of matter in or- n. 13.
der to make what he thinks fit. Fortunatus objected the contrariety which n. 14.
appears in the world, between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, death
and life, the soul and the body; from whence he concludes that there are
two substances in the world, one of body and the other of GOD. St. Au-
gustine said: These contrarieties which make such an impression upon you n. 15.
proceed from our sins. For GOD made every thing good, but he did not
make sin, which is the only evil; or rather there are two evils, sin and the
punishment of sin. Sin belongs not to GOD; but the punishment of it pro-
ceeds from him because he is just. For he hath given free-will to the rea-
sonable soul, which is in man; that we may deserve, being good through
inclination, and not through necessity. He put every thing in subjection to
this soul, provided that continued subject to him: If it did not, whatever
would have been subject to him should turn to his punishment.

AFTERWARDS Fortunatus having cited a long passage from St. Paul,
St. Augustine took occasion from thence to press him in this manner upon
Free-will. The soul to which GOD promises pardon for its sins, upon re- Ep. 11. n. 17.
penting of them, may answer him thus, according to your belief: What
have I deserved? Why have you driven me from you, to fight against I
know not what kingdom? You know the necessity that forced me, and
that I had no liberty. Why then do you impute those offences to me of
which you were the cause? If I am a part of yourself, I ought to suffer no-
thing in that kingdom of darkness. But since it cannot be corrected but
through my corruption, how can it be said that I am a part of you, or that
you are incorruptible, or rather that you are not cruel, in making me suffer
for your kingdom, which this kingdom of darkness cannot hurt? And as

A. D. 392. they continued to examine these passages of St. Paul, tho' they had agreed to discuss the belief of two principles by reason; those that were present began on their part to make a noise, until Fortunatus having said; that the word of GOD had been bound in the kingdom of darkness: Which having excited horror in the assembly they broke up.

XL.
The second
day.

n. 20.

n. 21.

1 Tim. vi. 10.

Gal. v. 17.

Rom. vii. 23,
&c.

n. 22.

Matth. xii. 33.

— 2. 4. 25.

Rom. ix. 20.

n. 28.

n. 32, 33, &c.

n. 36.

ON the next day they renewed the conference. It was agreed that GOD could not be the author of evil; and St. Augustine insisted upon Free-will, without which there would neither be any just punishment nor merit. Upon which Fortunatus said: If GOD gives that licence to sin, which you call Free-will, he would consent to our sin, and would be the author of it, or not knowing what I would become, he would do ill in making me unworthy of him. And afterwards: We sin whether we will or no, being constrained by a power that is contrary to and at enmity with us; otherwise if there is none but the soul placed in the body, to which GOD, as you say, has given free-will, it would become liable to sin. St. Augustine answered, That altho' whatever GOD hath made is good, his work cannot be as good as himself; for it would be unjust and foolish to believe that the creature is equal to the Creator. Afterwards he insisted upon this passage of the Apostle; That * *the love of money* is the root of all evil; and proceeding to the pretended kingdom of darkness, he says: If that only sins, that only should be punished and not the soul. For if the soul is constrained to do evil, is it not contrary to reason that the kingdom of darkness sin, and that I do penance for it; let it sin and let pardon be granted to me?

FORTUNATUS alledged the passages of St. Paul, which take notice of a war in us of the flesh against the spirit; to which St. Augustine reply'd: The first man had free-will in such manner as that nothing could have opposed his inclination, if he had kept the commandments of GOD: But since he sinned by his own free-will, we who sprung from him have been precipitated into necessity. Every person can perceive in himself that before we have contracted an habit we are free; but when through this freedom we have done any thing, the pernicious delight and pleasure of doing it, engages us in such a manner, that we are no longer able to resist this habit formed in the flesh, which wars against the soul. This is what our Saviour calls the good or corrupt tree; and in order to shew that by these two trees, he means Free-will, and not two different natures, he says: Either make the tree good, or make the tree corrupt. But who can make nature?

HE proceeds afterwards to the first question, and urges Fortunatus to declare why GOD, whom nothing can hurt, hath sent us hither to oppose the kingdom of darkness. He answered by this passage of the Apostle: Shall the thing formed, say unto him that formed it; Why hast thou made me thus? At first he said, that there was a necessity; afterwards he affirmed that GOD had voluntarily sent the soul. St. Augustine caused his preceding words to be read, to shew the contradiction; for every word that they spake was written down. At last, as he still pressed him to answer, why GOD, whom nothing can hurt, sent the soul here into misery, he was forced to reply: What then should I say? I know, said St. Augustine, that you have nothing

to

[* The vulgate reads Cupiditas, but the original is φιλαργυρία.]

to say, and when I was the disciple of your sect, I could find nothing to answer to this question; and it is by this means that God brought me out of this error. But if you own that you have nothing to answer, I will explain the Catholick faith, if those that are present think fit. Fortunatus said: Without prejudice to what I have declared, I will tell you that I will examine your objections with my superiors; and if they do not give me a good answer, it will be my business to consider whether I ought to seek what you offer to shew me; for I have also a mind to save my soul. St. Augustine said: God be praised; and thus ended the conference. It convinced all those, who had a great opinion of Fortunatus, of the weakness of his sect, which he had so ill defended; and he was in such confusion upon that account that he afterwards withdrew from Hippo, and never returned there again; but he was not converted.

A. D. 392.

Possid. c. 6.

AURELIUS, formerly a Deacon of the church of Carthage, had lately been made Bishop of that city after Genethlius; and all good people had conceived great hopes, that God would make use of him to remedy the disorders of the church of Africa. He had already entered into friendship with St. Augustine, and wrote to him desiring his assistance, his prayers and advice. St. Augustine returned answer to him, thanking him in the name of Alypius, and all those who lived in their community, for the friendship which he expressed towards them. Then coming to the subject, he exhorted him to correct the abuses which had crept into the churches of Africa, in the feasts which they made in honour of the martyrs; not only on festivals but every day, and that in the churches themselves. He proposes to him the example of Italy, and most of the Churches on this side the sea, where there were none of these disorders; either because they had never been amongst them, or that the Bishops had abolished them by their application. This evil, adds he, is so great, that it cannot be remedied unless by the authority of a council; or if any Church ought to begin, it is that of Carthage. But if we must attempt it by fair means, for such abuses are not to be removed by severity, nor after an imperious manner, it should be done rather by teaching than commanding, rather by admonishing than threatening. For thus we ought to proceed with a number of people; and use severity to the sins of particular persons. But if we use any threatnings, let it be with concern, by representing the future judgment by the Scriptures, that it may not be us and our power, but God whom they fear in what we say. Thus spiritual persons will be the first that are affected; and they will gain over the rest of the multitude by their authority. But because this intemperance and these dissolute feasts, which are made in the coemeteries, are esteemed by the ignorant and by weak people, not only as honours to the martyrs, but even as a satisfaction to the dead; I believe that we may the more easily persuade them from them, if at the same time that we defend them by the authority of the Scriptures, we take care that too much be not laid out in the offerings that are made upon the monuments of the dead; for we ought to believe that they are really of use to them, if they are cheerfully distributed to all that desire to partake of them. These offerings upon the graves are taken notice of in the book of Tobit.

XLI.
St. Augustine's
letter to Aure-
lius concerning
the Agapæ.

Epist. 22. al.
64.

n. 5.

Tob. iv.

A. D. 393.

To. 2. conc.

p. 1180.

Conc. Carthag.

iii. c. 30.

Afr. c. 9.

Cod. Afr.

c. 42.

P. 1181. D.

Conc. Afr.

to. 2.

Conc. p. 1641.

C.

Cod. Afr. post.

c. 33.

Aug. 1. Re-

tract. c. 17.

XLII.

St. Jerom's
writings a-
gainst Jovi-
nian.

Sup. n. 19.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

The rest of St. Augustine's letter to Aurelius, contains very prudent and modest advice concerning the manner of preserving humility in the midst of honours and commendations, without prejudicing his authority. Aurelius followed St. Augustine's advice, and assembled a general council of all Africa at Hippo, where several canons were made, which served for a model to succeeding councils. There are reckoned to the number of forty one, the first of which prohibits the Bishop and Clergy from eating in the church, unless through necessity and occasionally, and orders the people to be restrained as much as possible from these meals. This council likewise made a decree concerning the re-union of the Donatists in these terms: In former councils it hath been ordained that we should not receive any Donatist into his rank among the Clergy, but into the number of the laity, in regard to his salvation which ought to be refused to no man. Nevertheless because of the want of Clerks, which is so great in the African church, that some places are entirely destitute; it is resolved that they shall be excepted out of this regulation of whom it can be assured that they have not re-baptized; or such as come over with their flock to the Catholick church. For it is not to be doubted but that the benefit of peace and the sacrifice of charity effaces the evil which they have done by re-baptizing, being drawn into it by the authority of their forefathers. But this resolution shall not be confirmed till they have consulted the Churches on the other side the sea. This Council was held in the council-chamber in the Basilick of peace, under the consulate of the Emperor Theodosius with Abondantius, i. e. in the year 393, on the 8th of October. In this Council St. Augustine by order of the Bishops made a discourse in their presence, upon the faith and the creed; of which he afterwards composed a book at the desire of his friends, and which is an abridgment of the christian doctrine. About this time his intimate friend Alypius went to Jerusalem, became acquainted with St. Jerom, spoke to him of St. Augustine, and began that friendship which was afterwards between them.

St. JEROM in his retreat at Bethlehem still continued to maintain the doctrine of the church. In the 14th year of Theodosius, which happened in the year 392, he composed his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers at the desire of Dexter the *Præfatus prætorii*. He takes notice that he was the first who undertook this task, altho' he owns that the history of Eusebius of Cæsarea was of great service to him; and he shews how useful it is against the calumnies of Celsus, Porphyry and Julian, to let us see how many learned and eloquent men had taught and maintained the christian religion. He begins with St. Peter, and concludes with himself, making a catalogue of his works to this year: The last which he takes notice of are his two books against Jovinian, and his apology to Pammacus. He wrote against Jovinian at the request of some of the faithful at Rome, who sent him the works of this heretick, in order to answer them; for notwithstanding his being condemned he had followers at Rome. St. Jerom confutes him in two books, the first of which is chiefly intended to shew the excellency of the unmarried state. In which following the force of his genius he so far extols the state of virginity above marriage, and that of widowhood above

above second marriages, that he seems to consider marriage an evil rather tolerated than expressly permitted. Some were greatly offended at it, of which his friend Pammacus informed him, and took care to recover as much as possible the copies of this work against Jovinian. St. Jerom. thanked him for it, but told him that he took unnecessary trouble; he having spread several copies of it in the East, and some of them having been even brought to Rome. For, says he, as soon as I have written any thing, it is certainly published either by my friends or enemies; therefore all that I can do is to send you an apology for this work; and accordingly he sent it with this letter.

IN this apology he takes away and explains all the passages where he seemed to speak contemptibly of marriage. As Jovinian accused the Catholics of being Manichees, he shews that he begins with condemning the Marcionites, the Manichees and the Encratites, who rejected marriage; that he owns that marriage is honourable and undefiled, according to the Scripture; and that he only preferred a state of continence, as a greater good: That he acknowledged marriage to be the source of virginity, that he approved second and third marriages; and in short that those expressions which seem harsh should be judged of by comparing them with the rest of the discourse. He therein remarks, as he had already done in the work against Jovinian, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons thought conversing with women and serving at the altar as incompatible. He takes notice that at Rome, the faithful, even such as were married, received the communion every day; and when they did not think themselves in a condition to come into the church, they nevertheless received the body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST in their houses. He observed to those who censured him, the difference of the two ways of writing, namely opposing an error or merely instructing. In the former we are more prolix, and do not always discover our intention; the author is sometimes obliged to speak not according to his sentiments, but according to the prejudices of his adversary. He brings examples from the most eloquent among the Pagans and Christians, and even St. Paul himself, admiring his eloquence and profound skill, under the appearance of simple and rude expressions. St. Jerom wrote likewise concerning this matter to his friend Domnion, against the declamations of a certain monk, for whom he expresses abundance of contempt.

IN the mean time he had more powerful adversaries in the East; for this is the time of his great dispute with John Bishop of Jerusalem, the original of which was this. Paulinian, St. Jerom's brother, lived with him in the monastery of Bethlehem. There were two Priests in this community, St. Jerom and Vincent, but their humility was so great that they would not offer the holy sacrifice. Paulinian who was esteemed worthy of the Priesthood thought himself unworthy of it; and for fear of being ordained he carefully avoided meeting with any Bishops. St. Epiphanius their friend had founded a monastery in the place of his birth, in Palestine, in the diocese of Eleutheropolis. Whilst he was there Paulinian went to see him with certain monks, in order to give him satisfaction in relation to some displeasure that he had conceived against them. St. Epiphanius thought that Pro-

vidence

A. D. 393.

Apolog. c. 1.

Ep. 52. ad Pamm.

L. in Jovin.

c. 5.

Heb. xiii. 4.

c. 4. Apol.

lib. 1. in Jov.

Apol. c. 3.

init.

c. 6.

c. 4.

Epist. 31.

XLIII.

The ordination of Paulinian.

Epiph. ad Joan.

ap. Hier. Ep.

60.

Hier. ad

Theop. ep.

62. c. 3.

Sup. liv. xiii.

n. 41.

A. D. 393.

Hier. ep. 62.

ad Theoph.

c. 3.

Hier. ep. 62.

ad Theoph.

c. 3.

XLIV.

St. Epiphani-

us's letter to

John of Je-

rusalem.

Ap. Hier.

ep. 60.

2 Cor. x. 16.

vidence had sent him; and as they were performing divine service in the church belonging to a village near his monastery, he caused Paulinian to be seized by several Deacons, he suspecting nothing of the matter, and he ordered them to stop his mouth, lest, to deliver himself, he should conjure them in the name of CHRIST. Thus he ordained him Deacon, notwithstanding his great unwillingness, and the protestations which he made of his unworthiness; he obliged him to perform the duties of his office, endeavouring to persuade him by several passages of Scripture, and through fear of the judgments of GOD. Afterwards as he served at the holy sacrifice, St. Epiphanius ordained him Priest with the same difficulty, causing his mouth to be stopped; and he made use of the same persuasions to oblige him to take his seat amongst the Priests. After this he wrote to the Priests and other monks of this community, reproving them for not having written; especially since it was above a year that several had complained to him, of having no body to perform divine service amongst them; and that all desired the ordaining of Paulinian, as a person very useful to the monastery. Paulinian followed St. Epiphanius into Cyprus, and continued subject to him as if he had been one of his Clergy; only going sometimes to visit his brother in Palestine.

JOHN of Jerusalem was extremely exasperated at this ordination. He complained loudly of it, and threatened to write concerning it to the whole world. He alledged that St. Epiphanius had no jurisdiction over Paulinian, nor in Palestine, which he pretended was his province. He moreover said, that Paulinian was too young to be a Priest, altho' he was thirty years of age. He adds certain personal reproaches against St. Epiphanius; and amongst others, that in the holy sacrifice he said: Lord grant unto John to know the truth; thus accusing him of heresy. It is true that St. Epiphanius accused John of holding the errors attributed to Origen; and this was the chief cause of their division. John pretended that they reproached him with this only since he had complained of the ordination of Paulinian. But St. Epiphanius and St. Jerom did not agree about it, but maintained on the contrary, that John complained of this ordination only through revenge, for their reproving his doctrine.

St. EPIPHANIUS having been informed of the complaints and threatenings of John of Jerusalem, wrote a letter to him, in which he gives an account how he had performed that ordination, and says: You ought to take it in good part, knowing that the fear of GOD obliged me to it; especially considering that there is no difference in the priesthood of GOD, when we aim at the service of the Church. For tho' the Bishops have every one their church, of which they take care, and that none may encroach upon what belongs to another; the sincere charity of JESUS CHRIST is preferable to them all. And afterwards: Oh how truly commendable is the meekness and goodness of the Bishops of Cyprus; and how unworthy of the mercy of GOD is our brutishness as you term it! For several Bishops of our communion have ordained Priests in our province, who had no pretensions to that office; and have sent us Deacons and Subdeacons, whom we gladly received. And I my self exhorted Philo the Bishop of blessed memory

memory and Theoprobos, to ordain Priests in the churches of Cyprus, A. D. 393. which were near them tho' in my diocess, because it extends a great way. Why therefore are you so transported on account of a work of GOD, which had no other intention than the edification of the brethren? He afterwards answers the personal reproaches; and protests that he never spake of John in publick, any otherwise than of the rest of the Bishops, saying: Lord preserve him that preacheth the truth. Or else: Grant Lord that he may preach the word of truth: using either of these expressions as occasion offered in the series of the discourse; which shews that in their prayers they did not as yet use one constant form without variation.

He afterwards comes to Origen's errors, which he says is the true cause of John's animosity; and he reduces them to eight heads. The first is, that the Son of GOD cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Ghost the Son; The second, that souls have been angels in heaven; that for their sins, they were sent here below and imprisoned in bodies: The third, that the devil will return to his former dignity and reign in heaven with the saints. The fourth, that the garments of skins, with which GOD cloathed Adam and Eve, were their bodies, and that they were incorporeal before they sinned. The fifth, that we shall not rise again with the same flesh. The sixth, that the terrestrial paradise is an allegory signifying heaven. The seventh, that the waters which in Scripture are placed above the firmament, are the angels; and those beneath, the demons. The eighth, that man by sin lost his resemblance to GOD. St. Epiphanius exhorts John of Jerusalem to renounce all these errors, of which he likewise accuses the Priest Ruffinus of Aquilea and Palladius of Galatia. Sup. liv. v. c. 54. c. 3.

At the end of his letter we read these words: Moreover I have been informed, that some have murmured against me, because when we were going to the holy place named Bethel, in order to perform divine service there with you; being come to the village Anablatha, and seeing there as we passed a lamp lighted; I asked what place it was, and was told that it was a Church, and accordingly I went in to pray. I found a curtain fastened to the door of this church, upon which was painted a picture, as of CHRIST or some Saint; for I do not perfectly remember what it represented. Having therefore seen the image of a man exposed to view in the church of Christ against the authority of Scripture, I tore the curtain and advised those who kept that place to wrap the dead body of some poor man in it, in order to his burial, upon which they murmured and said: since you tore this curtain, you ought to give us another: Which having heard I promised to do it, and accordingly I now send such a one as I could meet with, and I entreat you to order the priests of the place to receive it; and to forbid them exposing to view for the future in the church such curtains, which are contrary to our religion, for it becometh you to remove this scandal. If this part of the letter really belongs to St. Epiphanius; it must be confessed that in this point he was more scrupulous than other Bishops. For the use of pictures in the churches was received both in the East and West; as appears from St. Gregory of Nyssa, from Prudentius, and from St. Paulinus, who wrote at the same time. And there is mention made of such Greg. Nyss. in Theod. p. 1011. D. Prud. Steph. ix. v. 93. 123. Paul. natal. 11. sub fine.

A. D. 393. Each Bishop had a curtain set up in a church, in the book of the miracle of St. Stephen, composed by the order of Erodian Bishop of Ugent, St. Epiphanius tried. However the customs of the churches might be different in this point, and the great number of Jews who lived in Palestine might oblige them to use images with more caution, that they might not give them offence, when there was no necessity for it.

XLV.
St. Jerom's
Letter against
John, &c.

Her. ep. 101.
de opt. gen.
interpret.
Id. ep. 61.

c. 16.

c. 4.

St. Epiphanius sent a letter to John of Jerusalem, by one of his Clerks, and urged him to answer it: In the mean time the copies of it were spread in Palestine. Eusebius of Cremona who was in St. Jerom's Monastery, hearing this letter commended by every body, desired him to translate it, for he did not understand Greek; and in order to satisfy him, St. Jerom sent for a short-hand writer, and dictated this translation immediately; which he desired Eusebius to keep to himself without publishing it. However it hath since appeared, and there is no other remains of St. Epiphanius's letter but in this version. Instead of answering it, John of Jerusalem wrote an apology, which he addressed to Theophilus of Alexandria, but which in effect was a circular letter to all Bishops; and he sent it into the West, and into several other Provinces. The copies of it were spread about at Rome as well as those of St. Epiphanius; which obliged Pammachius to write to St. Jerom, desiring him to explain the state of the question, and to let all the world know the truth. St. Jerom complied with it by a long letter to Pammachius written in the year 393, as appears by an eclipse of the sun which is mentioned in it; and it was now three years since this dispute began, reckoning from the time when St. Epiphanius, being at Jerusalem, accused John of following the errors of Origen; which St. Jerom relates in this manner, addressing his discourse to John.

You imposed upon strangers; we were here and knew the whole matter. When the Pope Epiphanius spoke in your church against Origen, and attacked you under his name, you and your adherents made it sufficiently appear by your countenances, and supercilious behaviour, that you looked upon him as an old dotard. Did you not send your Archdeacon before our Saviour's Sepulchre, to bid him forbear speaking thus? What Bishop did ever treat his Priest in this manner before the people? And when you walked from the place of Resurrection to that of the Crucifixion, and a crowd of people of every age and sex ran to him, presenting him their children, kissing his feet and tearing the fringe from his garment; so that you could not get forward, and found it even difficult to support your self; the envy which you bore to the glory of that good old man, made you cry out and tell him to his face, that he should stop on purpose. Recollect I beseech you that day, when the people stood an hour after mid-day merely in hopes of hearing St. Epiphanius. You spoke like an enraged person against the *Antibropomorphites*, who through a great ignorance imagined that God had those members that are attributed to him in Scripture. Your hands, your eyes and your whole body pointed at the good old man, in order to make him suspected of this ridiculous heresy. When you had done speaking he rose up, signifying that he had something to say, and having

having saluted the assembly both with his voice and hand, he said: All that my Brother hath said against the *Ambrosian* *in good and agreeable* to the faith, and I condemn them also; but as we condemn this heresy, it is fit that we likewise condemn the wicked doctrine of Origen.

When a laughter, what cries then arose! I believe you remember. He afterwards relates how John of Jerusalem made another long discourse in the presence of St. Epiphanius, in which he treats of all the opinions of the Church, concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, Hell, the nature of Angels, the state of Souls, and of the Resurrection. He pretended that he only made it occasionally; but St. Jerom affirmed that it was made to clear himself from the doctrine of Origen. Be it as it will, he thus relates the grounds of the quarrel, in order to shew that it was prior to the ordination of Paulinian.

As to the apology of John of Jerusalem, St. Jerom complains that being accused of Origen's errors by so many monks in Palestine, and by a Bishop of such authority as St. Epiphanius, he did not justify himself directly: I would not, says he, have any one bear the suspicion of heresy with patience. Then coming to the subject, he said that of eight articles that were laid to his charge, he meddled only with three, and that too without answering directly, saying nothing of the other articles. St. Jerom enlarges upon all these points, and upon all the errors of Origen, and fully confutes them. In speaking of the creed, he observes that they had received it from the Apostles, and that they caused it to be learned by heart, without committing it to writing. John supposes Theophilus to have the inspection over all the churches, and chiefly that of Jerusalem. To which St. Jerom made this reply: You who pretend to follow the canons of Nice, answer me how does Palestine relate to the Bishop of Alexandria? If I am not deceived, it is there ordained that Caesarea should be the metropolis of Palestine, and Antioch of all the East. You ought therefore to apply yourself to the Bishop of Caesarea, knowing that we are in communion with him, after having rejected yours; or if you desire to have a judge at a distance, you ought rather to write to Antioch. He afterwards complains of the Priest Isidore, one of the *four * tall brothers* whom Theophilus had sent to Jerusalem, and by whom John had sent his apology. St. Jerom affirms that Isidore was himself suspected of holding Origen's opinions, and adds: Being come hither as deputy from Theophilus, he would not deliver the letters which he had received for us, because the Bishop of Jerusalem had made him promise not to deliver them; thus he shewed himself to be partial, though he pretended to be sent to make peace. Two months before Isidore came, Count Archelaus became mediator between the Bishop John, and the monks; and they desired that the Faith might be the foundation of their agreement. They had pitched upon the place and the day, which was about Easter, and John had promised to come: a great number of monks came thither; the Bishop sent word on a sudden that he was obliged to assist a sick lady, and that he could not come that day. Altho' the monks thought that he mocked them, yet they staid for him. Archelaus wrote to him, telling him that he would stay till the next day, and even till the third if he would come then; but John never came. He accused St. Jerom and the rest of the monks of rending

A. D. 393.

Ep. 61. c. 1, 2.

c. 3.

c. 9. in fine.

c. 15.

Can. nic. 6.
& 7.
Sup. liv. xi.
n. 20.

c. 16.

* The French is Grand freres.

A. D. 393. the Church; to which St. Jerom replied: Do we rend the Church, we who some months ago about the time of Pentecost, when the sun being darkened, every body in a fright thought the day of judgment was come, presented to your Priests forty persons of different ages and sexes to be baptized? Nevertheless there were five Priests in the monastery who had power to baptize; but they would do nothing that might offend you and furnish you with a pretence for not explaining your self about the faith. Do you not rather rend the Church, you who forbade your Priests at Bethlehem to administer Baptism at Easter to our candidates; whom we sent to Diospolis to the Bishop and Confessor Dionysius that he might baptize them?

Ep. 62. c. 3. St. JEROM wrote likewise to Theophilus of Alexandria in answer to a letter, by which he exhorted them to peace. He defends the ordination of his brother Paulinian, for having been performed in the monastery of St. Epiphanius, in the territory of Eleutheropolis, and not at *Ælia*, i. e. Jerusalem, and proving that Paulinian was not too young, inasmuch as he was thirty years old. Let them have their choice, says he; if we are good, let them leave us at peace; if we are wicked, why should they desire our communion? He lately desired, and his request was granted, that we should be sent into banishment; and would to GOD he could have brought it about. The Church was founded by such as spilt their blood, and suffered injuries. This is what St. Jerom wrote concerning the dispute with John of Jerusalem. He was accused of not having faithfully translated St. Epiphanius's letter to John, and in order to clear himself he wrote a letter to Pammachius, in which he shews that the best method of translating is to express the sense fully, and not to render it word for word. But he did not write this letter till two years afterwards.

Ep. 10. de
opt. ger. in-
terpr.

XLVI.
Palladius's
Voyage.
Her. ep. 60.
c. 4. 5.
Sup. L. xvii.
n. 6.
Pall. Lauf.
c. 118.
Pall. Lauf.
pref. & init.
Sup. liv. xvi.
n. 35.
Lanf. c. 2.

RUFFINIUS and Palladius, whom St. Epiphanius mentions as the chief Origenists, were then in Palestine. Rufinus came thither with Melanias as early as the year 373, as hath already been related, and he staid there twenty five years: he had been an intimate friend of St. Jerom, but the intimacy he had with Origen so divided them, that from that time he became his greatest adversary. Palladius was of Galatia, at twenty five years of age he came to Alexandria under the second consulship of Theodosius, that is in the year 388. He fell at first into the hands of Isidore the Priest, who was then about the age of seventy, and lived sixteen years afterwards, that is till the year 403. This is the same Isidore of whom St. Jerom complains. Isidore put Palladius under the care of an Hermit named Dorotheus who had lived sixty years in a cave near Alexandria, he obliged him to stay three years with him in order to learn how to subdue his passions. Palladius after living with the old man two years and a half fell sick, and was obliged to leave him that he might not live so austere. He visited the monks of Mount-nitria and passed a whole year there; after that he retired to the desert of Cellæ, and conversed three years with St. Macarius of Alexandria who performed the office of Priest amongst them; he there made an acquaintance with Evagrius of Pontus, and with five other monks who were strangers. The desert of Cellæ was for nine years space the common residence of Palladius; however he took certain journeys in this time, for he visited the monastery of Scetis and consulted an ancient monk named Pachon. He also went into Palestine, and staid at Bethlehem with a monk

c. 7.
c. 20.

Rosc. p. 721.

c. 29.

Lanf. c. 77.

named

named Possidonius, and at the mount of Olives with Innocent the Priest. A. D. 393. St. Epiphanius informs us that Palladius was in Palestine when he wrote to John of Jerusalem, which was in the year 392. c. 103.

EVAGRIUS of Pontus, under whose direction Palladius had placed himself, passed for a great follower of Origen; he was ordained Reader by St. Basil, and Deacon by St. Gregory of Nyssa. Being come to Jerusalem he found there old Melanias, and by his advice took the monastick habit upon him, about the year 384. After that he went into Egypt, and staid on Mount-nitria, and in the Cellæ; he there lead a most austere life, and as he wrote well and quick, he employ'd himself in transcribing of books for his subsistence, and became very learned; and died in his retirement at the age of fifty four. He is supposed to be the author of the second book of the lives of the Fathers which begins with the history of St. John of Egypt, where he speaks always as an eye-witness. They attribute to Rufinus the Latin translation of this work, and the elogium of Evagrius which we find inserted in it. It is certain that Evagrius with Palladius, Albinus, Ammonius, and three other monks, seven in all, went to see the famous St. John of Egypt, as they came from Jerusalem, and that they were informed by him of the victory which the Emperor Theodosius had gained over the Tyrant Eugenius on the very same day that the news was carried to Alexandria, although St. John's monastery was near Lycus or Lycopolis in the Thebais at a very great distance. Pall. Lauf. c. 86. c. 27. Ros. p. 479. Vitæ PP. lib. ii. c. 1. Pall. Lauf. c. 43. c. 46.

EUTROPIUS, whom the Emperor had sent to St. John of Egypt, could not persuade him to quit his retirement, but he foretold that the Emperor should be victorious in this war, but not without effusion of blood, as in the war against Maximus: That he should cause the tyrant to be put to death after his victory; that he should die himself in Italy, leaving to his son the Empire of the West. Eutropius having carried back his answer, the Emperor continued to prepare himself for the war, not so much by his arms as by works of piety; by fasting, watching, and prayers. He visited with the Bishops and people all the places of prayer, and prostrated himself before the tombs of the Martyrs and Apostles; imploring their intercession as the most certain succour. He made several laws for the ease of the people; he took off the tribute that Tatian the *Præfektus prætorii* had imposed, and ordered that all the goods of those which he had caused to be proscribed should be restored to them or their nearest relations; he forbade the soldiers to extort any thing from their hosts, or to make them pay in money what ought to be supplied in kind: He blamed the indiscreet zeal of those who under pretence of religion, took upon them to pillage and ruin the synagogues of the Jews. In short he made a law to hinder all those, who had presumed to rail either against him or his government, from being prosecuted as guilty of treason: If it is through their imprudence, says his law, it ought to be despised, if through folly, we ought to have compassion, and if through malice, we must pardon it; for which reason we would have the matter referred entirely to us, that we may judge, according to the quality of the persons, whether it ought to be neglected or prosecuted. All these laws were dated at Constantinople under the consulship of Theodosius and Abondantius, that is in the year 393. Theodosius spent all the rest of this year there, XLVII. The war of Theodosius against Eugenius. Soz. 7. c. 32. Sup. n. 34. Philost. ii. c. 2. idem. c. 33. L. 23. C. Th. de ann. & trib. Lib. 12. C. Th. de bon. proscr. L. 3. de Salg. 1. 18, 19, 20. de erog. mil. ann. L. 9. de Jud. L. 7. C. Th. si quis imp. maled. l. 9.

A. D. 393. there, and the beginning of the next, preparing himself for the war during the winter.

EUGENIUS made preparations on his side but in a far different manner; for as he had been supported by the Pagans, he allowed them all sorts of liberty: At Rome they performed abundance of sacrifices, they sprinkled the blood of the victims, they inspected their entrails, and they pretended to find in them fortunate omens on which they promised Eugenius certain victory.

Flavian the *Praefectus praetorii*, and friend to Symmacus, who was looked upon as a great politician, and very learned in this science of divination, was the most eager to practise these superstitions, and the forwardest to make these magnificent promises.

Eugenius making himself master of the passages of the Julian Alps, there suffered them to set up Jupiter's idols, and his chief ensign carried on it that of Hercules.

He granted to the Pagans that which the younger Valentinian had twice refused them, namely, the re-establishing the altar of victory at Rome, and the restoring of the revenues of their temples. He had likewise refused it twice, but granted it the third time.

St. Ambrose seeing Eugenius at last delivered up to Paganism, returned no answer to a letter which he had written to him in the beginning of his reign, but he afterwards wrote to him, and solicited him for those who were in trouble; shewing on the one side that he was incapable of flattery even at the hazard of his life, and on the other, that he knew how to honour power when charity required it.

Afterwards understanding that Eugenius made all imaginable expedition to Milan, he left it and retired to Bologna. He often wrote letters to Eugenius, wherein he gave him an account of his retreat, representing likewise how he had opposed the demands of the Pagans with Valentinian and Theodosius himself.

He refuted the poor excuse which Eugenius made use of, saying, that he had not restored the goods to the temples, but gave them to those persons to whom he was obliged, that is to say, to Arbogastus and Flavian.

Your power is great, says St. Ambrose, but consider that of GOD, who sees all things, and knows the very bottom of your heart. You will not suffer any to deceive you, and yet you would conceal things from GOD.

How can you make your offerings to JESUS CHRIST? How can the Priests distribute them? All that the Pagans do will be imputed to you.

St. Ambrose's threatnings came to pass, for the church at Milan refused the offerings of Eugenius, and would not even admit him to prayers; this so exasperated Arbogastus and Flavian that upon leaving Milan they vowed, that if they returned victorious they would turn the Basilica into a stable, and oblige the Clergy to bear arms.

St. Ambrose upon leaving Milan went to Bologna, where he was invited to assist at the translation of the holy martyrs, Vitalis and Agricola, who were found there; these martyrs suffered together. Vitalis was one of Agricola's slaves, and they executed him first; he was of a very mild disposition, and beloved by the persecutors themselves; but finding that he would not yield they crucified him.

They were buried among the Jews, and the Christians knew not where it was, but the martyrs revealed it to the Bishop of the same church, who upon searching found their bodies, and took them up from among a great number both of Jews and Christians, and by the quantity of nails which were found it might be known what a multitude of wounds St. Agricola had received; they also got his blood, and the wood

XLVIII. St. Ambrose at Bologna and Florence. Ambr. exhort. virgin. Paul. n. 29.

Ep. 57. n. 6. n. 7. n. 8. Paul. n. 31.

Aug. 5. civit. c. 26. Theod. 5. c. 24. Paulin. vit. Ambr. c. 26. Ambr. ep. 57. n. 6. n. 11, 12.

wood of the cross. The bodies of the holy saints were laid on the altar of the Basilica with joyful acclamations of all the people, and the very devils were tormented at the sight of the martyrs, and declared their merits. St. Ambrose therefore having been invited to this feast, came to Bologna and assisted at the translation, bringing back with him part of the relicks, that is, the nails and the wood of the cross; for they did not as yet divide the bodies, it not being usual even to remove them. Theodosius had made a law in the year 386 to forbid the carrying of human bodies from one place to another, or to sell or buy martyrs, only permitting such edifices to be built as they thought proper for the honouring their burial, that is because there were afterwards false monks, who made it their business to run over all the provinces with pretended relicks. From Bologna St. Ambrose went immediately to Fayence, and there staid some days, during which time he was invited by the Florentines into Tuscany, whither he went, and carried to Florence the relicks of St. Vital, which he had designed for others: and he placed them on the altar of the church, which he had dedicated there, and which they called the *Basilica Ambrosienna*. A holy widow named Julienna had caused it to be built; she had three daughters whom she consecrated to God on this account; the sermon which St. Ambrose preach'd at this dedication was an exhortation to virginity, being chiefly made for the instruction of those children. At Florence he lived in the house of the most considerable citizen named Decentius, a christian, whose son an infant named Pansophius was tormented with an evil spirit; the holy Bishop in order to recover him prayed often for him, laying his hands on him, but in a few days after the child died suddenly; his mother who was very pious carried him from the top of the house to a lower apartment, in which St. Ambrose lodged, and laid him on his bed whilst he was abroad. St. Ambrose being returned, and finding the child lying dead on his bed, was moved with the faith of his mother, and immediately in imitation of Elijah, he laid himself on the child, and by his prayers procured him to be restored to life; he presented him alive to his mother, and composed at that time a little book which he addressed to this infant, to the intent that he might hereafter learn by reading it what his years did not yet permit him to comprehend.

THIS work is not extant, but we know that there was no mention made in it of this miracle. He returned to Milan as soon as he knew that Eugenius had left it in order to march against Theodosius; so that he got there about the beginning of August in 394, and there waited for the Emperor, being very confident that God would give him the victory.

THEODOSIUS having passed the winter in making preparations for the war, and losing Gallia his first wife, who died in childbed, left at Constantinople his two sons Arcadius and Honorius with Rufinus the *Præfectus prætorii*, to govern the affairs of the East. He gave Honorius the title of *Augustus* on the tenth of January 393. He left Constantinople in the spring of the year following 394, under the consulship of Arcadius for the third time, and of Honorius for the second. When he left Constantinople he stopt at Hebdomon in a church which he had built in honour of St. John Baptist, to whom he recommended the happy success of his arms, invoking his assistance: this place was called *Hebdomon* because it was seven miles from

Constan-

L. ult. C. Th.
de sepulchr.
viol.
Paul. n. 27.

Aug. de ap
Monach. c. 28.

Exhor. virg.
c. 2.

Paul. n. 28.

Paul. n. 31.

Amb. ep. 61.
n. 1, 2.

XLIX.

Theodosius's
victory,
Zos. lib. 4.
p. 777.
Socr. v. c. 2.

Claud. de
30 Conf. Hon.
Soz. vii. c. 24.
Soz. vi. c. 21.
Chr. pasch.
ad 391.

A. D. 394

Zof. lib. 4.

p. 778.

Sup. liv. xi.
n. 39.Theod. v.
c. 24.

Soz. vii. c. 35.

Amb. de obit.

Theod. ii. 7.

Constantinople. It is said that Theodosius carried the head of St. John Baptist thither, he having found it in a village near Chalcedon, where it had been ever since the reign of Valens, and had been preserved by a priest named Vincentius, and a virgin called Matrona, both of the Macedonian sect. Matrona continued in her errors, but Vincentius was converted, and followed the Emperor to Constantinople.

THEODOSIUS being come in Italy, forced the passage of the Alps, and found all Eugenius's army assembled in the plain before Aquileia. He immediately caused the auxiliary troops of the barbarians commanded by Gainas to advance, who after a very sharp engagement could not sustain the force of the enemy, commanded by Arbogastus. Ten thousand Goths perished there; and Baturius prince of Iberia, who had served under the Romans a long time, and was remarkable for his virtue and piety, was killed fighting valiantly. The night parted the armies, and Eugenius thinking that he was victorious, distributed largesses, and sent his troops back to get provisions, and repose themselves; and in the mean time he lined the passages of the mountains, in order to shut up Theodosius, and hinder his retreat. The officers of Theodosius's army advised him to retire, and leave the decision of the war to the following year; but he answered, that he could not bear that the cross which was carried at the head of his legions, should retire before the idol of Hercules, which Eugenius had caused to be borne; and altho' there remained with him but a few troops, and those discouraged, he resolved to stay. He retired to an Oratory built on the top of a mountain, where he encamped, and without taking any nourishment, or sleep, he passed the night in prayer, and prostrated himself on the ground till it was watered with his tears. Being overcome with fatigue he slept till the cock crew, and thought that he saw two men cloathed in white, mounted on two white horses, who exhorted him to take courage, to arm the troops at break of day, and range them in battle array, for they said that they were come to his assistance, that one was John the Evangelist, the other Philip the Apostle. The Emperor after this vision redoubled his fervour in his prayers. A soldier having seen the same thing, told it to his captain, who repeated it to his tribune, and the tribune to the general, who came and told it to the Emperor, thinking he told him news. The Emperor said, it is not on my account that this soldier has seen this vision, I am sufficiently assured of the victory; but that I should have a witness of what God permitted me to see first. Let us march therefore boldly under the conduct of the Saints, regarding their power, and not the number of the enemy. Having then encouraged his army, he descended from the mountain, and making the sign of the cross, he marched against the enemy. Then he began to perceive the danger that he was in, seeing Eugenius's forces posted behind him on an eminence to attack him in the rear during the engagement; but count Arbeto, who commanded them, moved with respect to the Emperor, came over to his side; and many more by his example, before that they engaged, sent to offer their service to Theodosius, provided he would continue them in an honourable rank. He granted what they desired, and promised them in writing several military employments. As the files and incumbrance of the baggage retarded his march, seeing the enemy, who advanced to take advantage of it; he leapt on the ground and marched

marched alone at the head of his forces, saying; Where is the God of Theodosius? and by this expression he encouraged all the rest. Eugenius saw him descend, and caused his army to advance, remaining himself on a hill. He said that Theodosius sought to die, and gave orders that they should take him alive and put chains on him; but when they began to charge, there arose a violent wind which blew directly in the face of Eugenius's men, and blew back their shafts against themselves; they were blinded by the dust which fell in their eyes; at last they held up their bucklers with their hands, and shaded their faces with them, being forced to break their ranks. Theodosius's forces felt not the least inconveniency, on the contrary the wind assisted them, and drove their shafts farther than usual. The Poet Claudian, tho' a Pagan, has himself owned, that heaven fought for Theodosius in this battle. The troops of Eugenius losing courage, one part took flight, the other threw down their arms, and begged mercy of Theodosius, who generously granted it, and ordered that they should bring Eugenius to him.

Claud. de 3.
Conf. Honor.

He seeing his men running to him over the hill on which he staid, asked whether they had taken Theodosius. We are come, replied they, to take you yourself; and immediately they carried him before Theodosius, stripping him of his imperial ornaments, and tying his hands behind him. Theodosius reproached him with the death of Valentinian, with his usurpation, the injustice of the war, and his confidence in the idol of Hercules. Eugenius fell prostrate at the feet of Theodosius, begging his life in a despicable manner; upon which the soldiers by his orders cut off his head, and sticking it on the point of a spear, carried it through all the camp: At this sight the rest of the troops submitted, and the vanquished became perfectly united to the victorious. Arbogastus despairing of pardon, fled into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, and finding that they made diligent search for him, he run himself through with two swords, dying just two days after the battle, which was fought on the sixth of September, under the third consulship of Arcadius, and the second of Honorius, in the year 394. It is said, that at the same time a certain person possessed with a devil coming out of the church of Hebdomon near Constantinople was carried up into the air, and began to curse St. John Baptist, reproaching him that his head was cut off, and crying out; Thou hast got the better of me; and thou hast surprized my forces: those who stood by ran immediately to know the success of the battle, writing down the day and the time when this happened; they were afterwards informed that it was the very day on which the battle was fought, by the account of those who had been there. Theodosius threw down all the idols of Jupiter which they had erected in the Alps; and as some who belonged to him said that they would willingly receive those thunderbolts which were of gold, he freely gave them.

Socr. v. c. 25.
Soz. vii. c. 24.

Aug. v. civit.
c. 26.

L.
Theodosius's
clemency.

He contented himself with putting to death the two chief rebels, Eugenius and Arbogastus, and pardoned all the rest. Certain children belonging to the enemy having taken sanctuary in a church, he took that opportunity to have them educated in the Christian religion; and so far was he from taking their estates from them, that he gave them employments, and after the victory suffered no man to satisfy his private revenge. He wrote to St. Ambrose, imagining that he kept from him through the ill opinion which he had of his affairs, as if God had forsaken him; but these letters found him.

Amb. ep. 61.

A. D. 394. him at Milan, where he had been ever since the beginning of August. The Emperor desired him to return thanks to God for his victory. St. Ambrose carried the letter into the church, laid it on the altar, and then took it in his hand as he offered the sacrifice, to the end that the Emperor's faith might be declared by his mouth, and that the letter might serve as an offering. In his answer to the Emperor, he intreated him to pardon the guilty, especially those who had not offended before. He wrote a little after by one of his Deacons named Felix, he is thought to be the same who was afterwards Bishop of Bologna, and by that letter he begs mercy for all those who had taken refuge in the church. The Emperor sent John a notary and tribune, afterwards *Præfectus prætorii*, to take them into custody. St. Ambrose went to the Emperor at Aquileia, and besought pardon for them, which he easily obtained. The Emperor even threw himself at his feet, acknowledging that he had been preserved by his merits and prayers.

Epist. 62.

Paul. vit.
n. 37.

n. 32.

De ob. Th.

n. 34.

Ruff. ii. c. ult.

Philost. xi.

Soz. xx. c. 26.

Zof. lib. 4.

p. 775.

St. Ambrose returned to Milan, where Theodosius arrived the day after him; he abstained from partaking of the Sacraments, on account of the enemies killed in battle, altho' the war was so just; and he refrained till he had a testimony of the divine grace by the arrival of his children. St. Ambrose commends and gives an account of this behaviour of Theodosius, which he perhaps had advised him to. By these children of the Emperor, whom he brought into Italy, is meant Honorius and perhaps his sister Placidia, because Arcadius staid at Constantinople. When they were arrived, Theodosius put them under the care of St. Ambrose, judging that he could not take a better method to protect them. As he knew that he had not long to live, according to the prophecy of St. John of Egypt, he divided his empire among his children; to Arcadius he gave the east, of which he had been possessed a great while, and Rufinus was appointed to assist him in his affairs. He gave Honorius the west, that is Spain, France, Africa, and the western Hlyricum, and appointed Stilico, to whom he had married his niece, to govern during his son's nonage. Whilst Theodosius staid in Italy, he exhorted the Senators of Rome to quit their ancient superstition, and to embrace the Christian faith, which would deliver them from all their sins. They made answer that they could not renounce their ceremonies on which the city was founded, and had continued for twelve hundred years, to embrace a religion in which they were required to believe, without giving reasons for it; and should they consent to the alteration, they knew not what might be the consequence. Then Theodosius declared to them that the publick treasure was overcharged by the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and he thought that money might be better employed in maintaining the forces. The Senators persisted, but to no purpose, for at length the sacrifices ceased, and the prophane ceremonies were neglected. The priests and priestesses of the idols were driven away, and all the temples were forsaken. To this Zosimus, who relates it, attributes the destruction of Rome.

Theod. i. c. 23.

In this last journey of Theodosius into Italy, the western Bishops made another effort against Flavian of Antioch, complaining that the Emperor still permitted the tyranny of that Bishop. Tell me, says Theodosius, wherein lies the tyranny you accuse him of. I am Flavian, and will take upon me to plead his cause. And as they replied that they could not plead against the Emperor, he exhorted them henceforward to labour in reuniting the

the Churches, and to put an end to their animosities and useless contentions. A. D. 394.
The Western Bishops yielded to this advice of Theodosius; and it does not appear that they afterwards made use of the Imperial authority against Flavian. He had on his side the East, Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Myria. He assisted that same year at a council held at Constantinople, the occasion of which was as follows. Rufinus the *Præfatus Prætorius*, who governed the West at that time, had built a palace and a magnificent church in a town near Chalcedon, named the Oak, and to which they have since given the name of Rufinus. The church was called in Greek *Aggelion*, because it was built in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Rufinus placed monks in it, who there performed the office of Clerks. In order to celebrate the dedication of this church, he assembled several Bishops out of diverse provinces, and a great number of monks; he particularly sent for Evgarius of Pontus, and honoured him so far, that at the ceremony of his Baptism, which was performed at this dedication, he would have him for his godfather: By this we may see that adult persons had godfathers as well as infants.

I.I.
The Council of Constantinople.
Soz. viii. c. 17.

Herod. Paret.
c. 2.
Rofa. p. 947.

It is thought that it was on account of this dedication, that a council was held at Constantinople; and there remains a session dated the third of the calends of October, under the third consulship of Arcadius and the second of Honorius, that is the twenty ninth of September 394. Besides the nineteen bishops, whose names we find there set down, it is reported that there were many others: Nectarius of Constantinople is the first; then Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavian of Antioch, Paladius of Cæsarea and Cappadocia, or rather Helladius St. Basil's successor, Gelasius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilocheus of Iconium, Paul of Hærcleæ, Arabian of Anægra, Ammon of Andrinopolis, Phalerius of Tarsus, Lucinus of Hierapolis, Elpidius of Laodiceæ: These were all Metropolitans of several provinces of the East, excepting St. Gregory of Nyssa, who was a private Bishop, but highly honoured both on account of his age and personal merits; besides which he had been set down as the chief Bishop of Pontus, with whom they were to communicate, in order to be deem'd Catholics, according to a law of Theodosius, made on the thirteenth of July in 381. We likewise find among these Bishops Theodore of Mopsuestia, who consequently was esteemed a Catholic. It is observable that Nectarius of Constantinople presided at this council, in preference both to the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch. The place where this council was held, was the *Baptistery* of the church of Constantinople, which for this reason must be very large, since besides the Bishops all the Clergy assisted at it.

Sup. liv. ix.
a. 27.

THEY there decided the difference between the two Bishops Agapius and Bagadius, concerning the See of Bosra the metropolis of Arabia, for which they contended; they were present, and remained standing, as being parties concerned, and it was proved that the deposing of Bagadius was performed by two Bishops only, and in his absence; upon which Arabian Bishop of Anægra besought the Council to make a general determination, whether two Bishops were sufficient for deposing another, and if it could be done when the person was absent. Theophilus said, that in order to provide for the future, he was of opinion, that even three Bishops were not sufficient to depose any person, but that all of the same province ought if possible to

assist

A. D. 394. assist at it, and that the person accused ought to be present. Nectarius approved of this advice as conformable to the Apostolick canons, and he was seconded by Flavian and all the rest: So that it was determined that three Bishops were sufficient for ordination, but not for deposing.

LII.
The Canonical
Epistles of St.
Gregory of
Nyssa.
Menel.
Martyrol.

Carm. 51.
p. 125. A.

To. 2. Conc.
p. 1775-

c. 2.

c. 3.

Sup. liv. xvii.

n. 15.

Ep. ad Am-

phil. c. 22.

c. 30.

c. 33.

Greg. c. 4.

c. 56, 57.

c. 5.

Eph. iv. 28.

AFTER this Council no more mention is made of St. Gregory of Nyssa, whose memory is held in great veneration in the Church on account both of his virtue and his writings, and of St. Basil his brother. The Greek Church honours him on the tenth of January, and the Latin on the ninth of March. we find nothing more of St. Amphilochus, whose memory the Church honours on the twenty-third of November, St. Gregory of Nazianzen testifies that he cured the sick by prayer, and by the oblation of the holy sacrifice. He left several writings which are very much esteemed by Antiquity, of which there is now hardly any remains.

AMONG those of St. Gregory of Nyssa was found a canonical epistle written when he was old, to Letorius Bishop of Melitina in Armenia, whom he calls his spiritual son: It seems to be part of a paschal letter, and the rules for penance which he there lays down, are much more severe than those of his brother St. Basil, tho' they are likewise founded on the tradition of the Ancients; which shew us the difference of these traditions even in the neighbouring churches. For apostasy penance was during life; the penitent was to be for ever excluded from publick prayers; but he was to pray in private, and was not suffered to receive the communion till he was dying. If he apostatised through weakness, and by the force of torments, he was to undergo no more penance than in the case of fornication, that is nine years. Those who sought after enchanters and diviners, if they did it through contempt of religion, they were looked upon as apostates; but if it was through frailty or want of courage, they were treated as those who had yielded under torments.

For simple fornication there was to be nine years penance; three years of which the parties were to be entirely excluded from the prayers, three years only an auditor, and three years prostrate: For adultery double the time in the same manner, that is eighteen years. Sins against nature are ranked with adultery; but St. Basil has ordered no more than four years penance for the sin of fornication, and for adultery fifteen. For voluntary homicide St. Gregory has set down three times nine years, that is twenty seven; nine years in each of its three degrees, of which the first is the entire exclusion from the Church, the second that of an auditor, and the third the prostration in prayer. For involuntary homicide, as in the case of fornication, that is nine years. St. Basil sets down ten years for involuntary homicide. St. Gregory placed robbery by open force upon the rank of homicide, but for simple thefts he sets down no particular time of penance, but obliged the parties to make restitution by alms; and would have those, who had no possessions make satisfaction by bodily labour, following the precepts of the Apostle. He was himself surprized that by the tradition of the Fathers there was not more severe penalties prescribed to restrain avarice, and instead of complaining at their rigour he wonders at their indulgence in many particulars. In general he thought that those who came to confess their sins should be treated with greater gentleness than such as were accused and convicted against their will, and in considera-

tion

tion of the zeal of the penitent, that the Bishop ought to shorten the time of his penance. But he observes, that if to any of these the communion is given supposing them dying, and they recover, they must make up the time of their penance that remains unfinished.

It was at this time that St. Augustine being still a Priest began to write against the Donatists; they had so increased their numbers in Africa that they had got there above four hundred Bishops, and the Catholick church in those parts seemed to be incumbered by their numbers. His first piece against them was an hymn in Acrostick verse, following the order of the alphabet, as an help to the memory. St. Augustine wrote it in a very simple style without observing the Latin measure, for fear of being obliged to put in words which the vulgar would not be able to understand, for he composed this hymn for the instruction of the meanest people; which shews us that tho' the Punick language was at that time in use in that part of Africa, there were but few who did not understand Latin. In this hymn St. Augustine gave a short account of the schism of the Donatists, and sets down the most powerful arguments for confuting them. He forgot not to reproach them with the *Circumcelliones*, and other wicked people whom they suffered amongst them. He wrote also whilst he was a Priest another piece which is lost, against the letter of Donatus the second Donatist Bishop of Carthage; they had a great advantage over them at that time on account of their domestick divisions: For besides the great party whom they styled purely Donatists, there were many other societies less numerous; each believing that they alone had the true Baptism, and were of the true Church. Amongst these lesser schisms of the Donatists there was the Claudianists, and the Urbanists, who had got into a corner of Numidia; the Rogatists at Cartenna in Mauritania Cefariana; the chief of whom was a certain person named Rogatus, who had caused a schism about thirty years before. During the war of the tyrant Firmus, that is about the year 372; they were persecuted by the other Donatists, and on that account they had the name given them of Firmians. But the greatest scandal was the schism of the Maximianists.

AFTER the death of Parmenian, successor to Donatus, the Donatists elected Primianus for Bishop of Carthage, but afterwards the Deacon Maximian having been condemned and excommunicated by him, went to the neighbouring Bishops, and formed a party against him, chiefly accusing him of receiving unworthy persons to communion with him. The Elders wrote to all the Bishops of their party, entreating them to come immediately to suppress the enterprizes of Primianus; upon which they assembled at Carthage to the number of forty three; but Primianus would not appear before them, and they were contented with ordering that he might justify himself in a more numerous council, which they were afterwards to hold; and they did really assemble to the number of above a hundred at Cabarsuffi in the province of Bizacenium, where Primianus not appearing they condemned him as being found guilty of several crimes, viz. of having constituted successors to Bishops that were still living; of having received the guilty to the communion; of having engaged the Priests in a conspiracy against Maximianus, and against three other Deacons; of causing the Priest Fortunatus to be thrown into a common-shore, because he baptized

LIII.
The Donatists.
Possid. c. 7.
1 Retract.
c. 20.

1 Retract.
c. 20.
Aug. hors. 69.
De Bap. 1.
c. 6. In
psalm. 36.
n. 20.
Cont. Cresc.
iv. c. 60.
Conc. litt.
Petill. ii.
c. 838.
Ep. 93. ad
Vinc. n. 11, 12.

LIV.
The Schism of
Maximian.
In Pf. 36.
n. 20.
degest. Com.
Emer. n. 9.
Cont. Cresc.
iv. c. 6, 7.

A. D. 394. Certain sick persons, of having refused the sacrament to Demetrius the Priest, in order to force him to forsake his son; of having abused the Elders of the church, because they disapproved of his admitting the Claudianists to communion. To these accusations the Bishops of the council added: His not having presented himself before us in order to be heard, and having joyned with the people and officers in shutting the door of the Basilica to hinder us from coming in, and having contemptuously despised the deputies which we had sent to him.

For these and certain other crimes which they expressed, besides those which they said decency hindered them from mentioning, they condemned Primianus, and warned all the Bishops, Clerks and people to avoid communion with him; nevertheless allowing them six months time to declare in, namely from the twenty-fourth of June, the day on which they pronounced sentence, to the twenty-fifth of December. This is thought to happen in the year 393. They wrote this condemnation in a circular letter called *Tractoria*, signed by several of them, to the number of fifty three. Having in this manner condemned and deposed Primianus they elected Maximianus Bishop of Carthage in his stead, the same Deacon whom Primianus had before condemned, and he was ordained by twelve Bishops, who laid their hands on him in the presence of the Clergy of Carthage. Primianus seeing his adversary supported by several Bishops of the proconsular province of Bazacenum and that of Tripoli, relied upon those of Mauritania and Numidia, besides those of other provinces, who continued in his party, for it was always the most numerous. He therefore assembled at Bagaia in Numidia a council of three hundred and ten Bishops on the eighth of the calends of May, under the third Consulship of Arcadius and the second of Honorius, that is in the year 394 on the twenty-fourth of April. In this council Primianus, not looking upon himself as condemned, sat in the second rank amongst the judges. They there condemned Maximianus tho' absent, and Emeritus Bishop of Caesarea in Mauritania, pronouncing the sentence in the following terms. As by the will of Almighty God, and his son CHRIST, we hold this council in the city of Bagaia, and it hath seemed good to the holy spirit which is in us, to secure continual peace, and to cut off sacrilegious schisms. And afterwards: Maximianus the opposer of the faith, a polluter of our master the Truth, an enemy to the Church, the minister of Corah, Dathan and Abiron, hath been cast out of the bosom of peace by the thunderbolts of our sentence. The rest runs in the same style. They condemn by name the twelve Bishops who had ordained Maximianus, and in general all the Clergy of the church of Carthage who had assisted at his ordination; but as for the other Bishops who had not laid their hands on him, they allowed them eight months time to return to them; that is to the twenty-fifth of December, after which time they were not to be received, but to remain condemned.

LV.
St. Augustine's friendship with Paulinus.
Retract. 21.

It was in the time of St. Augustine's priesthood, that he contracted friendship with St. Paulinus afterwards Bishop of Nola, through the means of St. Alypius, who had lately been Bishop of Tagasta his native country. St. Alypius had known St. Paulinus at Milan, when he was baptized there, that is in 387. Hearing of his conversion, he sent to him about the year 394 five of St. Augustine's works against the Manichees, which probably were

were his books, the manners of the church, of free-will, of the true religion, of the usefulness of faith, and that concerning two souls. St. Paulinus returned St. Alypius thanks, and at the same time begs him to send him the history of his life in writing. He sent with this letter, another for St. Augustine, wherein he says that he was delighted with his works, and recommends himself to his prayers. He sent each of them a loaf of bread by way of eulogy, that is to say, a blessing. Both the letters bore the name of Paulinus, and of Therasca or Theresia his wife, who with him had likewise quitted the world. In the letter to Alypius St. Paulinus recommends himself to the brethren who are in the churches and monasteries at Carthage, at Thegasta, at Hippo, and other places; which shews how the monastick state had already spread in Africa. St. Augustine in answering this letter says amongst other things, Suffer not yourself to be so taken up with what the Truth says by me, as not to give attention to what I say my self, lest receiving too greedily that good food which I dispence to others, after having received it my self, you should forget to pray for the sins which I commit; and afterwards: It is certain, who can deny it, that he that hath received the greatest gifts from God, is better than he that hath received only a portion of them, but it is better to return thanks to God for a moderate gift than to desire to be commended for one that is more considerable. After this he promiseth the life of Alypius, which that holy Bishop could not be persuaded to write himself; and as he sent this letter by Romanus his old friend, he recommended to him Licentius who was Romanus's son. He could not yet disengage that young man from sensual pleasures and worldly expectations, which made him very uneasy in regard to his salvation, as appears in the letter which he wrote to him on his own account a little before. St. Paulinus was every way worthy of the friendship of St. Augustine: He was descended of the best families in Rome, and had a great estate in Aquitain, and was born at Bourdeaux: for the Roman nobility had large possessions in those provinces, and sometimes lived there. Paulinus, who is sometimes called Pontus and Meropus, was instructed in Human learning by the famous Ausonius, who always retained his friendship; and he became one of the most polite writers of his time, both in prose and verse. He was preferred to great employments, even to that of the consulship, altho' his name is not found in the *Fasti*. His wife had a fortune proportionable to him, and there wanted nothing to compleat their temporal happiness, but children. After having long desired, they had a son, who died eight days after he was born, whilst they were at Complutum in Spain, and they caused him to be buried near the martyrs. Whilst they were in this condition they determined, after they had long considered it, to quit the world and to give themselves up entirely to God: The wife, far from opposing it, encouraged her husband. He was baptized by St. Delphinus Bishop of Bourdeaux, when he was thirty eight years of age, about the year 392; from whence it follows, that he was of the same age with St. Augustine, and was born about the year 354. As he had deferred his baptism 'till he was entirely converted, he soon embraced a monastick life, and retired with his wife into Spain, whom he looked upon no otherwise than as a sister. The retreat of so celebrated a man made a great noise in the world, a great many blamed him, among the rest his friend Ausonius, who

A. D. 394

Ap. Aug. ep.

24.

Ep. 25.

Aug. ep. 27.

n. 4.

Ep. 16.

Uran. epist.

init.

Auson. 20.

init.

Baul. poem.

15. sub fine.

A. D. 394 who reproached him for suffering himself to be governed by his wife, and with being become melancholy. But St. Paulinus knew very well how to answer him, and that in verse, as Ausonius had written to him.

Poem. 11, 12.

LVI.

St. Jerom's

letter to

St. Paulinus.

Hier. ep. 13.

ad Paul.

Paul. ep. e. al.

28. ad.

Gennod. in

Paul.

Eller. in vig.

c. 9. ibid. ep.

13. c. 2.

VIGILANTIUS a Priest belonging to the church at Barcelona going to Jerusalem, St. Paulinus gave him a letter for St. Jerom, whom he consulted concerning the manner in which he ought to live in his retirement, and concerning the felicity and happiness which he enjoyed by living in a holy office. He sent him at the same time a discourse which he made at the request of one of his friends, in defence of the Emperor Theodosius against the calumnies of the pagans, which he had not made publick. Vigilantius found him in Palestine, where there had lately happened an earthquake, which is thought to be one of those which preceded the death of Theodosius, about the end of the year 394. St. Jerom answered St. Paulinus, and said to him among other things: Do not believe that any thing is wanting in your faith, because you have not seen Jerusalem, or that I am the better for living in Bethlehem; the distinction of places, which is suitable to your design, is to leave the cities and live in the country. Jerusalem is a large city, which hath a publick Council, a Court, Officers, Comedians, Jesters, and Lewd women, in the same manner as in other cities; a great croud of people, and a continual concourse from all parts of the world; so that you will find there that which you would elsewhere avoid.

He then shewed him the difference between the life of a Clerk and a monk; If you will, says he, follow the function of a Priest or a Bishop, live in the cities and towns, and work out your salvation by procuring it to others; but if you will merit in the least the name you bear, that is a Solitary, what would you do in cities which are the habitation of the multitude? Every one according to their own manner of living, the Bishops and the Priests ought to imitate the Apostles and apostolick persons, our chiefs are the Pauls, the Antonies, the Helarions, and to go back to the Scriptures, Elias and the children of the Prophets and Racabites. I desire therefore since you are attached to your holy sister, and as you are not entirely free, to shun publick assemblies, and feasts, and offices of civility. Eat not until night, and then simple things, herbs or pulse: You have the books against Jovinian, where I have discoursed at large of the contempt of luxurious living, but let the holy Scriptures be always your study; It is necessary to watch and pray. Distribute your alms yourself; and do not take upon you to dispose that of others, and give your own with caution and discretion, as being nothing more than the disposer of your goods.

He afterwards commended his discourse to Theodosius, which was a panegyrick, to shew us that he had vanquished the tyrants, rather by faith than arms, and that he had reconciled sovereign power with christian humility. St. Jerom allowed this discourse to be ingenious and regularly composed according to all the rules of art. He exhorts St. Paulinus to improve his talent for eloquence, and to nourish himself with reading the holy Scripture and Ecclesiastical authors, on whom he criticized as he went on. About the same time St. Jerom was also consulted by Furia a Roman Lady of the greatest quality, who descended from Camillus, and was allied to St. Paulinus; she was a young widow, and had no children; and asking advice how she should behave in this state, St. Jerom exhorted her to continue in it,

not-

notwithstanding the persuasions of her father Leticus, and her servants who urged her to marry again. He represented to her the inconveniences of a second marriage, and advised her to abstain from wine, and not only from flesh but most sorts of pulse, and to apply herself to reading, to prayer, and to alms, and to live after a most retired manner. He sent her also the books against Jovinian which he wrote two years before.

As St. Paulinus was at Barcelona and assisted at the service of the church on Christmas-days, the people being inflamed with zeal suddenly fell upon him, and presenting him to Lampius the Bishop obliged him to consecrate him Priest. St. Paulinus would not suffer it, because he thought of nothing but retirement, and the obscurity of a monastick life. He had long resolved to pass his life at Nola in Italy, near the tomb of St. Felix, he therefore would not suffer himself to be ordained, but upon condition that he should not be confined only to the church of Barcelona, but to the priesthood in general; and this is the first Instance of a free ordination, without being engaged to any particular church. He seems likewise to have been immediately ordained Priest, without going through the inferior degrees; for he called God to witness, that he was so far from despising the rank of a Priest, he could wish to begin with serving the church in the rank of a door-keeper. After this, to devote himself more entirely to God, St. Paulinus entirely disposed of all his estate, and distributed it to the poor.

He opened his graineries and his cellars to all that came, and not thinking the poor of his own neighbourhood sufficient, he assembled them from all parts in order to feed and cloath them. He redeemed abundance of captives and poor debtors, who were reduced to slavery for want of wherewithal to pay; and paid the debts of several insolvent debtors. Having thus settled his affairs he came into Italy and past through Milan where St. Ambrose detained him, and placed him among his clergy, so that he was look'd on as a Priest of Milan, where-ever he happened to be. St. Paulinus did not consent to it, but continued his journey and came to Rome, where he was much better received by the people than the Clergy; part of whom, and even the Bishop of Rome himself, would have no intercourse with him. St. Paulinus yielded to their envy and retired, but writing to his friend Severus he could not forbear complaining of it. Perhaps the Bishop of Rome was displeased that St. Paulinus had been ordained Priest, being but a Neophyte, and a simple Laick, contrary to the rules, the observation of which he himself recommended in one of his letters; but the violence that they used to St. Paulinus might well serve to excuse him.

He at last retired to Nola and there spent the remainder of his life, as he had desired eighteen years before. He was persuaded to it by the regard which he had for St. Felix the martyr, whose miracles had drawn a great concourse of people from all parts of Italy. St. Paulinus had a particular knowledge of it; because his paternal estate was near Nola. So that from his youth he lookt upon St. Felix as his patron and protector, and the respect which he had for him did not a little contribute to his conversion. He retired therefore to a place near the church where these relicks were deposited, in a delightful situation, five hundred paces distant from the city of Nola, and lived there with his wife St. Theresia, upon a small estate which he had reserved to himself. He lookt upon himself as the keeper of that church;

A. D. 394.

St. Paulinus's

retreat. ep. 10.

Ep. 1. al. 6. ad

Sever. 2. al.

c. 5. ad

Amand.

Ep. 1. al. 6. ad

Sever. 2. al.

c. 5. ad

Amand.

Ep. 3. al. 45.

ad Alys.

Ep. 1. al. 5.

ad Sever.

Siric. ep. ad

orthod.

Natal. 2.

Uran. epist.

c. 4.

church; he cleanged the doors every morning and watched them all night; and every year made a poem in honour of it, which he published on the 17th of January, the day of its festival. There are ten of them remaining, the first of which was composed while he was still in Spain, preparing to return into Italy; the second in the first year that he was settled there, but he must have made a great many more since he staid there about thirty five years. In this retreat St. Paulinus lived in a state of poverty, using earthen and wooden vessels, wearing a coarse and ordinary garment, fasting and praying, and practising all the duties of a monastick life.

Ep. Amb. 38. St. AMBROSE hearing of his retreat, wrote to St. Sabinus Bishop of Placentium, his friend, foreseeing how much the world would be enraged at so strange an alteration. They could not endure, said he, that a man of such a family, so ingenious, so eloquent, should leave the Senate, and suffer his family to become extinct: And they who used to shave their heads and their eyebrows when they consecrated themselves to Isis, esteemed it an unworthy action in a Christian to change his habit thro' zeal for religion.

LVIII. THE Emperor Theodosius was returning to Constantinople in the beginning of the year 395, when he was seized with a dropsy which proved his death, being brought upon him by the fatigue of the last war. As soon as he found himself ill, he called to mind the prophecy of St. John of Egypt, and being persuaded that he should never recover, he applied himself to the very last to regulate the business of the state, foreseeing the disorders that would happen therein after his death. He recommended his children to Stilico who had married his niece Serena, and even resolved to marry their daughter Mary to his son Honorius; he exhorted both his sons, in dividing his dominions, to preserve the same zeal for Religion as for the support of the Empire. Having no farther orders to give concerning his children, he made his Will merely for the benefit of the people. He confirmed their pardon who had born arms against him, and whose patents could not yet be finished; he likewise confirmed the discharge of a tax, in pursuance of a promise that he had made; and not satisfied with enjoining his children to perform these two points, he left a law concerning them ready drawn up; his last concern was for the welfare of the churches. He died at Milan on the 17th of January, under the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, i. e. in the year 395, after having reigned 16 years, and lived sixty.

St. AMBROSE upon this occasion made his funeral oration at the time of the service of the fortieth day, in presence of the Emperor Honorius. He therein remarks that some observed the third and the thirtieth day after the person's decease, and others the seventh and the fortieth; which we find elsewhere confirmed in ecclesiastical antiquity. He attributes Theodosius's victories to his faith, particularly the last against Engenius; and exhorts his soldiers to observe an inviolable fidelity towards his children, in consideration of their tender years, and the obligations which they had to their father. He particularly extols his clemency, which several rebels had experienced; and his repentance, of which he was a faithful witness; he promises himself that he will be a powerful protector for his children's youth with God. Theodosius's body, which had been embalmed, was afterwards transported to Constantinople, and was received by the Emperor

At Arcadius, who buried him in the tomb of the Emperors on the 18th of November the same year. Thus died the Emperor Theodosius, whom all Christian authors, and even most of the Pagans have greatly extolled. Zosimus is the only person who laid great faults to his charge. He accuses him of being naturally soft and voluptuous, fond of feasts, dances, and the shows of the circus and the theatre; insomuch, says he, that I admired the inequality of his manners. For when no uneasiness excited him, he abandoned himself to his inclination; but when any thing threatened the state, he quitted his pleasures, reassumed his courage and valour, and willingly underwent fatigue and labour. He accuses him of being too fond of money, to furnish the expences of his table, and his other extravagances, and of selling his governments and employments; so that you might see brokers and other scandalous persons bearing publickly the marks of the magistracy. He finds fault with the number and too great power of his eunuchs; and it must be acknowledged that the prodigious fortune of Eutropius gave too much colour for this reproach.

But Symmachus who was a Pagan as well as Zosimus, and had better information than he, as living at the same time, in a letter to his friend Flavian, speaking to him of the panegyrick of Theodosius, which Symmachus himself had spoken in publick; owns that he only touched lightly upon the subject, and particularly commends his disinterestedness: This is a testimony which cannot be suspected, being contained in a familiar letter between two Pagans, very zealous for idolatry, and consequently not much inclined to flatter Theodosius. The sophist Themistius, in two of his discourses, places him above the greatest men of Antiquity. After all, Aurelius Victor a Pagan historian, speaks thus of him: Theodosius resembled Trajan, in his qualities both of body and mind, as much as we can judge from the writings of the ancients and their paintings. Like him he was tall and well-proportioned; his hair and face was much the same; in his mind he perfectly resembled him, being very obliging and popular; thinking that there was no difference between him and others, but in his habit, being friendly to every body, but particularly to men of worth. He loved sincere people, admired those that were learned, provided that they were not mischievous; he made great presents, and after a generous manner; he was fond of those with whom he was acquainted when he was but a private person; and bestowed honours, money, and other favours upon them; especially those whose fidelity he had experienced in his adversity, either in his own person, or that of his father. But he had so great an aversion for Trajan's faults, that is his excess in drinking and fondness for triumphs, that he never made war until he found himself engaged in it; and by a law forbade his being attended at feasts by persons over-adorned, and by musicians. He was such an encourager of modesty as to prohibit men from marrying their cousins, no less than their sisters. He had a moderate share of learning in comparison of those who were more learned; but was very penetrating and curious in history; in which he always abhorred those persons who were proud, cruel and tyrannical, such as Marius, Sylla, and all that were given up to ambition; but especially treacherous and ungrateful people.

Chr. Pasch.

p. 306.

LIX.

The character of Theodosius.

Lib. 4 p. 758.

768. 773.

P. 754.

Symm. 11. epist.

Themist. orat. 15. 19. Victor. ep. in fine.

must be showed that he was passionate when he was provoked; but he was soon appeased, and a little delay mitigated his orders, which were sometimes severe. That which is an extraordinary virtue, is, that he certainly grew better, when time had increased his power, and still more after the civil war. He applied himself very carefully to the regulation of provinces; and the tyrant having raised and consumed great sums, he restored them to several out of his own money, whereas some of the best princes have with much difficulty restored inheritances, and those strip and walled.

As to his behaviour within his court and family, he respected his uncle as his father, he treated his brothers and sisters children as his own; he had a paternal affection for his relations and friends. He knew how to give an entertainment with politeness and cheerfulness, without being profuse; he suited his discourse to the persons with whom he conversed, according to their inclinations and fancies, mixing gravity with pleasantry. He was a good father and a good husband; he used bodily exercises without being fond of them or fatiguing himself, chiefly by walking to relax his mind when he was at leisure, and he preserved his health by sobriety; this is the character which Aurelius Victor hath left us of Theodosius.

We have still remaining one of the laws, which he mentions in this elogium of Theodosius, dated at Constantinople on the eighth of the Calends of July, under the Consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, i. e. on the twenty-fourth of June 388, containing prohibitions to all persons from buying, instructing or selling any women that played upon musical instruments, or from causing her to be brought to feasts or shows, or from having slaves that were musicians by profession. This was an old abuse against which the fathers have often complained. The other law against marrying consin-germans is not to be met with; but other authors mention it, and particularly St. Ambrose to Paternus. He was one of the most considerable persons amongst the Romans, who consulted him by the advice of his Bishop, in relation to a treaty of marriage between his son and his sister's daughter, i. e. between the uncle and his niece. St. Ambrose absolutely persuades him from this marriage, as being contrary to the divine law, and the humane laws of his time. We meet with a law of Theodosius of the year 390 addressed to the Vicar of Rome, which condemns those to be burnt who sinned against nature. We meet with one of the year 389, by which he rejects what is given to the Emperor, by a codicil, only receiving what came to him by will; Symmachus bestows great commendations upon this law.

THE Consuls of this year 395 are remarkable for the glory of their family, who became all Christians. They were two brethren Olybrius and Probinus; and it was till then never known that two brethren were consuls together. Their father Sextus Anicius Petronius Probus was one of the most famous Romans of his time, in respect to his nobility, his riches and dignities; his father and grandfather had been Consuls, and he himself held that office with the Emperor Gratian in 371. He was at first Proconsul of Africa, after that four times *Præfectus prætorii*, sometimes of Gaul, sometimes of Italy; and it was in this quality that he gave St. Ambrose the government

L. 10. C. Th. de Serm.

V. Gothof. ibid. Amb. ep. 60. n. 8.

L. 6. C. Th. ad Jul. de adul.

L. 2. c. N. de testam. Lib. ii. ep. 13.

LX. Anicius Probus and his Family. Amm. Marc. lib. xxvii. c. 11. & ibid. Val. Sup. liv. xvii. n. 21.

ment of *Æmelia* and *Logargia*. He had prodigious riches; he had estates in every province of the empire, and his generosity was proportionable to his wealth. He was a christian, and received baptism at the end of his life, as appears by his epitaph; in which his wife and children are recommended to his prayers. They built him a magnificent monument in the Vatican near St. Peter's church; his coffin was of marble adorned with sculptures, representing our Saviour holding a cross set with precious stones, and attended by the twelve apostles; and on the lid doves drinking two by two in vessels. It is still to be seen at Rome. So great was his reputation that two noble Persians being come into the West, in the reign of the Emperor *Theodosius*, were curious to see but two persons; St. *Ambrose* of Milan, and *Probus* of Rome. His wife was *Proba Falsonia*, remarkable for her piety, to whom St. *Augustine* afterwards wrote a famous letter concerning Prayer. She had three sons, *Probinus* and *Olybrius*, the Consuls of this year, and *Probus* who was Consul in 406. *Olybrius* married *Juliana*, and soon after left her a widow, with a daughter named *Demetrias*, who continued a virgin. It was this *Juliana* to whom S. *Augustine* addressed his book of the advantages of widowhood; and to *Demetrias*, to whom St. *Jerom* wrote a treatise of the manner of preserving herself in a state of celibacy. Such was this good and great family.

A. D. 395.
Claud. de
Conf. Olybr.
& Prob. ap.
Baron. An.
395. init.

Paul. vit.
Ambr. a.

Ep. 130. al.
121.
Hier. ep. ad
Demetr. c. 4.

Tom. 6.
Epist. 8.



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Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK XX.

†††

AFTER the Death of Theodosius, his two sons, according to his appointment, divided the empire. Arcadius, who was twenty years old, reigned in the East, and Honorius, who was fifteen, in the West. They had their education under St. Arsenius, who was their surety at their Baptism, and their governor and tutor, there being at that time no distinction between these two offices. He was a Roman by birth, and a man skilled both in divine and human learning, and sincerely virtuous. He was in Deacon's orders, and lived at home with his sister, leading a retired life at Rome; when the Emperor Theodosius, wanting a person with whom he might entrust the care of his children, wrote to this purpose to the Emperor Gratian; who applying to the Bishop of Rome, He recommended Arsenius. Gratian sent him to Constantinople, where he was kindly received by Theodosius, who advanced him to the rank of a senator, with orders that he should be respected as the father of his children. Coming one day to their studies, he perceived that they sat even whilst Arsenius talked to them standing. Being displeased thereat, he forbade that any such regard should be paid to their quality, and caused Arsenius to sit down in a chair.

ARSENIUS had always a great inclination to a retired life, which the care of his employment, and the incumbrances of a great fortune, made

him desire the more ardently ; being not affected with titles or honours. At length an opportunity offered it self. Arcadius having committed a great fault, he proceeded to the most severe correction, and whipped him. The young prince was so exasperated, that he charged one of the officers of his guards to rid him of Arsenius at any rate. The officer having a respect for Arsenius, and fearing to disoblige the Emperor, discovered to Arsenius the prince's anger, and advised him to retire secretly from the palace, assuring him that there was no other means of safety for his life. Arsenius had recourse to his prayers, to know the will of God, and heard a voice, saying ; Arsenius, fly from men, and you shall be safe. Accordingly he obeyed this command without delay, and going on board a vessel, sailed to Alexandria, and from thence proceeded to the desert of Scetis, where he embraced the monastick life. Being come there, he renewed his prayers to God, to instruct him in the way of Salvation, and again heard a voice which said ; Arsenius fly to silence and retirement, this is the way to avoid sin.

Apopht. P.
P.ap.Coteler.
Menum. gr.
to. 1. p. 353.
n. 1.
n. 2.

Metaph. c. 9. THE Emperor Theodosius much troubled at his withdrawing himself, caused search to be made in all the isles and the deserts, but to no purpose. At length, after the death of Theodosius, Arcadius was informed of the place of his retreat. He wrote to him, recommending himself to his prayers ; confessed his wicked design against him, and begged his forgiveness, offering him the disposal of all the tribute of Egypt, that he might distribute it to the monasteries, and to the poor, and earnestly requesting an answer from him. Arsenius could not prevail with himself to write, but sent him this answer by word of mouth : God grant us all the pardon of our sins ; As to the distribution of the money, I am not capable of it, since I am already dead. At first he used, without perceiving it himself, to follow certain customs practised in the world ; as for instance, sitting cross-legged laying one foot upon his knee : But they were unwilling, through the great respect which they bore him, to tell him of this in publick. The Abbot Pastor made use of this stratagem : He agreed with another to put himself in the same posture at their assembly, in order to give him an occasion to reprove him : Pastor did so, and was rebuked for his immodesty, nor did he offer any thing in excuse. Arsenius perceived that the reproof was designed for him, and corrected himself according to the intention of the fathers.

c. 19.

II. IN other respects it was his eminent virtue only that distinguished him from the other Monks of the society of Scetis. When he was at the court, none were more richly habited than he ; but in the monastery, none more meanly. He employed himself till noon in making mats of palm-leaves, and worked with a handkerchief in his bosom, to wipe off the tears which continually fell from his eyes ; even to the day of his death. He changed the water wherein he wetted his palm-leaves no oftener than once a year, contenting himself to fill it up from time to time. When the elders of the monastery asked him one day, why he did not change the stinking water ? he answered, I ought to be punished by this ill smell, for the perfumes I used when I lived in the world. He spent no more in his diet for the whole year, than a small measure of corn called Thallis, of which they who came

The virtues of
St. Arsenius.
Apopht. n. 4.
n. 41.

n. 18.

came to visit him, had likewise a part. A present of Figs was once made ^{n. 17.} to the brethren of Scetis; which being but a trifle, they did not send him ^{n. 16.} any, fearing to give him offence: Upon this he forbore coming to church, saying: You have excommunicated me, not thinking me worthy to partake of the blessing which GOD has sent you. They were all edified by his humility; and the Priest carried him some figs, and brought him to church with great joy. He watched all night, and when towards morning, nature ^{n. 14.} forced him to close his eyes, he said to sleep, Come thou evil servant; and after having taken a little rest, he presently got up. He once desired ^{n. 43.} two of the Monks, Alexander and Zoilus, to watch him all night, and they could not perceive that he had slept at all, only towards morning he breathed hard three times, as if he had been asleep, and then they did not know ^{n. 3.} whether he had not done it on purpose. On Saturday in the evening he went to prayers, turning his back to the sun, and remained thus with his hands lifted up to heaven, till the Sun shone on his face: he used to say, ^{n. 15.} that one hour's sleep was enough for a Monk. ^{n. 36.}

ONE day being sick at Scetis, the Priest carried him to church, and laid him on a bed made of the skins of beasts, with a pillow under his head. One of the monks came to see him, and being scandalized at his lying so easy, said; Is this the Abbot Arsenius? The Priest took him aside, and asked him what his employment was in the village? The old man answered: I was a shepherd. And how did you live? said the Priest. With much pains and difficulty, replied he. And now how do you fare in your cell? Much better, said he. Then the Priest added, Do you see this Abbot Arsenius? when he was in the world, he was the father of the Emperors; he had a thousand slaves clothed in silk, with bracelets and girdles of gold; and slept on the richest beds. You who was a shepherd, did not in the world find the ease which you enjoy here; and he is deprived of the delights which he had there: you are comforted, and he is afflicted. The old man moved by these words, fell down and said, Pardon me my father, I have sinned; he is in the true way of humiliation: and went away with edification. St. Arsenius was so poor, that wanting a shirt in his ^{n. 20.} sickness, he accepted something given him in charity, to buy one, saying, I return thanks to thee, O Lord, for thy grace and mercy, in permitting me to receive alms in thy name. One of the Emperor's officers brought ^{n. 19.} him the will of a Senator his relation, who had left him a very great estate; he took the will, and would have torn it in pieces: But the officer threw himself at his feet, and begged him not to tear it, because it would cost him his life. St Arsenius refused the legacy, saying, I died before him.

THE virtue which shone in him with the greatest lustre, was the love of ^{n. 21.} retirement. His cell was about two and thirty miles, that is above ten leagues distant, up in the desert, nor did he ever willingly stir out of it, ^{n. 40.} the other Monks doing for him whatever he wanted. When he came to church, he seated himself behind a pillar, that none might see his face, nor he see any person. The Abbot Mark asked him one day, Why do you ^{n. 13.} avoid us? Arsenius replied, GOD knows how well I love you; but I cannot be with GOD and with men too: The heavenly Host hath but one

a. 37. will, but men have many. A certain father knocking at his door, the old saint opened it, thinking it might be the person who attended him; but seeing another, he fell on his face: The other said to him, Rise father, that I may embrace you; I will not rise, said he, till you are gone; nor could any intreaties prevail with him to get up. Theophilus the Bishop, came one day to visit him with a certain magistrate, and besought him to say something to them. Arsenius, after a short silence, answered; And if I say any thing to you, will you observe it? They assured him, that they would. Then, said he, never come near the place where you know Arsenius is. Another time, the Bishop desiring to discourse with him, first sent to know if he would open his door. He answered; If you will come, I will open it to you; and if I open it to you, I will open it to all the world; after which I will stay no longer here. The Bishop replied, I had rather not go, than drive him away. Some of the elders having one day pressed him to speak, and tell him the reason of this his close retirement; he answered; When a maid is in her father's house, many seek after her, and make their addresses to her; when she is married, they talk in a different manner, and make less account of her. Thus spiritual things being made publick, cannot be useful to all the world.

a. 42. St. Arsenius lived in this manner till ninety five years old; for he was
a. 31. forty years when he quitted the court; and he spent forty years in the desert of Scetis, which he left when it was ravaged by the barbarians, and lived fifteen years afterwards. He was of a comely stature, but stooped a little in his old age; had a graceful mien, his hair all white, and his beard reaching down to his girdle, but the tears which he shed continually, had worn away his eye-lashes. He never would discourse on any point of Scripture, though he was well able to do it, and did not care for writing of letters. He one day said; All our worldly knowledge is of no use, and these Egyptian peasants have gained virtue by their labourious life. Having consulted an old Egyptian upon something which he had in his thoughts, another said to him; Father Arsenius, why do you, who are so well skilled in all the Greek and Roman sciences, ask the advice of this illiterate man? I am not unacquainted, said he, with the learning of the Greeks and Romans; but I have not yet learned the alphabet of this old man.

III. THE perfection of the Egyptian monks is known by the relations of
Cassian in John Cassian, who visited them about the same time. He was a Scythian
Egypt, Cheremon, Nestoros, and by nation, born of rich and pious parents, and was in his early years instructed in the principles of religion and piety, in a monastery of Palestine, near Bethlehem, not the same with that of St. Jerome, but probably more ancient. Cassian there led a monastick life, and contracted a particular friendship with a Monk named Germanus. These two agreed to make a visit together to the Egyptian solitaries, to learn the perfection of that state of life: The Abbot and Monks of the society consented thereto, provided that they would return again to the monastery. They embarked, and arrived in Egypt, at a city called Tennesa, the territory whereof was a morass overflowed with salt water, so that the whole subsistence of the inhabitants depended upon traffick. Here they found Archebius Bishop of Panephyfa, a neighbouring city, who received them with great charity.
He

Cassian in
Egypt, Cheremon, Nestoros, and
Joseph.
Gennad.
c. 60.
Cass. Coll.
24 c. 1.
Præf. ad Just.
Coll. c. 1.
Coll. 11.
c. 1. c. 3.

Coll. 11.
c. 3.

He had been promoted among the Hermits to the dignity of a Bishop; but far from being exalted thereby, he said, that they had compelled him to quit the life of an Hermit, as unworthy of that character; because having spent thirty seven years therein, he had made no improvement of his time: However he continued, though a Bishop, to practise the austerity of his former kind of life. Being at Tennesa on account of the election of a Bishop, and being informed of the motives that brought Cassian and Germanus into Egypt, he said to them; Before you proceed further, come and see certain old men near our monastery, who are so worn with age, and of so venerable an aspect, that the mere sight of them is an instructive lesson, and you will learn from them what I have forgot, and therefore am not able to tell you.

ARCHEBIUS having said this, took his staff and goat-skin, for thus the monks of Egypt used to travel, and conducted his guests to Panephyfa. The country being under water, there was no part of it dry, except some rising grounds which formed several islands, in which there lived three old Hermits, Cheremon, Nesteros, and Joseph. Archebius first carried his guests to Cheremon, who was the nearest and eldest. He was above a hundred years of age, and so bent with age, that he crawled upon his hands. Cassian and Germanus were surprized at his motion and aspect, and besought him to tell them something for their instruction, since that was the occasion of their voyage. Cheremon replied with a deep sigh; What instruction can I give you, since the weakness of my age hath forced me to abate so much of my former austerity, that it hath not left me confidence enough to speak? How can I teach others what I do not practise my self? It is for this reason that I do not suffer any young man to live with me, least he should grow remiss by my example. However he yielded to their entreaties, and discoursed first concerning perfection, shewing that it consisted in charity. After their repast, he spoke of chastity; and the next day after the morning paryers, he entertained them on the subject of the protection of God, that is of grace; without which chastity cannot be preserved, nor any other virtue acquired. These two last discourses were in answer to the questions which they proposed to him.

AFTER this they went to see the Abbot Nesteros: for the name of Abbot was given to all these holy old men, in respect to their age and sanctity, though they were only Hermits, and had no other monks under their government. This Nesteros is supposed to be the same who is elsewhere styled the friend of St. Anthony. He discoursed to Cassian and Germanus on spiritual knowledge, and of the difference between an active and contemplative life; where he by the way takes notice of the study of the poets, and other profane authors, as a hinderance to religious perfection. After supper and evening prayers, they sat down upon mats, as the custom was, and Nesteros continuing the conversation, spoke of the diversity of the gifts of God; that is of miracles, and the like graces; that they might esteem those virtues that were most desirable. Their third visit was to the Abbot Joseph. He was a native of Thmuis, of a very noble family, and the chief of the city; and had been educated with great care, so that he spoke Greek perfectly well, and had no occasion for an interpreter as the others had, who understood

Coll. 13.
c. 11.

derstood none but the Egyptian language. He first asked Cassian and Germanus whether they were brothers? and they replying that they were only so by spiritual affinity; he discoursed to them of friendship, proving that true friendship is that which is founded in virtue. Afterwards he put them into a cell by themselves, to pass the night; but they were so affected by the zeal which his discourse had raised in their hearts, that they could not sleep.

c. 2.

THEY therefore went out of the cell, and sat down in a more retired place, about an hundred paces off. Then Germanus with a deep sigh, said, What shall we do? these holy men shew us by their examples the way of perfection, and might be our guides therein, were it not for our promise of returning to our monastery; and if we do return, they will never permit us to come hither again. Thus they remained some time, afflicting themselves with these thoughts, and reproaching each other with their unhappy modesty, which had induced them to make this promise, to obtain leave. At length Cassian said, Let us advise with this old man, and receive what he says as a divine oracle. They waited till the time of the nightly prayers, which being ended, they sat down, as usual, upon the mats, which had served for their beds; and Joseph observing their sadness, demanded the reason. Germanus told him; and Joseph said, Are you persuaded that you shall make a much greater progress in spiritual mat-

c. 3.

c. 4.

c. 5.

c. 6.

c. 7, 6, 8, 9,
&c.

c. 31.

ters in this country? We think, answered Germanus, that there is no comparison to be made. Upon this Joseph discoursed to them upon the obligation of promises, shewing that it is sometimes best not to perform them. He therein even allows of lying for a good cause, pretending to prove it by examples from Scripture, according to the error of the Eastern people. The two friends being convinced by Joseph's discourse, resolved to stay in Egypt, where they spent seven years; during which time they often wrote to their brethren.

Pynoph.
Coll. 20.

c. 1.

Instit. c. 30.

Sup. lib. 15.
n. 58.

IN the neighbourhood of Panephyssa they met with the Abbot Pynophus, who having been at their monastery in Palæstine, was before known to them. He was a Priest, and superior of a great monastery, and respected all over the province for his virtue and miracles. Not being able to exercise the virtue of humility to that degree which he desired, he put on a secular habit, and went to the monastery of Tabenna in Thebais, founded by St. Pachomius; he knew that they there observed a strict regularity, and hoped to be concealed by the distance of the place, and the great number of Monks. They suffered him to stay a long time at the gate, begging for admittance, and embracing the knees of the brethren. They looked upon him as an old man who had quitted the world, when he could enjoy it no longer, and who was more concerned to get a subsistence, than to take care of his salvation. At last, after many repulses, he was admitted, and set to work in the garden, under a young brother, whom he obeyed with the utmost submission, undertaking the most servile and ungrateful drudgeries, and even rose in the night to work in secret. Having thus lain concealed three years, though his brethren had been in search for him all the country over; at length a certain person, who came that way from the lower Egypt, saw, and, with much difficulty, knew him

him again, finding him in a very mean habit, stooping down to dig the ground for sowing of herbs, and also carrying dung. He was a long time before he could be certain that it was the same person; but as soon as he recollected his face and voice, he threw himself at his feet, to the great astonishment of the Monks of Tabenna, who looked upon him as the meanest person of the whole society. They were much surprized when they heard his name, which had been famous among them by the general report. Being extremely concerned and ashamed, they entreated his pardon for the unworthy usage he had received through their ignorance. He on his part shed abundance of tears for his being thus discovered, and losing the opportunities of humiliation, which he had so earnestly sought. His brethren conducted him back to his monastery, watching him with great care, that he might not find means for another escape.

HOWEVER not long after he got away again; for getting out by night, c. 31. and passing in the country for a stranger, he got on board a ship, and came to Palæstine to the monastery of Bethlehem, where Cassian and Germanus were at that time; into which he was admitted as a novice, and placed by the Abbot in the same cell with them: but he did not continue here long, being discovered by some Egyptian Monks, that came to pay their devotions to the holy places; who carried him back to his monastery. Cassian and Germanus being come into Egypt, made diligent enquiries after him, and were present at an instructive discourse which he made before c. 32, 33. Coll. 20. c. 2. the whole community, to a Monk whom he had newly received, after having suffered him to remain at the gate of the monastery many days. We have spent a great deal of time, said he, before we could agree to your admission; not but we desire your salvation with all our hearts, as we do that of all others, and would go a great way to meet such as are willing to turn and repent; but least we and you also should be highly blameable in the sight of God, if by too hasty an admittance you should be remiss in your duty. He afterwards gave him several instructions, concerning that perfect renunciation, which is required by a monastick life. These two friends c. 3. were so moved, that they almost fell into despair; so far did they find themselves from the perfection of the state into which they had entered. This gave the Abbot Pynuphus an opportunity to discourse to them of repentance, and of the means of repairing our past offences. He pressed them c. 4, 5, &c. c. 11, in fi. earnestly to continue in his monastery; but their desire of seeing the famous desert of Scetis, would not suffer them to remain here.

HAVING therefore crossed the Nile, they went to Diolcos, a small city on one of the seven mouths of that river, where there were many ancient and famous monasteries. There were likewise some Hermits in an island surrounded on one side by the Nile, and on the other by the sea; the soil was a barren sand, where there was no water to be had, but V. Piammon and John. Coll. 18. c. 1. instit. x. c. 36. that of the river above three miles distant from their habitations; inso-much that they kept it with greater care, than others do the most costly wines; the way to it being over sandy mountains, very difficult to pass. One of these Hermits named Archebius seeing the desire that Cassian and Germanus had to make some stay in this place, left them his cell with all his goods, pretending that he had resolved before to remove his habitation to c. 37. another

c. 38. another place; and having taken great pains to build another, he left that also upon the same pretence, to some other brethren who resorted thither; and built a third for himself. This Archebius was of a good family in Diolcos; he retired when very young to a monastery about four miles off; and in fifty years time that he lived there, never returned to the city, nor saw any woman, not even his own mother. However, understanding that after his father's death, his mother was in some trouble for a debt of a hundred golden pence, which his father had left unpaid; he wrought so hard both day and night, for a whole year, without leaving the monastery, that he raised the sum, paid the debt, and made his mother easy.

Coll. 18. c. 1. IN the desert of Diolcos, Cassian and Germanus saw the Abbot Piammon, the eldest of all the Hermits, and their Priest, who had the gift of miracles, and wrought many in their presence. They were received by him with much courtesy; and having demanded of them the occasion of their voyage, he discoursed to them of the three sorts of Monks in Egypt; the Cœnobites who lived in societies; the Hermits, who having lived in societies, retreated into solitudes, as places of greater perfection; and the Sarabaites, who were vagabonds, and pretended Monks. He carried the institution of Cœnobites as high as the time of the apostles, as a remnant of those of the faithful that lived in common at Jerusalem: From these, he said, proceeded the Anchorets or Hermits, the first of whom he accounted c. 5. St. Paul and St. Anthony. As for the Sarabaites, licentiousness and avarice taught them to live without rule, and their numbers were greatly increased. c. 6. The Cœnobites and Anchorets were almost equal to them in Egypt, but in other countries the numbers of the Sarabaites exceeded them. c. 7. Which I observed, said Piammon, in the time of the Persecution, which Sup. lib. 16. Lucius the Arian Bishop raised in the reign of the Emperor Valens; when n. 36. I carried alms to our brethren that were banished to the mines of the Armenian Pontus. c. 8. There was also a fourth sort of Monks; namely, the libertine Hermits, who retired to live alone under the name of Anchorets, Coll. 19. c. 1. being subject to no superior.

SOME days after Cassian and Germanus went to the monastery of the Abbot Paul, inhabited by above two hundred Monks: But at that time there was an infinite number assembled from other monasteries, to celebrate the anniversary of the former Abbot. They being in a large court, ranged by twelve in a row, to take their repast, one of the young brethren, who was to bring in a dish, stayed a little too long; at which the Abbot Paul gave him a box on the ear, which was heard at a great distance; the young man did not murmur, nor change colour, nor abate of his modesty in any respect; whereby the company was extremely edified. c. 2. The eldest of this monastery was the venerable John, remarkable for his humility, which had made him quittance the life of an Hermit, to return c. 3, 4, &c. to the society. He entertained the two friends on the subject of the difference of these two conditions of life, the advantages and dangers incident to each; and shewed that the highest perfection consisted in uniting c. 9. their several virtues; As I have observed, said he, in the Abbot Moses, in Paphnucius, and in the two Macarii. They were passionately desirous of the repose of solitude, and for their part would have been contented to live

live without human society : However, when they were visited, they bore with the number and infirmities of their brethren, with an unmovable patience ; as if it had been their business to attend and serve them as long as they lived.

AFTER this Cassian and Germanus saw the Abbot Theonas, and were informed of the occasion of his conversion. His parents, to avoid the temptations of debauchery, had married him when very young. After he had lived with his wife five years, he went, according to custom, with the other inhabitants, to carry their tithes and first fruits to the neighbouring monastery. They were received by an old man named John, who, in consideration of his merit, was appointed to this office ; he to reward their charity, instructed them in the nature of the duty of bringing to God their tithes and first fruits, that they might be employed in relieving the necessities of the poor, and of the excellence of the Gospel perfection, above the obligation of the law. Theonas moved with this exhortation, resolved to leave his wife, to embrace a monastick life ; and not being able to persuade her to the same course, he however executed his design, and left her against her consent, which Cassian does not propose as an example to be imitated, but as an extraordinary act which God approved, by bestowing afterwards on Theonas the gift of miracles. He made such a progress in virtue, that after the death of Elias, who succeeded John, he was by common consent, chosen to the same office of receiving and distributing the alms, called in Greek *διακονία* *Diaconia* ; which was esteemed a place of importance.

THE Abbot Theonas being come to visit Cassian and Germanus in their cell ; and sitting on the ground with them, it being the time of Easter, they asked him ; Why amongst you are you so careful not to use any genuflexions in prayer, during these fifty days, and not to fast till the None ; for we do not see this so regularly practised in the monasteries of Syria ? Theonas answered ; Fasting is in it self a thing indifferent, and consequently may be observed or not, as there is occasion. It is an apostolick tradition to celebrate joyfully, not only the forty days in which JESUS CHRIST appeared after his resurrection, but also the ten days which his disciples spent in retirement till the descent of the Holy Ghost : And to the end that this indulgence may not make us lose the fruit of abstinence during lent, we only shorten the time before our repast, that is, we take it at the Sexte instead of the None, without making any change either in the quality or quantity of our diet ; so that we do not exceed twelve ounces of bread in a day. Germanus asked, why the time of lent consisted but of six weeks, or of seven in some countries, since neither of these make forty days ; if Saturday and Sunday, which are not fast-days, are left out, they are only thirty six ? Theonas replied, These thirty six days are the tenth part of the whole year, which contains three hundred sixty five days ; and the reason of the difference is, that they who fast but six weeks, fast on Saturdays. However the whole time hath been called quadragesima, perhaps because of the forty days of the fasting of Moses, Elias, and of JESUS CHRIST himself. The perfect are not restrained by this law, nor their times of fasting confined within such narrow limits ; the ancients fasted all the year ;

VI.
Theonas
and Abra-
ham.
Coll. 21.
c. 1.
c. 2.
c. 5, 6, 7.
c. 10.

c. 12, 13, & c.
c. 20.

c. 23.

c. 24.

c. 25.

c. 27.

c. 28.

c. 29.

and this ordinance of lent was introduced in favour of the infirm only, that they might devote to GOD at least a tenth part of the year. We may here observe how fully Cassian, and those whose opinions he reports, were persuaded of the antiquity and usefulness of lent. The Abbot Theonas afterwards discoursed to them of nocturnal illusions; and also upon that passage of St. Paul: The good that I would I do not, but the evil which I would not that I do; shewing them, that the saints themselves are not free from sin, or perfect in this life.

Coll. 22, 23. ROM. vii. 19. c. xvii. 18, &c. COLL. 24. c. 1. CASSIAN and Germanus having spent some time in Egypt, had a great desire to return to their own country, to their relations, who being rich and pious, would not dissuade them from their good intentions, and would plentifully supply them with the necessaries of life. They were in hopes also to convert others by their example and instructions. In short, they imagined that near their family estates, they might find pleasant forests, and fruitful and agreeable solitudes. They imparted their thoughts to the Abbot Abraham, who from thence took occasion to discourse to them of mortification, saying; These weak imaginations shew that you have not renounced the world, and mortified your desires. We also might have sought the same comforts; our relations would willingly have entertained us; and if they should fail us, the rich in this world would gladly supply all our necessities. We might have settled upon the banks of the Nile, and saved our selves the trouble of going four miles for water. We might also have met in this country with pleasant desarts, fruit trees, and gardens; but we have chosen these dry and salt sands, and uncomfortable solitudes. They who aim at perfection, seek out for places, where nothing may tempt them to leave their cells, to work in the open air, which distracts and dissipates the mind by diversity of objects. He insists upon the necessity of labouring with our own hands, to prevent our dependance on others, or being a burden to them.

VII. CASSIAN at Scetis: COLL. 17. c. 1. COLL. 1. c. 1. COLL. 11. c. 2. COLL. 1. c. 1. c. 3, 4. c. 5. COLL. 3. c. 1. GERMANUS and Cassian having spent seven years in Egypt, returned to their monastery at Bethlehem, where they were received with a kind welcome; and having obtained leave of their elders, returned to visit the famous desert of Scetis. Here they saw, among others, seven Monks of great reputation; Moses, Paphnutius, Daniel, Serapion, Theodore, Serenus, and Isaac. Moses had in his youth been with St. Anthony, and they begging some instructions of him, he consented, not without much entreaty, being unwilling to speak of the Christian perfection, unless it were to such as earnestly desired, and not to those who were indifferent about it, lest he himself should be guilty of vanity or indiscretion; at length yielding to their prayers and tears, he discoursed to them of the end of a monastick life; which was to acquire purity of heart, in order to obtain eternal life. Next day he entertained them on the subject of discretion, or rather that faculty which enables us to discern the spirits; and of prudence the guide of all other virtues, the necessity of which he confirmed by many examples.

THEY had likewise a conference with the Abbot Paphnutius, surnamed *Bubalus*, from his great love of solitude; which made him even shun the company of other Hermits. He was a Priest of the desert of Scetis, and at that time above ninety years old. However, he would never quitt the first cell,

cell, in which he lived when he was young, though above five miles, that is almost two leagues distant from the church; to which he never failed going every Saturday and Sunday; nor ever returned without carrying on his shoulders a large vessel filled with his provision of water for a week; nor would he in this his extreme age, ever suffer the young men to ease him of his labour. He discoursed to the two friends of the three sorts of renunciations requisite to a life of solitude; riches, and all outward possessions, our passions and our thoughts, that we may entirely forget all temporal things. Daniel was chiefly to be admired for his humility. Paphnutius ordained him Deacon, preferring him to many of a more advanced age, and even raised him to the Priesthood: But Daniel would never perform the sacred offices in his presence, and continued, though a Priest, to serve him in the station of a Deacon. Paphnutius designed him for his successor; but was disappointed, Daniel dying before him. He entertained the two friends on the causes of spiritual barrenness, and of the combat between the flesh and the spirit. Serapion, who excelled in a discerning judgment, spoke of the eight principal vices, that is, of the sources of all sin; gluttony, incontinence, avarice, anger, melancholy, irksomeness, vanity, and pride.

THERE was a monastery in Palæstine near Thecū, towards the dead sea, and the deserts of Arabia, which had been long inhabited by Monks of great sanctity, who were slain in a sudden incursion of the Saracens. The Bishops of the country, with all the Arabian people, took away their bodies, and buried them with certain relicks of the martyrs. A prodigious number of people, drawn together from the two neighbouring towns, disputed so warmly about the relicks, as to come to blows and swords; one of the towns founding its pretensions on the neighbourhood, the other as being the place of their birth. The Church commemorates them as martyrs on the twenty eight of May. Cassian and some others, who were affronted at this accident, as unworthy of the goodness of God, went to consult Theodore, who lived between Nitria and Scetis; he upon this occasion made a discourse on the nature of evil, and the benefit of sufferings. Serenus, who was eminent for his Evangelical purity, spoke of the instability of the soul, and the power that the dæmons had over it. He relates as an undoubted truth, that the Monks who first inhabited those deserts, were much more disturbed by dæmons, and attacked even in visible shapes, insomuch that they were forced to keep watch by turn in the societies; but at that time their power was sensibly diminished. This subject engaged the Abbot Serenus in another, concerning the nature of the dæmons, their fall, their subordination and employments. The Abbot Isaac discoursed concerning prayer.

CASSIAN staying among the Egyptian Monks, had an opportunity of being thoroughly informed in their manner of life; and it is he that gives us the fullest account thereof; and he likewise describes their habit. They wore a linnen tunick, which reached no lower than their knees, the sleeves not coming so far as their elbows, that they might not be encumbered at their work: This garment is the same which they called *Collobe* or *Lebitone*. They did not approve of the hair-cloth shirt, as seeming too extraordinary, and in general disliked all affectation.

c. 2.
c. 6.
c. 4.
c. 10.
Hier. præf.
in Reg. 5.
Pach.

The tunick was large, and in order to tie it close about them, they wore not only a girdle, but a scarfe also, or woollen fash, which falling down on each side of the neck, went between the legs, and kept the two sides close, leaving full liberty to their arms. They wore hoods or cowls, but so short as to cover their necks only, and they did not put them off either night or day. They usually walked bare-foot, but were sometime shod, to defend them against the cold in winter mornings, or the heat at noon-day; and they used the ordinary sort of buskins, called in latin *Caligæ*. Over the tunick they wore a cloak called *Maforte*, which covered their neck and shoulders, and was made of flax like the tunick, and over that the *Melotè*, or goat-skin; and they walked with a staff.

Coll. 21.
c. 23.
Coll. 11.
c. 36.
c. 2.
c. 21.
Coll. 8. c. 1.

THEIR ordinary diet was nothing but bread and water; for after long experience and mature deliberation, they preferred this diet to pulse, herbs, or fruits, which others eat without bread. Their bread was a kind of bisket, and they had the quantity of a Roman pound, that is twelve ounces a day, made into two loaves of six ounces each, called *Paximacia*, one whereof was eaten at noon, and the other in the evening. On the days which were not fasts, as on Sundays, and during the time of Easter, their first meal was about noon, and sometimes they had it earlier for the sake of their guests; but whether they had one or two meals, they never exceeded the proportion prescribed. This seemed extraordinary at first, and the new monks could scarce eat their twelve ounces of bread: But at length when they had nothing to live upon but bread every day, they found this dry food to be little enough; however, on certain days they were allowed some indulgence. Cassian says, that the Abbot Serenus treating them one Sunday, gave them a sawce with a little oil and salt fryed, three olives, five grey peas, two plumbs, and to every one a fig. They did not prescribe abstinence to all, but had regard to the age, sex, and strength of the person; neither did they approve of fasting two or three days together or more, without eating any thing at all, but chose rather to take some nourishment every day.

c. 7.
c. 10.
c. 12.

THEY assembled at prayers in the evening, and at night; and every time repeated twelve Psalms, which they believed to have been taught their fathers by an angel, who came and sung eleven Psalms in the midst of them, with a prayer after each psalm; at last adding the twelfth with a *Hallelujah*, and then disappeared. To this they added, in favour of those who were desirous to understand the Scripture, two lessons, one of the old, and the other of the new testament; except on Saturday and Sunday, and in Easter time, when both lessons were out of the new testament; one from the epistles or acts, and the other out of the gospel. After each psalm, they prayed standing with their hands extended; then fell flat on their faces, and having continued so a very short time, they presently rose up for fear of sleeping; conforming exactly to the motions of him who presided at the prayers. A profound silence was observed by the assembly, how numerous soever it was; no voice was heard but that of the Chanter, who pronounced the psalm, or of the Priest who said the prayer. The Chanter stood, the rest were seated on very low seats; for their fasting and constant labour would not suffer them to continue standing. If the psalms were long,

long, they divided them; not endeavouring to repeat a great deal in a little time, but to give great attention to them.

THE signal for prayers was made by a horn; and he whose office it was to give notice to the brethren of the night prayers, knew the hour exactly by the stars; for in Egypt the sky is always clear, nor had they either clock or bell. What moveables they had in their cells, besides their cloaths, were only a mat to sleep and sit upon, and a bundle of large leaves of the plant called *Papyrus*, which is common in Egypt; from whence is derived the name of paper, because they also made use of it to write upon. This bundle was their pillow by night, and seat by day; for which use it served in their churches. Their mats which they made themselves were of rushes, or palm-leaves. They did not assemble to pray together in the day-time, except on Saturdays or Sundays at the Tieroe, in order to receive the communion; on other days they staid in their cells, spending their time in working and praying; for they found that the best way to exercise their thoughts, and prevent distraction of mind, was to be always employed. They wrought even in the night-time when they sat up; and that their work might not interrupt their prayers, they chose the most easy and sedentary employments, such as the making of mats and baskets. These Egyptian monks above all others recommended labour as the only remedy against the irksomeness of solitude, and infinite other evils. They said that the Monk who was employed in work, had but one devil to tempt him, but he that was idle had an infinite number. They would not permit the Monks to receive any thing for their subsistence; on the contrary they laboured so hard, that they hospitably entertained such as came to visit them; and sent large sums in charity to the barren parts of Libya, and even to the cities for prisoners. They founded this practice, besides their own experience, on the precept and example of St. Paul. However we are not without instances of benefactions bestowed on the monks of Egypt; which gives us reason to believe that in cases of necessity, they dispenced with this rule of taking nothing.

THERE were monasteries at that time in all parts of Egypt. The most antient were in the lower Trebaïs, towards the bottom of the red sea. Here was the mountain Cotzin, where St. Anthony died; and the mountain of Pisper, otherwise called the outward mountain, which he also had inhabited, and where the greatest part of his disciples had their abode. Their number was reckoned to amount to five thousand, who, after St. Anthony, were governed by a certain saint called Macarius, not the same with either of the other two before mentioned, the Egyptian, or him of Alexandria. St. Macarius was succeeded by St. Posthumus. There was a monastery on the other side of the Nile, near the city of Hermopolis, where it was supposed that the holy virgin and St. Joseph carried the child JESUS; it is now called Matarea. Here lived five hundred Monks, under the government of St. Apollos or Apollonius, who was imprisoned under the reign of Julian. Their habit was white, and extremely neat; he advised them to receive the communion every day. St. Isidore also presided over a thousand monks in Thebaïs, who were strictly confined within the monastery. They had within their walls wells, gardens, and all things necessary. None entered

Reg. S.
Pach. n. 1.
Cass. 11.
Instit. c. 17.
Hier. præf.
Cass. 4.
Instit. c. 23.

iii. Instit. c. 2.

ii. Instit. c. 14.
c. 12.
Coll. 24.
c. 4, 5.

x. Instit. c. 7.
&c.

c. 23.

c. 22.

c. 7, 8, &c.

V. Sup. 18.

IX.

An account of
the monasteries
of Egypt.
Sup. lib. xiii.
n. 36.

Rosweid.
p. 233.

Sup. lib. xvi.

n. 37.

Vita PP. 11.

c. 7.

Pall. Lauf.

c. 52.

Sup. xv.

n. 33.

Pall. Lauf.

c. 71.

Vita PP. c. 17.

Vita PP. 11. c. 20. Pall. Lanf. c. 68. c. 96. entered therein but for life. An old man attended at the gate, to give answers, and entertain strangers. Dioscorus the Priest governed about an hundred Monks in some part of Thebaïs. Near Antinoopolis there were about two thousand Monks; some of whom were Hermites, who lived in caves.

Vita PP. 11. c. 5. Strab. lib. 17. p. 812. D. Sup. lib. 13. n. 33. Libell. Marc. & Faust. p. 75. 76, &c. But the great wonder of the lower Thebaïs was the city of Oxyrinchus, so called in Greek from the name of a fish with a sharp snout, which was worshiped by the Egyptians, and which had a famous temple in that city. It was peopled both within and without the walls by Monks, who were the greatest part of the inhabitants. The publick buildings, and the temples of the idols had been converted into monasteries, of which there were more in every part of the city, than of private houses. The monks lodged even in the gates and towers. There were twelve churches for the people to assemble in, besides the oratories in the monasteries. There was neither pagan nor heretick in all the city, which was very populous; but all were Catholick Christians. However it was afterwards divided by a schism: For Theodore the Bishop having joined with the party of George the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, so far as to receive a second ordination, the Catholicks of Oxyrinchus procured another to be ordained their Bishop, who was called Heraclides, and whom Theodore persecuted for a long time, together with the virgins and monks of his communion. There were twenty thousand virgins, and ten thousand monks in this city; every quarter of the city day and night resounded with the praises of God. There were by order of the magistrates centinels placed at the gate, to discover the poor and strangers, and every one contended who should first receive and entertain them.

Sup. 15. n. 58, 59. Pall. Lanf. c. 38, 39. Sup. 19. n. 31. Vita S. Pac. c. 29, 30, &c. Gennad. Scrip. Vita S. Pac. c. 24. Sup. 15. 59. Vita S. Pac. ap. Sur. c. 43. Cod. Regal p. 100, 104. Hier. pref. Sup. lib. 15. n. 60. Pall. c. 39. Id. c. 48. In the upper Thebaïs was the monastery of Tabenna, founded by St. Pachomius, as hath been related, wherein were fourteen hundred Monks. On the other side of the Nile was that founded by his sister, containing four hundred virgins. The successors of St. Pachomius, were first Petronius, then Orsicius, and after him Theodore, who went into the monastery at fourteen years of age, and lived there a long time with St. Pachomius. He was a Priest, although St. Pachomius made it a general rule not to have his monks ordained, to prevent any jealousies among them. Many other monasteries were founded by St. Pachomius. He seeing that his brethren were too much straitned at Tabenna, by reason of their great number, transplanted some of them to a town called Pibi: And this second monastery being also very much augmented, there came to him some time after an old man named Eponychius, superior of an ancient monastery called Chenobosca, whose monks lived in a state of great perfection. He pressed St. Pachomius to take this community under his direction, which he did, and sent him monks from his own monastery. He granted the same thing to the brethren of another monastery, called Machons or Moucans, and they also observed this rule. There are letters from St. Pachomius to Cornelius his disciple, Abbot of Mochans; and to Cyrus or Sur, Abbot of Chnum; who lived to above a hundred and ten years of age. St. Pachomius founded another monastery near Panos, where there were three hundred monks. Ammon or Ammonas governed a monastery of three thousand monks, of the rule of Tabenna. But the largest monastery of this rule,

rule, was called in the Egyptian language Baum, and perhaps was the same with Tabenna. V. pp. c. 3.
Epist. Pach.
Præf. Hier.

IN this place they assembled twice a year, at Easter, and in the month of Mesauri, that is August; this last assembly was in order to grant pardon to offences, and to reconcile such as had any difference. It was at this time also that they elected the superiors and officers of the monasteries. St. Jerome says, that there were fifty thousand met together to celebrate Easter; which is the first instance that we find of several monasteries united into one Congregation, under the same rule. One monastery contained thirty or forty houses, three or four whereof made a tribe, who wrought together, or served the same week. Each house consisted of about forty brethren of the same trade; for example, mat-makers, weavers, tailors or fullers. Every house had many cells where they lodged, three in a cell; but they all eat in one common refectory. Each house was marked with a letter of the alphabet, which the Monks wore on their cowls. Vita St. Pach. c. 22.
Reg. c. 99.

IN a city of the upper Thebais there was a monastery of women, above an hundred in number, of great fame for their virtue and sanctity. They drank no wine, eat no fruit, and often fasted two or three days together. They wore a garment of hair-cloth, reaching down to their feet; they never bathed, nor so much as washed their feet. They wrought as long as they were able; used no remedies for diseases, which they considered as blessings; nor did they ever stir out of their enclosure. Euphrasia the widow of one Antigonius a man of great quality, having offered them a yearly revenue of twenty or thirty pounds of gold, the Abbess refused it, accepting only some oil for the lamps, and perfumes for the chappel. Euphrasia or Euphraxia her daughter, was admitted here at seven years of age, and became famous for her virtue and miracles. Near Antinous there were twelve monasteries of women; one among the rest governed by the Abbess or Amma Talida, who had led a monastick life fourscore years. She had with her sixty young virgins, who had so great a love for her that the monastery was never locked up, as others were; so inseparably were they united to her by their Affections, and her holy instructions. They went out to church on Sundays, to receive the communion; but one of them, named Taor, who was very beautiful, never stirred out at all, but staid always in the monastery at work, and clothed in rags. Vita. St. Euphrax.
Pall. Laus. c. 137.
c. 138.

IN Egypt properly so called, near Arsinoë, the Abbot Serapion had the government of about ten thousand Monks; and there were five thousand in fifty monasteries in the desert of Nitria. They had a church and eight Priests, of whom the eldest only officiated, the other seven not performing any of the sacred Functions during his life. Near that place was the monastery of Cellæ, and the mountain of Phermè, inhabited by about five hundred Monks. Among these was Paul, who said three hundred prayers a day, counting them by so many little stones, which he had in his bosom, and dropping one at every prayer. Next to this was the monastery of Scetis, where lived the two Macarii, and St. Arsenius; and where Cassian abode some time. In the neighbourhood of Alexandria, were about two thousand Monks in diverse monasteries. At Canopus there were many monasteries, among the rest that of Matanea. At Pelusium also Sup. 14.
n. 30.
Pall. Laus. c. 76.
Sup. 16.
n. 36.
Pall. c. 23.
Sup. 16.
n. 37.
Pall. c. 23.
Pall. c. 7.
Sup. 19.
n. 31.
were

A. D. 395. were some Monks, among whom was the famous St. Isidore, who lived at this time. And this is the state of the monasteries of Egypt, at the end of the fourth century. The number of all the Monks, as here set down, amount to above 76000, and that of religious women to 20700, or thereabouts; without reckoning the monasteries, whose number is not expressly mentioned. I omit several particular persons of great fame, an account of whose virtues may be seen in the writings of Evagrius, Palladius, and other collections of the lives of the fathers.

X. *The fall of* *heresy.* *Sozom. viii.* *c. 1.* *L. 29. C. Th.* *de episc.* *L. 24, 25,* *26, 27, 28,* *29.* *C. Th. de* *Her. l. 13.* *de pagan.* THE death of the Emperor Theodosius did not put a stop to the progress of religion; on the contrary, these that governed, imputing to his piety the defeat of Eugenius and other tyrants, endeavoured to follow his example. They confirmed the laws which he had made in favour of religion, and added new ones. We have a law of Honorius for maintaining the privileges of churches in 395. Seven of Arcadius against the hereticks, and one against the pagans; part of them dated at Constantinople in 394, during the life of his father, who then was employed about his affairs in the west; and part after his death in 395; most of them directed to Rufinus the *Præfectus Prætorii* of the East, and, as is supposed, drawn up by his advice, he being then in greatest authority. But being suspected of aspiring to the empire, he was slain on the twenty seventh of November, in the same year.

Socr. vi. c. 1. *Marc. Chr.* *an. 395.* *Sozom. vijii.* *c. 1.* *Sup. lib. xix.* *n. 35.* THE pagans were converted, and the hereticks returned to the Catholic Church; particularly the Eunomians and the other Arians; the divisions among themselves having opened their eyes, and made them judge that the truth could not be on their side. The Macedonians had no Bishops at Constantinople, and were governed only by Presbyters, since Eudoxius had taken away their churches; which contributed much to weaken their party. The Novatians were also disturbed by the schism of Sabbatius; but they supported themselves at Constantinople by the reputation of their Bishop Sifinnius; a man of wit, and remarkable in his time for his many quick and ingenious replies. He was much extolled for his learning and virtue; although his manner of life was soft and effeminate; he used the bath twice a day, and was clothed in white; not like persons of strict piety, whose custom it was to wear a black garment.

Sup. lib. xix. *n. 54.* *Aug. iii.* *con. Cref.* *c. 36.* *Aug. insp. 59.* *n. 15.* IN Africa the divisions among the Donatists still continued; they abused the laws made against hereticks, to persecute one another. In execution of the council of Bagaia, held by the Priminianists, the time by them granted to the Maximinianists to be reconciled to them being expired, and two months more, the Priminianists presented a petition to the proconsul of Carthage, against Felicianus of Musti, and Pretextatus of Assurus, both Maximinianists, on the second of March 395, to cause them to be turned out of the churches; and this prosecution lasted till the twenty second of December, of the year following 396. The Priminianists affirmed that they were Catholics, and for proof of it, produced their council, where the Maximinianists were condemned, demanding that they might be excluded from their churches, by virtue of the imperial laws against hereticks. The judge, either by connivance or ignorance, passed sentence in their favour; and the Maximinianists were turned out by legal authority.

ST.

ST. Augustine continued in the priest's office at Hippo, under the Bishop Valerius, and preached with great success. The festival of St. Leontius Bishop of Hippo approaching, the people murmured, that they should not be permitted to keep it with the usual rejoicings, that is, to make their feasts in the church; which degenerated into drunkenness and debauchery. For the council of Hippo held in the year 393, had ordained, that the people should be hindered from keeping these feasts, by all possible means. St. Augustine, who had advised this regulation, hearing that the people murmured, began, on Wednesday before the festival, to discourse on this subject, taking occasion from the gospel for the day, wherein was this passage; Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine. He compared to dogs, such as snarl at the commands of God; and to swine, those who wallow in unclean pleasures, and would commit in the church that which renders them unworthy of holy things.

As this discourse was made to a small audience, and many spoke against it, he made another on the same subject to a larger congregation, where that part of the Gospel had been read, about driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple. He read it over again himself, and shewed how much more zealous JESUS CHRIST would have been in banishing from the temple dissolute feasting, than a traffick, which was in it self innocent. He added, that the Jews, as carnal as they were, made no feasts in this temple, though the blood of our LORD was not offered there; and that it did not appear that they were drunken upon any pretence of religion, unless it were in the worship of idols. Whereupon he read to them the whole passage of Exodus; for he had prepared the books and texts of Scripture. He afterwards took St. Paul, and read those words where he reckons drunkenness among the greatest sins, and works of the flesh, which exclude men from the kingdom of God. Having read these passages again, and many others with great fervency, he returned the book, and ordered them to pray, and re-assumed his discourse with the utmost vehemence; representing to them the common danger both of people, and priests, who are to give an account of their souls to the great shepherd. I conjure you, says he, by his humiliation, his sufferings, his crown of thorns, his cross, and his blood; at least have pity on us, and consider the charity of the venerable Valerius, who hath not feared to impose upon me, for your sakes, the dangerous task of preaching to you the words of truth. He is glad that I am come hither, but not to see me die with you, or be a spectator of your death. In short, I trust in him who cannot lie, that if you despise all that I have said to you, he will visit you with his scourges, and will not suffer you to be condemned with this world. He spoke in so moving a manner, that he drew tears from his hearers, and could not restrain weeping himself.

ON the morrow, which was the feast-day, he understood that certain persons still murmured, and said, What would they have now? were not they christians who suffered this custom? St. Augustine, not knowing any thing that might be of greater force to persuade them, had resolved to read the words of Ezekiel, who saith, That the watchman is excused, if he hath

xi.

St. Augustine preaches against the Agape.

Epist. 29.

ad Alip.

Sup. lib. xix. n. 41.

Ep. 29. n. 2.

Mat. vii. 6.

n. 3.

Matth. xxi.

12.

n. 4.

Exod. xxii.

6.

n. 5, 6.

1 Cor. v. 11.

vi. 9.

n. 8.

Ezek. xxxiii.

9.

- A. D. 396. given warning of the danger, and then to shake his garments and withdraw. But before he was got into the pulpit, they who had made these complaints, came to seek him. He received them courteously, and with a few words brought them to reason. When it was time to preach, he forbore reading what he had intended, and, which was now no longer necessary; and to answer that objection, Why is this custom to be abolished at this time? he said; Let us at least put it off for the present: But to justify those who had born with it so long, he explained to them the necessity that first introduced it. After the persecutions, the heathens, who were converted in crouds, were with great difficulty brought to renounce the feasts made in honour of their idols. Regard was had to their weakness in this particular, and they were permitted to make some such like rejoicings in honour of the martyrs, till they were capable of joys purely spiritual. We find in effect, that St. Gregory Thaumaturgus used this condescension, as St. Gregory of Nyssa gives an account: But now, added St. Augustine, it is time to live like true christians, and to reject what was allowed to your fathers, for no other reason, but to bring them to christianity. He afterwards proposed to them the example of the Churches on the other side of the sea; that is, of Italy, where this custom was either never allowed, or was abolished by pious Bishops; and among others by St. Ambrose: As St. Augustin himself declares elsewhere. They objected the example of the Church of St. Peter's at the Vatican, where these feasts were observed every day; and St. Paulinus complains of this very abuse. St. Augustin replied; I have heard that it hath been often prohibited, but the place is far from the Bishop's habitation; and in so large a city there is a multitude of carnal persons, especially of strangers, who daily resort thither. At that time, and long after, the Bishop of Rome lived at the palace of the Lateran, and the Vatican was without the city.
- ST. Augustin perceiving that all the people agreed to have this evil custom abolished, desired them to assist at the reading of the lessons and singing of psalms at noon, which might be done instead of keeping their ordinary feasts. The congregation was still more numerous than in the morning; they read and sang alternately, till the hour when the Bishop returned with his clergy, who obliged St. Augustin to speak again to the people: He was very unwilling, and wished this dangerous day at an end, but was forced to obey. He made a short discourse, to return thanks to God; and knowing that the hereticks continued their usual feasts in their Churches, he failed not to aggravate and enlarge upon this opposition. Afterwards they performed the evening service, as they did every day; and the bishop and his clergy being retired, a great many people staid in the Church, chanting prayers till night. St. Augustin wrote an account of this good success to his friend Alypius, bishop of Tagasta.
- He taught both in publick and private, opposing all the heresies, chiefly the Donatists and Manichees, either by his writings or extemporary discourses. The hereticks as well as the catholicks pressed in crouds to hear him; and many brought writers in short-hand to preserve his dissertations. The whole world spoke of him, and his reputation was spread into all parts, even to the Churches on this side the sea, who greatly rejoiced to hear of his fame. It was while he was priest that he began to explain the holy scriptures.
- VI. Confess.**
c. 12.
Natal. 9.
sub. fin.
- XII.**
St. Augustin
Bishop of Hip-
po.
Poss. Vita.
c. 7.
- 1 Retr. c. 18,**
19.

tures. From thence we have the imperfect book upon Genesis, the two books A. D. 396. upon the sermon on the Mount, and the explication of some propositions relating to the epistle to the Romans; for as he read this epistle at Carthage, c. 23. with those of his Company, he caused his answers to their questions to be put down in writing. He expounded also the epistle to the Galatians, from c. 24. the beginning to the end; and began to explain the epistle to the Romans c. 25. in the same method. He afterwards caused a collection to be made of his c. 26. answers to divers questions, of which he had treated since his return to Afri- c. 27. ca, which gave occasion to the book of eighty three questions. He wrote c. 22. a book on the subject of lying, with which he was not well satisfied, but could not hinder its being published. The Book against Adimantus, the Manichee, was also written at the same time.

The Bishop Valerius seeing his great reputation, began to apprehend that Pofs. c. 8. he might be taken from him to be advanced to some Bishoprick; which thing had happened, if he had not taken care to conceal him so closely, that he was not to be found by those that were in search of him. The experience of this redoubled Valerius's Fears; and finding himself disabled by age and infirmities, he wrote privately to the Bishop of Carthage, earnestly pressing that Augustin might be ordained Bishop for the Church of Hippo, as his coadjutor rather than successor, and obtained a favourable answer. Afterwards he entreated the Primate of Numidia, who was Megalius Bishop of Calama, to visit the Church of Hippo; who being come thither, Valerius acquainted him with his intentions, as likewise the rest of the Bishops then present, and all the clergy and people of Hippo. Every one was agreeably surprized at this, and the people desired that it might be put in execution, expressing their zeal and earnestness by their acclamations. Megalius was the only person who scrupled to ordain him; for having conceived an indignation against Conc. lit. St. Augustin, on what account is not known, he wrote that he had given Petit. iii. c. 16. poison to a certain woman, with the consent of her husband, in order to gain his love; and this upon a pretence of a loaf of bread, which he had sent as a Eulogy, without suspecting any design. Megalius being pressed Lib. 4. by the council to prove his assertion, and not being able to make it out, he Conc. Cresc. c. 64. asked pardon, and obtained it; and was so well satisfied of the innocence of St. Augustin, that he joined in his ordination.

St. Augustin insisted, that he ought not to be ordained, contrary to the Pofs. c. 8. usage of the Church, during the life of his Bishop; but all assured him it was an usual thing, producing many instances in the Churches of Africa, and Ep. 31. ad Paul. in those on this side the sea: so that he was obliged to submit, and having al. 34. n. 4. no other excuse, durst not persist in his refusal. He was accordingly or- Prosp. Chr. an. 396. dained Bishop of Hippo, jointly with Valerius, under the consulship of Oly- Aug. Serm. a 339. brius and Probus, that is, in the year 395, in the month of December, a little before Christmas, having in November entered into the forty second al. 25. ex 50. year of his age. He afterwards found that his ordination had been irregular, c. 3. n. 3. v. not. and that the council of Nice had forbidden that a Bishop should be set over Bened. ad a church, which had another Bishop still living; but neither he nor Valerius ep. 31. were at that time acquainted with this rule. It is to be found set down in the Ep. 273. end of the eighth canon of Nice, recited entirely upon occasion of the re- al. 110. n. 4. union of the Novatians; so that it is possible, that St. Augustine and Valerius Conc. Nic. 8. might Sup. Lib. xi. n. 22.

A. D. 395. might have read this canon several times, without duly attending to these last words; as it happened to a learned Bishop of our time, who thought that this resolution of the council of Nice was to be sought for in another place.

XIII. *The Relicks of the Martyrs, St. Nazarius and St. Celsus.* *Aug. epist. 51. ep. 7. al. 46. Natal 9. Paul. vita. n. 32.* *Gaudent. Serm. 17. p. 90. c. 10. bibl. Patr.* *Enned. Carin. 18.* St. Augustin writing to St. Paulinus, acquaints him with his promotion to the Episcopacy; and St. Paulinus sent this welcome news to Romanian, St. Augustin's old friend; and at the same time wrote an Eulogy to his son Licentius, to exhort him not to leave so great a master, and to quit all worldly views. Soon after St. Paulinus received from St. Ambrose the relicks of the holy saints, Nazarius and Celsus, which he deposited in the church of St. Felix. St. Ambrose had found their Bodies in a garden without the city of Milan. Paulinus, his secretary, being present, said; We saw in the sepulchre where the body of the martyr lay, his blood as fresh, as if it had been shed the same day; and his head, that had been cut off, so entire with the hair and beard, that it looked as if it had been newly washed and interred: we also smelt an odour so fragrant, as to exceed the choicest perfumes: They gathered up the blood with plaister and linnen; and this was the manner in which they sent relicks; for they did not at that time divide the bodies. Paulinus acknowledgeth, that he could not learn at what time Nazarius suffered martyrdom: His body was placed on a bier, and carried to the basilica of the Apostles, near the Roman gate. St. Ambrose immediately returned to pray with his clergy in the same garden where the body of St. Celsus lay. We do not know, saith Paulinus, that he ever prayed there before; but it was a sign that the body of a martyr was discovered, when the holy prelate went to pray at a place where he had not been before. We learned however from the keepers of this place, that their ancestors had advised them never to leave it, so long as any of their family remained, for that great treasures were lodged there. The body of the other martyr, that is, of St. Celsus, was also conveyed to the basilica of the Apostles, where their relicks had been deposited before with great devotion. While St. Ambrose was preaching there, a certain person among the people, being troubled with an unclean spirit, began to cry out, that Ambrose tormented him: The holy Bishop turning towards him, said; Hold thy peace, devil; it is not Ambrose that torments thee, but the faith of the saints, and thy envy, in that thou seest men ascended to the place, from whence thou hast been cast down; Ambrose cannot be imposed upon. At these words, the person possessed was silent, lay down upon the ground, and made no more noise. It is pretended, that it hath been since discovered that St. Nazarius and St. Celsus suffered in the persecution of Nero, and many churches have been honoured with their relicks.

XIV. *St. Gaudentius Bishop of Brescia.* St. Gaudentius had a part of them, that is, of the blood gathered up with plaister, and was satisfied with having this testimony of their sufferings. He had some time before been ordained Bishop of Brescia by St. Ambrose, upon the death of St. Philaster. He was elected in his absence, being gone to Jerusalem; and the people had bound themselves by an oath to have no other Bishop; this obliged St. Ambrose, and the Bishops of the province, to write to him by the deputies that were sent by the people, requiring him to return upon pain of disobedience and excommunication, even by the Eastern

Eastern Bishops. Upon this he returned, and though he excused himself on account of his youth and incapacity, he was, notwithstanding his opposition, ordained Bishop. These particulars we learn from his sermon Gaud. serm. preached at his ordination. In another sermon he says, that in his journey to Jerusalem, he went into Cappadocia, and being at Casarea, he found some women devoted to the service of God, who had the government of a monastery, and were sisters and nieces to St. Basil; from whom they had formerly received some relicks of the forty martyrs, which they gave to St. Gaudentius, protesting that they had always begged of God to leave this precious treasure to some person who would honour them as much as they had done. St. Gaudentius brought these relicks into Italy, and placed them in his church. Serm. 16. 17. p. 90. D.

WE have seventeen of his sermons, of which the first ten had been preached to those who had been newly baptized in Easter-week; and St. Gaudentius afterwards committed them to writing, at the request of Benevolus, who was so weakened by a severe fit of sickness, that he could not be present. This Benevolus is the same that was disgraced by the Empress Justina, for refusing to draw up an edict in favour of the Arians. He had retired to Brescia, his own country, and was the greatest ornament of that church. In the second sermon which he made for the Neophytes, at their coming out of the fonts, St. Gaudentius explaineth to them the mysteries which he could not explain in presence of the catechumens, and said to them; In the shadow of the legal passover many lambs were sacrificed, in every house one; for one alone could not be sufficient for all: But in the truth with which we are now enlightened, One hath died for all; and is the same which in every house of the Church, in the sacrament of bread and wine, nourisheth, and being offered up, giveth life to those that believe in it, and sanctifieth them by whom it is consecrated. This is the flesh of the lamb; this is his blood. And afterwards; The same Creator and Lord of nature, who bringeth the bread out of the ground, maketh bread also of his own body; because he hath promised, and is able to perform it: And he who made wine of water, converteth wine into his own blood. Sup. lib. xviii. n. 43. Gaud. præf.

IN these sermons he exhorts the Neophytes to lead henceforth a truly Christian life, and to renounce idolatry in all its parts, enchantments, gatures, auguries, lots, observation of dreams, and funeral feasts. On the contrary, says he, be sober, constant in coming to church, and apply yourselves, with us, to prayer and singing of psalms; and let this be the employment of your leisure hours. He advises married persons to a perfect continence, declaring however that they may freely use the liberties of a married state. He recommends it to them, to avoid drunkenness, and dissolute feasting, accompanied with dancings and instruments of musick. Those are wretched houses, says he, that resemble theaters: let the houses of Christians be free from any of the train of the devil; let humility and hospitality be practised therein; but let it be always sanctified by psalms and spiritual songs: Let the word of God, and the sign of JESUS CHRIST, be in your hearts, in your mouths, in your countenance, at table, in the bath, when you go out, and when you come in, in joy and in sorrow. To these ten sermons at the time of Easter, St. Gaudentius added four on diverse subjects Serm. 4. sub. fin. Serm. 8. P. 59. D. Præfat.

out.

out of the Gospel; and a fifth on the Maccabees, which Benevolus had heard, but these he also requested of him.

XV.
St. Ambrose
saveth the
lives of
certain cri-
minals.
Paul. vita.
c. 34.

THE Emperor Honorius being consul in the year 396, entertained the people with a publick shew of some wild beasts of Africa. A criminal called Cresconius having taken sanctuary in the church, the people assembled in the amphitheater, obtained leave of Stilico to force him out with a band of Soldiers; for Stilico had the sole authority during the minority of the Emperor. Cresconius fled to the altar, and St. Ambrose and the Clergy who were present, gathered round about, in order to defend him; but the soldiers, who were many in number, and their officers Arians, prevailed: They seized on Cresconius, and carried him with triumph to the amphitheater. They who were in the church were much troubled; and St. Ambrose continued a long time weeping, and lying prostrate before the altar; but the soldiers being returned, and having made their report; two leopards that were let loose, leaped nimbly into the place where they were seated, and left them very much wounded. Stilico was concerned at this, and repented of the violence that he had done to the Church: He made satisfaction to St. Ambrose by penance for many days, and set Cresconius at liberty; but as he was guilty of very great crimes, he sent him into banishment, from whence however he was soon after recalled.

Sozom. vii.
c. 25.

IN the time of the Emperor Gratian, St. Ambrose had saved the life of another condemned person. He was a pagan, who had held the greatest stations, and had spoken contemptuously of Gratian, saying, that he was unworthy of his father; and being accused of this, was condemned to die. As they were carrying him to execution, St. Ambrose went to the palace, to petition for his pardon; but the enemies of the criminal had contrived to amuse the Emperor in looking upon the combats of beasts in his palace, so that none of those who attended at the gate would inform the Emperor of his being there, pretending that he came at an improper time: He therefore retired; but went unperceived to the door through which the beasts were brought in, and entered with those that led them; nor did he leave the Emperor till he had obtained pardon for the criminal.

ii. Offic.
c. 29.
n. 150.

ST. Ambrose was no less zealous in securing whatever was committed in trust to the Church; and he frequently opposed the Emperor's orders for the taking them away. A certain person having procured a rescript from the Emperor to have something delivered to him, that had been deposited by a widow in the church of Pavia, the Clergy forbore making any farther resistance; the magistrates and officers charged with the execution of the rescript, insisted that the order was not to be opposed; and the Emperor's agent pressed it. But the Bishop of Pavia, by the advice of St. Ambrose, so well defended the entrance into the place where the thing was deposited, that they could not get it away, but were contented with an acknowledgement in writing; by virtue of this writing, and a new order from the Emperor, they returned again. The Bishop still refused, and caused the history of Heliodorus to be read, who was so severely punished for attempting to take away what had been sacredly deposited in the temple; and with much difficulty persuaded the Emperor.

2 Macc. iii.
10.

A Bishop named Marcellus, had a sister that was a widow, and a brother called Letus. Marcellus gave his sister some land that belonged to him, upon condition, that at her death, she should leave it to the poor, and to the church of which he was Bishop. Letus disputed this grant, which occasioned a considerable law-suit between them. After the cause had been depending a long time, with great expence, and great animosities and reproches on both sides, they desired it might be determined by St. Ambrose, and procured it to be referred to him by the *Præfectus Prætorii*. St. Ambrose would not judge according to the strictness of the law, but as an arbitrator to accommodate the difference, and reconcile the parties. He accordingly brought them to this agreement; That Letus should have the land, on condition, that he paid his sister a certain yearly proportion of corn, wine, and oil; and that after the death of the sister, Letus should be liable to no demand, either in behalf of the Bishop or the church. St. Ambrose pretended, that by this decision both sides had gained their cause: Letus, because he had gotten lawful possession of the land; and his sister, by being made sure of an income, without a law-suit, without trouble, or hazard of bad years; and Marcellus, in that he had contented both his brother and his sister, and this expedient was put in practice according to his own proposal. The Church only seemed to be the loser; but St. Ambrose maintained that the Church was a sufficient gainer by the preserving of charity, by the virtues practised by its Bishop, and the good example given by him on this occasion.

THERE was a virgin at Verona named Indicia, whom Zeno Bishop of that city had consecrated to God, after a probation of several years. She had lived at Rome with St. Marcellina, in the house of St. Ambrose, and had gained a great esteem for her virtue. At her return to Verona, she dwelt with her sister, who was married to one Maximus; always leading so retired a life, that some took offence because she did not visit their wives. A report was spread that Indicia had been delivered of a child, and had murdered it. Maximus, her brother in law, applying to Syagrius then Bishop of Verona, became the informer; and was so earnest with the Bishop, that he cited the witnesses to the church. Three women who were said to be the authors of this report, did not appear, but only two men who said that they heard the story from those women; and who were themselves men of an ill character. However, upon this evidence, the Bishop Syagrius, without hearing Indicia's defence, or advising with his brethren the other Bishops, ordered that she should be searched by matrons.

SHE complained to St. Ambrose, and Maximus likewise came to Milan, to support the sentence of Syagrius. St. Ambrose, to proceed regularly, required that some person should appear as accuser; but Maximus would not declare himself to be so, though he acted as such in every respect. The three women whom they pretended to be their chief witnesses, and whose names were Mercuria, Lea, and Theodula, would not appear, though they were brought to Milan. The two men, named Renatus and Leontius, who had made their depositions on the report of these women, were examined by St. Ambrose, but could not agree in what they had advanced. St. Ambrose convened the Bishops to judge in the case. There was no accuser, nor

A. D. 369. nor sufficient evidence against Indicia ; and besides, there came several witnesses to her reputation, viz. her nurse, a credible person, and a free woman, St. Marcellina, sister to St. Ambrose, and the virgin Paterna, with whom she had lived at Milan, during the prosecution.

n. 42.

D. ep. 5.
n. 2.

n. 24.
n. 15.

THE sentence of the Bishops was, that Indicia had done nothing contrary to her profession ; that Leontius and Renatus should be excommunicated, till they made satisfaction to the Church by penance ; and that Maximus should not be admitted to communion unless he reformed. St. Ambrose notified this judgement to Syagrius, by a letter in very strong and severe terms, representing to him his fault, in sentencing a virgin to be searched, without any accuser or witnesses ; telling him, that to be searched, is a severe punishment to a virgin ; besides, that the proof thereby is very uncertain, according to the opinion of the most learned physicians ; which he confirms by a late example. He seems inclined wholly to lay aside such indecent proofs. Syagrius excused himself, by alledging that certain persons had threatened to withdraw from his communion : Upon which St. Ambrose reproaches him with weakness, in suffering private persons to give laws to Bishops, and to prescribe to them the forms of their judicial proceedings.

XVII.
St. Ambrose's
care in the
choice of his
clergy.
i. Offic. c. 18.
n. 72.

i. Offic. 36.
n. 184.

Epist. 81.
Clericis.

IT may be judged what care St. Ambrose took in the choice of his Clergy, by the instances which he himself relates. One of his friends was very assiduous in paying his respects to him, in hopes of obtaining some preferment among the Clergy ; but St. Ambrose would never admit him ; for no other reason, but because of some great indecency in his carriage. Another who was already one of the Clergy, having committed a fault, was interdicted for some time, and when he was restored, St. Ambrose forbade him to walk before him, there being something particular in his gate that was an offensive sight to him : For the holy Bishop was persuaded, that the irregular motions of the body proceeded from the irregularity of the mind. The event shewed that he was not mistaken in either of them : For the first of these deserted the Faith in the time of the Arian persecution ; and the second, because he would not submit to the judgement of the Bishops in a case where his interest was concerned, renounced the Catholick Religion. He relates these two instances in the treatise of offices or duties, which he composed for the instruction of his clergy, in imitation of Cicero, and the Greeks, whom Cicero followed in his book of offices. St. Ambrose chose out the best of their morality, confirming it by the authority of the Scripture, and improving it by Evangelical maxims. He forbids the Clergy to intermeddle with business or traffick ; wishing them to be contented with their small patrimony, or if they had none, with their salaries. Some were weary of the service of the Church, by reason of the difficulties which they met with. To what purpose, said they, should we continue with the Clergy, expose our selves to ill usage, and take a great deal of pains, when we might live on our own fortunes, or improve them some other way ? To these he answers, that they are not made Clerks only to get their maintenance, but that they may merit in the sight of God after this life. And this is the subject of one of his letters.

T H E R E

THERE is another to Constantius, then newly ordained a Bishop in the A. D. 396. neighbourhood of Ravenna, who seems to have been chosen from among his Clergy, since he calls him his son. This contains rules for his conduct, chiefly as to instructing his people. He recommends to him the Church of *Cornelii Forum*, which is supposed to be Imola, which was vacant, and near him; to visit him often, till a Bishop should be ordained; for, saith he, my employments in Lent, which now draws near, will not permit me to go so far. There is a letter also to another new Bishop, called Vigilius, who had begged his advice: He recommends to him in particular, to exhort his people, to do justice to their hired servants; to avoid usury, and to practise hospitality; but above all, to prevent marrying with Infidels.

MANY of the disciples of St. Ambrose had the government of churches, which they discharged with great sanctity. In the first rank we may place St. Augustin; next his friend Alypius, and St. Paulinus of Nola; among those of his clergy, Venerius and Felix are eminent, who had been his deacons: Venerius was Bishop of Milan, and Felix of Bologna, both reckoned in the number of the saints. Theodulus, who had been Secretary to St. Ambrose, was Bishop of Modena. St. Ambrose ordained St. Gaudentius of Brescia, as hath been related, St. Felix of Comum, and St. Honoratus of Vercellæ. We see by his letters the esteem which he had for St. Felix, and the strict friendship that there was between them.

THE ordination of St. Honoratus was one of the last actions of St. Ambrose, after the death of Limenius Bishop of Vercellæ, who had assisted at the council of Aquileia; the see remained long vacant, by reason of the divisions in the Church; and St. Ambrose was blamed, because, being Metropolitan, it was thought to be incumbent upon him to put a stop to the disorders. This obliged him to write a long letter to them, which begins thus: I am extremely afflicted that your Church hath yet had no Bishop, and that she only, of all the churches in Liguria, Æmilia, Venetia, and the neighbouring provinces, should be without one; she from whom the other churches were wont to be supplied: and what is still a greater shame, it is I that bear the blame, whereas your animosities are the only obstacle. For so long as these divisions are among you, what regulations can we, or what choice can you make? who will be able, seeing you so much at variance, to accept an office, which can hardly be supported in the greatest unanimity? Are these the instructions of that holy confessor? and you the children of them, who preferred Eusebius, a stranger, and wholly unknown, before your own countrymen?

HE afterwards makes several Digressions in praise of St. Eusebius of Vercellæ: He exhorts them to beware of two apostate monks, Sarmation and Barbaticus, who had lived some time in the monastery of Milan; but not being able to bear with the regularity, the silence, the fasts, and confinement of the Cloysters; and not having profitted by the charitable advice of St. Ambrose, they left it, and when they would have returned, were refused admittance. Being exasperated at this refusal, they spread a pernicious doctrine, much like that of Jovinian; saying, that abstinence and fasting, virginity and continence, were of no importance. St. Ambrose treateth them as Epicureans, and fully confuteth them, by authorities and examples

A. D. 396. from scripture. He afterwards admonishes the faithful of Vercellæ to lay aside all malice and slander, the spirit of faction and division, and desire of revenge; to bear with one another, and not to be puffed up on account of riches; but to exercise hospitality and charity, and the reciprocal duties of man and wife, of mothers and children, masters and slaves. He shews them what ought to be the qualifications of a Bishop, particularly in this church of Vercellæ, where the monastick and clerical life were joined together. St. Ambrose was obliged to go in person to Vercellæ, a few months before his death, to reconcile their differences; and by his care, they chose Honoratus for their Bishop, a man of great merit, whom the Church reckons among the number of the saints.

n. 43.

n. 52.

n. 83.

n. 86.

n. 66.

Vita.

St. Gaud.

Novar. Boll.

febr.

Martyr. R.

28 Oct.

XIX.

The Reputa-

tion of St.

Ambrose.

Paul. vita.

c. 25.

Id. n. 30.

Id. n. 36.

THE reputation of St. Ambrose had reached the most distant countries, and had some years before drawn to Milan two Persians of the greatest authority and wisdom in that nation, who came thither furnished with many questions, to make trial of his wisdom. They discoursed with him by the help of an interpreter, from the first hour of the day to the third of the night; that is, from about six in the morning till nine at night, and departed full of admiration. That the only design of their journey, was to have a personal knowledge of St. Ambrose, appears by this; that the next day, as soon as they had taken leave of the Emperor, they went to Rome, to see the power and grandour of Probus the prefect, and then returned home. Count Arbogastus being at table with some of the Kings of the Franks, with whom he was treating about a peace, they asked him if he knew Ambrose: I do, said he, and am one of his friends, and frequently eat with him. This then is the reason, Count, replied the king, that you are victorious, since you are the friend of a man, who says to the Sun, stand thou still, and it standeth. Paulinus says he learned these particulars from a young Man who was cup-bearer to Count Arbogastus at this entertainment. A little before the death of St. Ambrose, a queen of the Marcomanni, named Fritigil, having heard of his fame from a certain christian that came from Italy, believed in Jesus Christ, and sent ambassadors with presents for the Church of Milan, entreating St. Ambrose to instruct her by writing, in what she was to believe. He sent her an excellent letter in form of a catechism, wherein he likewise exhorts her to persuade her husband to observe the peace with the Romans. The Queen having received this Letter, prevailed with the King to submit himself and his people to the Romans, and went herself to Milan; but, to her affliction, did not find St. Ambrose alive. The letter which he wrote to this Queen, is not extant.

XX.

The Miracles
of St. Am-
brose.

ONE of the Slaves of Count Stilico, having been dispossessed of a devil that tormented him, dwelt in the *Basilica Ambrosiana*; and his master, who had a kindness for him, recommended him to St. Ambrose. It was discovered that he had counterfeited grants for the office of a Tribune; so that some persons were taken up for going to exercise that office, by virtue of these grants. Stilico, at the request of St. Ambrose, discharged those who had been thus imposed on, without punishing his slave; but only complained of him to the holy Bishop. This man having left the Basilica, St. Ambrose gave orders to have him searched for, and brought to him. Having examined and convicted him of the crime, he said, he must be delivered un-

to

to satan for the destruction of the flesh, that none hereafter might dare to A. D. 396. attempt the like. At the same instant, and even before the holy Bishop ^{1 Cor. v. 5.} had done speaking, the unclean spirit seized on him, and began to tear him; ^{v. 3.} at which, saith Paulinus, we were all much terrified, and adds; we saw in those days many dispossessed at his command, and by the laying on of his Hands.

NICETUS, formerly a tribune and notary, had such pains in his feet, ^{Id n. 44.} that he was hardly able to appear in publick. As he drew near the altar to receive the holy sacrament, St. Ambrose by chance trod upon his foot, at which he cried out; but he said to him; Go, from henceforward you shall be healed. And accordingly at the time of this saint's death, he declared with tears, that he had never felt any pain afterwards.

A few days before St. Ambrose kept his bed, as he was dictating the ex- ^{n. 42.} planation of the forty third psalm, Paulinus, who wrote for him, beheld on a sudden a flame in the figure of a small buckler, which covered his head, and by degrees entered into his mouth: His countenance became white as snow, but returned to its usual form. I was so affrighted thereat, adds Paulinus, that I remained without motion, and could not write what he dictated till the vision was over. He was then repeating a passage of scripture, which I well remember; and on that day he left off both writing and dictating, so that he could not finish the psalm. I immediately related what I had seen to the deacon Castus, under whose government I was; and he shewed me from the acts of the Apostles, that I had seen the Holy Ghost descend upon the holy Bishop. We have this exposition of St. Ambrose upon the 43d psalm, which does indeed end at the 25th Verse; and nothing is said on the two last. He must needs already have found himself sick; for ^{n. 38.} Paulinus assures us, that when he was well, he never spared the pains of writing his books with his own hand. And St. Ambrose himself says, that ^{Ep. 47. ad Sab. al. 65.} he did not always dictate, especially in the night-time, that he might not incommode any one; that he might consider better what he wrote, and make his stile more correct.

PAULINUS adds, he took great care of all the churches: He was constant at prayer day and night; he slept little, and fasted every day, except on saturdays and sundays, on which days only he dined: For at Milan, they did not fast on saturdays, not even in Lent; but when he was at Rome, ^{Aug. ep. 36. al. 86. ad Casul. in fin.} or in any other place, where they fasted on saturday, he fasted as the rest did; making it a rule to observe in this respect the custom of the place where he happened to be. He sometimes entertained at table even the greatest men of the Empire, the Consuls and Præfects, who reckoned themselves honoured thereby, as we see in the person of Arbogastus and Vincent, Præfect of Gaul. But he never eat with any one, although in- ^{Paul. vita. c. 35. Sulpic. dial. 1. c. 17.} vited, all the while he was at Milan. It was also a maxim with him, never to be concerned in any marriage, nor to procure a place at court for any person, lest he should make himself answerable for the consequence.

AFTER having ordained a Bishop of Pavia, he was taken ill, and kept ^{XXI. The death of St. Ambrose, Paul vita. c. 45. Poss. vita the Aug. c. 27.} his bed a long time; upon which Count Stilico said, that the death of so great a man threatned Italy with ruin: Hereupon he sent for some of the most considerable persons of Milan, whom he knew to be most favoured by

- A. D. 397.** the holy Bishop, and obliged them, partly by entreaties and partly by menaces, to go and press him to beg of God to prolong his life. As they stood about his bed, and entreated him with tears to comply with their request, he answered: I have not lived with you in such a manner, that I should be ashamed to live longer, neither am I afraid to die, for we have a good master. He lay in a gallery, at the end whereof were four deacons, Castus, Polemius, Venerius, and Felix, discoursing together who might succeed him in the Bishoprick; and spoke so low, that they could hardly hear each other. They named Simplician, and St. Ambrose, though at that distance, approving their choice, as if he had been present at their conversation, cried out three times, he is old, but good. They were so surprized to hear him speak thus, that they hastned out of the place. Simplician did indeed succeed him, and afterwards Venerius. As he was praying in the same place, he beheld **JESUS CHRIST** coming towards him with a smiling countenance. This he told Bassian, Bishop of Lodi, who was praying with him, and from whom Paulinus saith he learned it. St. Ambrose died a few days after. He continued in prayer from the eleventh hour of the day, that is, from five in the afternoon till the time that he expired, which was soon after midnight. He prayed with his hands extended in form of a cross, moving his lips, but what he said could not be understood. Honoratus, Bishop of Vercellæ, being laid down to take a little rest in an upper part of the house, heard a voice calling him three times by name, and saying, rise quickly, he is going to depart. He went down, and gave him the body of **our Lord**, which as soon as he had swallowed, he gave up the ghost. This happened in the night before holy saturday, the fourth of April, in the year 397, otherwise the eve of the Nones of April, in the Consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus. St. Ambrose was at least fifty seven years old, and had been a Bishop twenty two years and four months.
- n. 46.**
- n. 47.**
- Martyrol. R.** our Lord, which as soon as he had swallowed, he gave up the ghost. This **Pagi. an. 397.** happened in the night before holy saturday, the fourth of April, in the year 397, otherwise the eve of the Nones of April, in the Consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus. St. Ambrose was at least fifty seven years old, and had been a Bishop twenty two years and four months.
- n. 48.**
- In the same hour, and before day, they carried the body to the great church, where it remained the following night, which was Easter eve. Many children who were baptized that night, saw him as they came out of the Fonts; some said he was seated on his episcopal throne in the church; others, that he was walking, and pointed with their finger to shew him to their parents, but they could not see him. Several affirmed that they had seen a star on his body. On Easter sunday, as soon as it was light, after the celebration of the holy mysteries, they took up his body to carry it to the Basilica Ambrosiana, where it was interred. Here a great number of devils expressed their rage, by dreadful howlings; and many such cries were heard, to his great honour, in divers provinces, and for many years. The people threw their handkerchiefs, that they might touch his body; for there was at his funeral an infinite number of all ages, sexes, and conditions, not only of Christians, but likewise of Jews and Pagans. The persons newly baptized were the most remarkable, and held the first rank. On the same day that he died, he appeared in the East to certain holy persons, praying with, and laying his hands on them. This was known some time after at Milan, by a letter directed to him as if alive, and dated on the day of his death: It was received by Simplician, his successor, and preserved with great care. St. Ambrose appeared also at Florence to some, whom he had
- n. 49.**
- n. 50.**

had promised often to visit, at their earnest desire. He was frequently seen A. D. 397. praying at the altar of the Basilica Ambrosiana, which he had built in that city. Paulinus reports this passage in the life of St. Ambrose, upon the testimony of St. Zeno Bishop of Florence, which he wrote some years after, at the desire of St. Augustine, either from what himself knew as an eye-witness, or had heard from the mouth of St. Marcellina, the sister of this saint, or from other persons of undoubted credit.

ST. SIMPLICIAN had not been long Bishop, before he received a letter from XXII. Vigilius Bishop of Trent, containing an account of the martyrdom of three *The Martyrs of Anaunia.* ecclesiasticks, whom the barbarous people of the neighbouring mountains *Ap. Ruin. Acta Marc. Sin. p. 684.* had put to death; namely, Sifinnius a deacon, Martyrius a reader, and Alexander a porter. Sifinnius was a Grecian, born in Cappadocia, of a noble family, and was a person of an advanced age. He was the first that *p. 690.* preached the gospel to these barbarians, and notwithstanding his poverty, built a church among them at his own expence. Martyrius having taken his leave of all worldly affairs, and forsaken the company of his relations, received baptism, and was afterwards ordained reader; and from him these barbarous people first heard hymns in honour of GOD. He was continually employed in spiritual works, and constant in fasting: Alexander was his brother; and they all three lived unmarried. The place where Sifinnius preached the gospel, was called Anagnia or Anaunia, twenty five furlongs, that is, a league from Trent, in the narrow passes of the mountains. They had long endured the insults of the Barbarians, and at length suffered Martyrdom on the following occasion. The Pagans, in the latter end of May, *V. Baron. A. D. 400.* made their profane processions about their lands, pretending to purify them, and obtain the blessing of their gods upon their seed. They wore chaplets, sang hymns, and led their victims with great ceremony; but when they attempted likewise to force certain Christians that were newly converted to furnish victims, they were opposed by Sifinnius, whom they dangerously wounded. The next morning, as soon as it was day, the Barbarians, armed with clubs, hatchets, and such like instruments, came on a sudden to the church, where they found certain clerks singing the morning service: they pillaged and searched into every place, profaned the holy mysteries, and pulled down the church. The deacon Sifinnius was confined to his bed, by reason of his wounds: they pressed him again to consent to their sacrifices, struck him on the head with a trumpet, which they sounded in their profane ceremonies, and killed him outright with their hatchets. Martyrius was with him, dressing his wounds, and giving him a glass of water to refresh him, as he was just breathing his last: He retreated to a garden joining to the church, and was discovered by a maid to whom the garden belonged. Having taken him, they wounded him in the head, and pierced him with staves sharpened at the end; and as they were leading him to the idol, he expired. The Pagans sought diligently for Alexander, who was well known, having always kept the door of the church: They took him in his house, and tied him between the bodies of the other two martyrs. They fastned a bell to the neck of St. Sifinnius, like that which is hung upon the neck of beasts; and said, insulting, let CHRIST now revenge himself. Alexander was tied alive by the heels between the two dead bodies; and in this manner they

A.D. 397. they dragged him through rugged ways to the temple of Saturn, where they raised a large pile of the timber of the materials of the church which they had pulled down; there they burnt the two bodies before him, ordering him to sacrifice, unless he would be cast into the fire; which he refusing with great constancy, was put to death. A great number of Christians were present at the sight; but the Pagans only reviled them. These three saints suffered martyrdom on Wednesday the 29th of May, and consequently in the year 397, the dominical letter being D.

Aug. ep. 139.
al. 158. ad
Marcel. n. 2.

THE murderers of the martyrs were taken; and they would have been brought to justice, but the Christians petitioned the Emperor for their pardon, who readily granted it, that he might not dishonour their martyrdom. Their relicks were brought to Milan, and probably St. Vigilius sent with them that letter to St. Simplician which is now extant. At the same time there happened to be at Milan a blind man, who came from the coast of Dalmatia, and recovered his sight by touching the chest wherein the relicks were laid: He reported, that in the night he had seen, in a vision, a vessel draw near the shore, wherein were a great number of men in white garments; that as they landed, he enquired of one of the company, who they were; and was told, that they were Ambrose and his company. Upon hearing this name, he besought the saint to restore him to his sight: The saint answered; go to Milan, and meet my brethren, who are to arrive there at such a day, and thou shalt recover thy sight. And although he had never been at Milan, he went directly thither by the right road.

Boll. 29.
Mai. &c.
Ruin. p. 686.

Ufnardi.
Fortun. 1.
Carm. c. 2.

Homil. 17.

ST. Vigilius of Trent wrote also some time after a letter to St. John Chrysostom, then Bishop of Constantinople, on the subject of these martyrs, to accompany the relicks which Count James carried into the East. St. Vigilius was himself martyred by these Barbarians, who stoned him on the sixth of the calends of July, in the Consulship of Stilico. It is supposed, that this was his first Consulship, and consequently that it was on the 26th of June, in the year 1400. St. Gaudentius of Brescia received likewise relicks of these martyrs of Anaunia, as he testifieth in a sermon preached on the feast of the forty martyrs. Besides these forty, he reckons ten whose relicks were preserved by his Church; namely, St. John Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Luke, St. Gervas, St. Protasius, St. Nazarius, St. Sisinnius, St. Martyrius, and St. Alexander, whom he sheweth to have been martyred not long before, at a place called the Altar of Agathin.

XXIII.
The Labours
of St. Au-
gustine.
Aug. ep. 37.
de divers. 9.
ad Simp.
to. 6.
2. Retract.
c. 1. c. 3. c. 2.
Possid. vita.
6. 9.

ST. Simplician being Bishop of Milan, wrote a friendly letter to St. Augustine, acquainting him that he had read his books, and encouraging him to go on in writing; and proposes to him divers questions out of scripture. St. Augustine gave him his answers in two books which he sent him, submitting them to his censure; for he always respected him as his master: And this was the first work he composed after his promotion to his Bishoprick. He wrote about the same time his book of the *Christian Warfare*, in a plain and simple stile, for such as did not well understand the elegancies of the Latin Language. He discourses of the manner of warring against the Devil, by combating with our passions, and there refutes the Manichees; as he also does more openly in his book against the epistle of Manes, which they call the epistle of the Foundation, and which contains all the essentials of their

their doctrine. He argues only against the first part, citing the text, and A. D. 397. making notes upon the rest, intending a fuller answer when he was at leisure. He shews the motives which engaged him to adhere to the Catholick Church; viz. the consent of nations; The authority begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity; the succession in the see of St. Peter; the name of *Catholick*, so well known and established, that if a stranger should ask, Where is the Catholick Church, no Heretick will dare to shew him either his church or his house. Contr. ep. fundam. c. 4.

THE authority of St. Augustine being increased by the dignity of a Bishop, he applied himself to preaching with greater fervency, not only in his own church, but where-ever he was desired. The Donatists, among others, were careful to report his discourses to their Bishops, and to bring their answers to him; to which he replied with great mildness and patience, labouring day and night to convince them of their errors. He even wrote letters to some of these Bishops, or to the Laity of distinction, to shew them his reasons for his faith, and to exhort them to undeceive themselves, or at least to enter into a conference with him. But they, distrusting their cause, would not so much as return him an answer, but railed and uttered against him whatever their rage could suggest; they cried out in publick and in private, that he was an impostor, and a wolf who ought to be destroyed; and that all their sins would be forgiven, who should deliver their flock from him.

PROCULEIAN, the Donatist Bishop of Hippo, being one day in a house with Evodius, a friend of St. Augustine, said he was very willing to have a conference with him in the presence of ten persons of probity on each side. This Evodius joyfully told St. Augustine, who was no less pleased, and wrote a letter to Proculeian full of meekness and charity; desiring him to keep his word, as to the conference, allowing him the choice of the witnesses: but demanding, that what should pass in the conference might be set down in writing: He likewise offered to confer with him singly, or by writing, which should be afterwards read to the people. In short, saith he, I willingly embrace whatever you shall appoint, and will answer for the consent of the venerable Valerius, who is at this time absent. Proculeian did not accept the conference, pretending that St. Augustine ought to go to Constantinople or Milevum, where the Donatists were about to hold a council. St. Augustine replied, that this proposition was ridiculous. I am concerned, said he, only in the Church of Hippo; I have nothing to do with any but Proculeian; if he finds himself too weak, let him beg the assistance of any one of his Collegues that he thinks fit. We do not treat of the ecclesiastick affairs in other cities, no further than the Bishops our brethren give us licence or commission; neither do I see what a man, who has taken upon him the title of Bishop so many years, hath to fear from a novice like me. If it be, that I am skilled in human literature, this hath nothing to do with our question. In short, here is my colleague, Samsucius Bishop of Turres, who hath not applied himself to such studies; I will desire him to take my place, and trust that the LORD will assist him in this combat for the truth. Aug ep. 33. al. 147. n. 2. n. 4. Epist. 34. al. 168. ad Eu- feb. n. 5.

ST.

A. D. 397. ST. Augustine about the same time assisted at the council of Carthage, which is reckoned the third that was held in that city, and the first under the Bishop Aurelius. There were present forty four Bishops, assembled in the chamber of the Basilica of Restituta, Cæsarius and Atticus being consuls, on the fifth of the calends of September, that is, the twenty eighth of August 397. We have fifty canons, bearing the name of this council; some of which are supposed to have been added by the following councils: But the discipline is not the less sacred on that account. The first imports, that all the African Bishops shall be directed by the church of Carthage on what day Easter is to be celebrated: and another canon adds; that they who shall be deputed every year to the council, shall carry this direction in writing to their respective provinces. And lest Ecclesiastical affairs should be too long neglected, to the prejudice of the people, it is ordained, That the general council of Africa shall be convened every year: and that all the provinces that contain any of the principal sees, shall send thither three deputies from their particular councils. The number ought not to be greater, lest they should be burdensome to their hosts, that is, to the Bishops, who exercised hospitality towards their brethren. The province of Tripoli shall send but one deputy, there being so few Bishops in it, they being but five in number.

XXIV.
Third council
of Carthage.
To. 2. Conc.
p. 1167.

c. 1.

c. 41.

c. 2.

c. 39.

c. 22.

c. 40.

c. 3.

c. 48.

c. 38.

c. 39.

c. 40.

As to ordinations it is said, That no Clerk shall be ordained, who hath not been examined by the Bishop, or had the testimony of the people. That none shall be ordained Deacon under the age of twenty five years. That the decrees of the councils shall be read to the Bishops or Clerks before they are ordained, that none may plead ignorance of them. That they who in their infancy have been baptized by the Donatists, may after their conversion be admitted to minister at the holy altar. The Bishops said, that on this point they would consult their brethren, Siricius and Simplician, the Bishops of Rome and Milan, the two chief Bishops on this side the sea. Translations are forbidden, as also ordaining and baptizing a second time. Upon complaint made of the encroachment of a Bishop named Cresconius, who had quitted his church to usurp another, the council ordains, That after a charitable admonition, the governor of the province shall be applied to, that he may be turned out by the secular power, according to the decrees of the Emperors. In order to restrain the usurpation of two Bishops of Numidia, who had ordained a Bishop; it was proposed that ordinations might not be performed by less than twelve Bishops. To this Aurelius Bishop of Carthage said: The ancient form should be observed; according to which three were sufficient: It is said, that there are but five Bishops in Tripoli, and two of these may be otherwise employed; and in each province it is difficult for all to be present. Should the occasions of the Church be neglected on this account? In this church where you are assembled, we ordain almost every Sunday: Can I often bring together ten or twelve Bishops? but to get two to assist me is easy. It may be observed, from this great number of Bishops ordained at Carthage, that they were not always ordained upon the place. Aurelius adds: If any opposition arises in the election of a Bishop, then three must not be sufficient to justify him, one or two more must be added to the number; and the

matter

matter must be publickly determined at the place it self, for which he is to A. D. 397. be ordained, before they proceed to ordination. All the Bishops agreed to this opinion.

THE encroachments of the Bishops on the rights of each other are prohibited. None is to usurp the people of another, or to retain or promote his Clerks to higher orders without his permission, not even readers, singers of psalms, and porters. Upon which occasion Aurelius said: It sometimes happens, that churches who want Bishops or Priests, demand them of me. To act according to rule, I apply to the Bishop, and give him notice that his clerk is demanded by such a church. None have opposed hitherto; but in case this should happen, what do you think best to be done, if a Bishop should refuse, after I have made a demand in the presence of two or three of our brethren? For you know that the care of all the churches lies upon me. Numidius and Epigonus testified, that the see of Carthage always had a right to ordain Bishops for any place that required them, chusing them out of what church it pleased, having once requested of the Bishop, and that Aurelius had been very sparing in the use of this privilege. A Bishop named Postmian said; If a man hath but one Priest, must he be taken from him? Aurelius answered; If he is wanted for the Episcopal office he ought to be granted; for it is easier to find Priests than Bishops.

A Priest shall not consecrate any virgins without an order from the Bishop, and shall by no means make the holy chrism. The Readers are not to pronounce the blessing to the people. Such places as have never had any Bishops, are not to receive them without the consent of the ancient Bishop of the Diocess; and the new Bishop ought not to make any encroachment on the Diocess, which remains to the Mother Church. But it appears by the text of these canons, that when new Bishopricks were to be erected, application was to be made to the Bishop of Carthage. Those Bishops who, having by unjustifiable ways gained the affections of the people, attempt to make a party, refuse to come to council, and treat their brethren with contempt, shall be turned out even of their own churches by the secular power. The Bishop of the principal see shall not be stiled prince of the Priests, nor chief Priest, nor be distinguished by any such title, but only by that of Bishop of the principal see. This canon is not in order to retrench the power, but only the ambitious titles of the chief Bishops: And from hence perhaps is derived the name of Primate, taken up by the chief Bishops in every province of Africa.

As to the Ecclesiastical judgements; he who accuses a Bishop, must bring his cause before the Primate of the province; and the person accused is not to be suspended from the communion, unless upon a citation from the Primate, he doth not appear within a month from the day that he hath received his letters. If he hath a lawful excuse, he shall be allowed another month; after which he shall not be admitted to the communion, till he hath justified himself. If he does not come to the general yearly council, he shall be esteemed self-condemned: and as long as he continues under the sentence of excommunication, he shall not communicate even with his own people. If the accuser is absent some days while the cause is depending, he shall be excommunicated, and the accused Bishop restored. The accuser

XXV.
*Ecclesiastical
judgements.*
c. 7.

- A. D. 397. shall be rejected, unless he be a person of an unblameable character. The same form shall be observed, and the same respite granted in the trial of a Priest or Deacon; but they shall be judged by their own Bishop, assisted by those of his neighbourhood. When a Priest is accused, he shall call five to his assistance, and two when a Deacon. Other persons he shall judge by himself. A Bishop, a Priest, or other Clerk, who being prosecuted in an Ecclesiastical court, hath recourse to secular judges, if it be in a criminal cause, shall be deposed, though he hath been acquitted; if in a civil cause he shall submit to his sentence, if he will remain among the Clergy, for the affront he has offered the Church, by shewing a distrust of her judgement.
- c. 8.
- c. 9.
- c. 10.
- If the sentence of an Ecclesiastical judge hath been, upon an appeal, reversed by a superiour Ecclesiastick, he shall not be called in question, unless he be convicted of partiality. There is no appeal from judges chosen by consent of the parties.

- c. 28.
- c. 37.
- c. 15.
- c. 16.
- c. 13.
- BISHOPS are forbidden to go beyond sea without leave, and a letter in form from the Bishop of the chief see of every province; who is likewise to direct letters from the council to the Bishop beyond the seas. Clerks are not to make any stay in any city but that of their residence; unless for reasons approved by the Bishop, or the Priests of the place. Bishops, Priests, and other Clerks, ought not to be farmers, nor men of business; nor to gain a livelihood by a sordid traffick; nor receive in payment more than they have lent. They are not to bestow, by donation or testament, any thing to those who are not Catholick Christians, although their own relations.
- c. 49.
- c. 11.
- c. 12.
- c. 14.
- c. 18.
- They who at the time of their ordination having nothing, do afterwards acquire estates in their own name, shall be reputed usurpers of the sacred treasure, if they do not give them to the Church: But if they are possessed of any wealth by gift or inheritance, they may dispose of it. The children of Bishops or Clerks, are not to be concerned in exhibiting any profane shews, or even be present thereat, any more than the rest of the laity. They are not to marry with pagans, hereticks, or schismaticks. Their fathers, whether Bishops or Clerks, ought not to leave them to their own conduct, till they are well assured of their morals. None are to be ordained Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, till they have brought over all their family to be Catholick Christians.

- XXVI.
- Other canons.
- c. 17.
- c. 19.
- c. 25.
- c. 27.
- c. 4.
- c. 33.
- No strange woman ought to live with any Clerk; only his mother, grandmother, aunts, sisters, or nieces, or those of their family who lived with them before their ordination; and the wives of their sons, or their slaves who married since. Readers when they come to marriageable years, shall be obliged to marry, or make a vow of chastity. Clerks, and such as profess chastity, shall not visit virgins or widows, unless by order of the Bishop or Priest, and in the company of such as shall be appointed to be present. Bishops themselves shall not visit them, but in the presence of the Clerks, or some other grave persons. Clerks shall not enter publick houses to eat or drink, unless in case of necessity on a journey. Virgins shall not be consecrated till the age of twenty five years. Such as have lost their parents shall be placed by the Bishop in a monastery of virgins, or in the company of some virtuous women. We see here two sorts of virgins, one living in societies, and the other in private houses.

SICK persons who cannot answer for themselves, shall be baptized upon A. D. 397. the testimony of those that attend them. The Bishop shall regulate the time of penance. The Priest shall not absolve the penitent without an order from the Bishop, or in a case of necessity, in his absence. For publick sins absolution shall be given before the *Abfida*, that is the sanctuary. Neither baptism nor penance shall be refused to those that belong to the theater; nor to apostates converted. The catechumens shall not, even at the most solemn feasts of Easter, have more than the usual quantity of salt; for salt was frequently given to the catechumens during the time of their preparation for baptism, and to dispose them for the eucharist. The eucharist shall not be administered to dead bodies. Nothing shall be offered for the sacrament of the body and blood of our LORD, but what he hath ordained, that is, bread and wine mixt with water. The sacrament of the altar shall be celebrated fasting, except on holy Thursday: and when a funeral is solemnized after dinner, there shall be prayers only. Feasting in the churches shall be hindered as much as possible. At the altar the prayers shall be always addressed to the Father; and they who copy out prayers, must not make use of them before they have communicated them to some persons of the greatest learning. At the end of this council there is a catalogue of the holy Scriptures, exactly agreeing with that which is in use with us at this day.

NECTARIUS, Bishop of Constantinople, died soon after this council of Carthage. He had governed this church sixteen years, and died on the fifth of the calends of October, in the consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus, that is on the twenty seventh of September 397. They took some time to deliberate upon the choice of a successor; several were proposed, and some Priests offered themselves of their own accord, crouding at the gate of the palace; offering presents, and even falling on their knees before the people; who were so scandalized at it, that they earnestly besought the Emperor to pitch upon some person that might be worthy of the sacerdotal office. The Eunuch Eutropius, who governed the Emperor Arcadius, had been acquainted with the merit of St. John Chrysostom, in a journey which he had made into the East in the Emperor's service; and his reputation was so great throughout the empire, that he was elected Bishop of Constantinople by the unanimous consent of the people and Clergy, and with the approbation of the Emperor. But they knew how well he was beloved at Antioch, where he had officiated as Priest for twelve years, and how ready the people of that city were to raise commotions. Eutropius therefore caused the Emperor to write to Asterius count of the East, to send him away secretly and without noise. The count having received the Emperor's letter, desired John to meet him, upon pretence of some business, at a church near the Roman gate. Here taking him into his chariot, he drove with speed to a place called Bagras, where he put him into the hands of an eunuch, and an officer sent to conduct him to Constantinople.

THAT his ordination might be performed with the greater solemnity, the Emperor had called a council, and sent to Theophilus of Alexandria to be present, as being the Bishop of the chief see in his empire. Theophilus was desirous to have the Priest Isidore made Bishop of Constantinople,

c. 34.

c. 37.

c. 32.

c. 35.

c. 5.

V. Albaspin.

c. 6.

c. 24.

c. 29.

c. 48.

c. 23.

c. 47.

XXVII.

St Chry-
sostom Bi-
shop of Con-
stantinople.

Soc. vi. c. 2.

Sozom. viii.

c. 2.

Pallad. dial.

p. 42.

Sup. lib. xix.

n. 7.

Sup. lib. xvi.

n. 36.

A.D. 398. who had a long time led a monastick life in the desert of Scetis, and was then governour of the hospital at Alexandria. Besides his great merit, it was said, that Theophilus had great obligations to him, on account of his dextrous conduct in an affair of a very nice nature. It is reported, that in the war of the tyrant Maximus, Theophilus had intrusted Isidore with letters and presents for the two competitors, viz the Emperor Theodosius and Maximus; ordering him to go to Rome, and wait the event of the war, and to present the letters and gifts to the conquerour, and that Isidore executed his commission, but being discovered, was obliged to escape to Alexandria. These were the means, as they say, by which he gained the confidence of Theophilus. When St. John Chrysostom came to Constantinople, Theophilus, who had the art of finding out the tempers of men by their physiognomy, was surpris'd at the undauntedness and resolution that appeared in his looks, and therefore was the more unwilling to consent to his ordination; but at length he was persuaded to agree to it. Eutropius shewed him several memorials, presented to the Bishops against him; and told him, that he must either chuse to make his defence against these accusations, or to submit to the opinion of the other Bishops: Whereupon he yielded, and ordained John, who was thus constituted Bishop of Constantinople, on the twenty sixth of February, under the fourth consulship of Honorius with Eutychian, that is, in the year 398.

Homil. contr.
Anom. Gr.
to. 6. p. 434
Lat. 10. 1.

IN his first sermon, which is lost, he speaks of the combat of David with Goliath, and promises a discourse against the Anomæans, which he performed in the second, beginning thus; I have talked to you but one day, and have already as much affection for you, as if my education had been among you; nor doth this proceed from the greatness of my charity, but from your being truly amiable. Who would not admire your fervent zeal, your sincere charity, your love for your teachers, and the unity that is among your selves? All this would move a heart of stone. It is for this that I love you no less than the church wherein I was born and bred; she is the sister of your church; you prove it by the conformity of your actions. If she is the eldest, this is more zealous for the Faith. The congregation there is more numerous, and the auditory more famous; but this sheweth more patience and courage. The wolves surround the flock on every side, which however doth not decrease; it is you that resist the storm and flame of heresy. Although the Anomæans and other Arians, were indeed afraid to assemble publickly at Constantinople, the country was still full of them; to say nothing of the Marcionites, the Manichees, and the Valentinians, whom he attacketh in the same discourse.

XXVIII.
Laws in fa-
vour of the
Church.
L. 30, 31, 32,
33, 34.
C. Th. de
her.

THE obstinacy of the hereticks of Constantinople may be judged of, by the great numbers of laws made to suppress them. Besides those in the preceeding years, there are three in the year 396, one in 397, and one in 398, partly against hereticks in general, and partly against the Eunomians and Apollinarians in particular. The last is the most severe. It ordains, That the Eunomian and Montanist clergy should be turned out of every city; and forbids them even to assemble in the country, under the penalty of confiscation of the house, and capital punishment on the keeper of it. It likewise orders their books to be burned, and forbids the keeping of them on pain

pain of death. This law is dated on the fourth of March, and ascribed to A. D. 398. Eutropius by the historian Philostorgius an Eunomian heretick; which gives Philost. xi. c. 5. us reason to believe that it was procured by the power of this eunuch, to give the greater authority to St. Chrysostom, at his entrance upon the Bishoprick.

THERE were laws likewise made in the West, under the Emperor Honorius, in favour of the Church. The two first were general laws for preserving the privileges of the Church; one made soon after the death of Theodosius, in the year 395, the other in 397. There was a third more particular, on the twenty fifth of April 398, to restrain the violences committed against churches. It ordains, That if any, attacking the Catholick churches, shall offer any injury to the Priests, the Ministers, the service, or the holy place; the government shall be informed of the fact, by letters from the magistrates and stationary soldiers, specifying the names of such as they shall be able to find out, if the violence be committed by a multitude, that some at least may be known, who can discover their accomplices: that the governour of the province shall punish them with death, such as shall be convicted, without staying for a complaint from the Bishop; the sacredness of whose function leaves him only the glory of pardoning. These are the terms of this law. It shall not only be lawful, but commendable for any person to prosecute as publick crimes, any heinous injuries done to Priests and ministers: But if the rebellious multitude defend themselves by arms, and the advantage of the place, so that the officers cannot apprehend them, the governours of the provinces of Africa shall demand assistance of the count who hath the command of the forces.

By this we see that this law was made with a particular regard to Africa; and it is with reason supposed, that it was occasioned by the outrages committed by the Donatists, which in this year 398, grew to a greater excess, by reason of the war with Gildo. Nubel, one of the most powerful of the petty kings of the Moors, left, among others, three sons, Firmus, Gildo, and Mascezel, who lived under the protection of the Romans. Firmus revolted in the time of Valentinian the first, and was defeated by Theodosius, the Emperor's father. Gildo remaining faithful to the Romans was raised by the Emperor Theodosius to the dignity of a count, with the command of the African troops; but he also revolted after the death of the Emperor Theodosius. Whereupon his brother Mascezel deserted him, and returned to Italy, leaving in Africa his two sons, whom Gildo their uncle put to death. He was sent back to make war upon his brother; and passing in his way to the isle of Capraria, took thence some Monks, whom he entreated to go with him, to assist him with their prayers. It is believed that these Monks were Eustasius and Andrew, whom St. Augustine mentions, and that their voyage was the occasion of his writing to their Abbot Eudoxius and his Monks. He exhorts them not to be so fond of their ease, as to refuse to serve the Church, if it should stand in need of their labour. Mascezel carried these Monks into Africa, fasting and praying with them day and night, having learned under Theodosius the power of such arms. He had no more than five thousand men against seventy thousand; and despairing to save his army, and even his own life, he would have decamped,

L. 29, 30.
C. Th. de
Episc.
L. 31. Cod.

XXIX.
The war of
Gildo.

Amm. Mar.
29. c. 5.

Oros. lib vii.
c. 36.
Marcel. Chr.
an. 398.

Aug. ep. 48.
al. 81.

A. D. 368. decamped, and retreated into a narrow pass: But St. Ambrose appeared to him in the night, and striking the ground three times with his staff, said to him, Here, here, here. By which he understood that the saint promised him victory three days after in that place. Here therefore he staid: And on the third day, after having spent the night in prayers, he marched against the enemy, who surrounded him. He offered peace to the first that advanced: But seeing an ensign who opposed it, and encouraged the rest to battle, he gave him such a blow with his sword on the arm, as forced him to let down the ensign which he carried. The troops at a distance believing that the first ranks had yielded, strove who should be the first to surrender to Mascezel; and the barbarians, of whom Gildo had great numbers in his army, being deserted by the regular forces, fled several ways. Gildo himself fled, and got on board a vessel; but being brought back into Africa, strangled himself a few days after. An end was put to this war, within the three first months of the year 398. Gildo was a pagan but his wife a Christian, and a pious woman; he had a sister who dedicated her virginity to God. His daughter Salvina, who was married to Nebridius, nephew to the Emperors, was also a virtuous woman, as appeareth by a letter written to her by St. Jerome, concerning the conduct which she ought to observe in her widowhood.

Pagi. an.
398. n. 7, 8,
9, &c.

Hier. ep. 9.

Aug. 1.
contr.
Gaud. c. 38.
n. 51.
ii. Con. ep.
Parm. c. 2.
n. 4. c. 4.
n. 8.
iii. Cont.
Cres. c. 70.
14.

Ep. 5. 3.
al. 16. n. 3.
ii. Cont. litt.
Petil. c. 23.
c. 92. n. 209
n. 83.
Ep. 76. al. 11.
n. 3.

XXX.

St. Augu-
stine's confe-
rence with
Glorius, &c.
Ep. 43. al.
162. n. 1. c.
2. n. 3.

Sup. lib. ix.
n. 34.

THE Donatists took the advantage of this war, to continue their outrages with the greater impunity. Optatus Bishop of Thamaguda in the province of Carthage, signalized himself among others; and was so much attached to Gildo's party, that he was called Optatus the Gildonian. He was attended, wherever he went, with a troop of soldiers, with whom he committed an infinite number of crimes throughout Africa, for ten years together. He oppressed widows, ruined orphans, parted men and their wives, and set the goods of the innocent to sale. He made war against the Catholick Church, both by sea and land, giving no quarter; and became so terrible, even to the Donatists themselves, that they of Musti and Assura compelled their Bishops, Felician and Pretextatus, to renounce the schism of Maximian, to return to the communion of Primian, and obliged the Primianists to receive them, although they had condemned them by name at their council of Bagaia. At length Optatus being accused as an accomplice of Gildo, died in prison in this year 398. But the Donatists did not separate from his communion, always acknowledging him for a Bishop; and after his death, gave him the title of a martyr.

ST. Augustine still continued his endeavours to re-unite the Donatists to the Catholick Church, and made no scruple to confer with, or write to them; not letters of communion, which they would not have received, but familiar letters, as to Pagans, and without taking the title of Bishop. One day when he happened to be at Tuburfa, with Glorius, Eleusius, and some other Donatists, discoursing of their re-union, they produced the Acts, wherein it was recorded, that Cecilian Bishop of Carthage, was condemned together with those who ordained him, by about seventy Bishops; and the case of Felix of Aptungis was treated in a very odious manner. After they read these things, St. Augustine said; We also have Ecclesiastical acts, wherein Secundus of Tigisi, then Primate of Numidia, left to the judgement of

God,

GOD, the Bishops who confessed themselves *Traditors*, whose names are to A.D. 368 be found among Cecilian's judges, with Secundus at their head. He then relates, how after the schismatical ordination of Majorinus, the Donatists demanded Ecclesiastical judges of the Emperor Constantine: How Cecilian, being present, was absolved by the sentence of Melchiades Bishop of Rome, and afterwards by the council of Arles, and by the Emperor himself, to whom they had appealed; and how Felix of Aptungis was justified by the proconsul. St. Augustine caused the acts to be brought, which proved all these facts; and had them read before them for a whole day together. In the forenoon they read what related to Secundus of Tigisi, and Felix of Aptungis; and in the afternoon the justification of Cecilian: But n. 17. they had not time to read the acts of the condemnation of Silvanus of Cirtha.

ST. Augustine being returned home, wrote them a letter, setting forth Sup. x. n. 23. the strength of all these proofs; the injustice of Secundus of Tigisi, who under pretence of maintaining unity, had left to the judgement of GOD n. 7. the *Traditors* that were present, and convicted by their own confession; and had condemned Cecilian, though absent and innocent, with whom all the rest of the Church were in communion. On the contrary, saith he, Cecilian might have despised the number of his enemies, seeing himself supported by letters of communion with the Roman church, in which the primacy of the apostolick see hath always resided, and with the countries, from whence Africa it self hath received the Gospel. Complaint n. 8. ought to have been made to the Bishops beyond the sea, of the contumacy of the persons accused; and if they had persisted, it should have been declared by circular letters, that they might have been excluded from the communion of all the churches in the world. Then they might have safely ordained another Bishop of Carthage. But Secundus and his accomplices would have covered the crime of which they knew themselves guilty, viz. of delivering up the Scriptures, by falsely accusing others; neither durst they to specify in their acts the crimes laid to their n. 12. charge.

HE extolls the wisdom of the council of Rome, and of Melchiades; n. 14. and adds; Shall it be said, that he ought not to take cognizance of an affair which had been decided by seventy Bishops of Africa, with the primate at their head? but it was not he, it was the Emperor, who at your desire sent Bishops to judge the case, together with him. And afterwards: Suppose these Bishops at Rome did not give a just judgement, n. 19. there was still the general council of the whole Church, where the matter might have been debated with the judges themselves; and if they had been convicted of passing an unjust sentence, their judgement might have been reversed.

ST. Augustine going another time to Tuburfa, made a visit to the Donatist Bishop Fortunius, an old man, of a gentle and tractable temper: He had XXXI. abundance of company with him; and it being noised abroad that St. Augustine was there, a great croud of people were got together; the greatest Conference with Fortunius. Ep. 44. al. 163. part, out of mere curiosity, as if to see a shew; and indeed they made so much noise, that the conference was not very regular. St. Augustine often demanded,

A. D. 398. demanded, that notes might be taken in writing; and it was with great difficulty, that some that were with him, were suffered to do it; but then the tumult was so great, that they could not go on. St. Augustine wrote afterwards the Substance of it to Glorius and others, desiring them to communicate his letter to Fortunius.

n. 3. THEY began with the question concerning the Church; and Fortunius having asserted, that he was in communion with all the world, St. Augustine said; Can you give me such letters of communion, as we call *formal*, for the place that I shall name to you? For my part, I am ready to send such letters to all the churches that are taken notice of in the writings of the

Sup. Lib. 21. Apostles, as subsisting at that time. Fortunius afterwards proceeded to the pretended persecution of Macarius; and maintained, that the true Christians were they that suffered persecution, citing the passage of the Gospel: But

Matth. v. 10. St. Augustine observed to him, that the words are, They that suffer persecution for righteousness sake; and that he must first prove the justice of their cause, and of their separation; not only from the pretended *Traditors* of Africa, but from all the Churches in the world.

n. 6. UPON this Fortunius produced a book, wherein he pretended to shew, that the council of Sardica had written to certain African Bishops of the communion of Donatus. St. Alypius whispered to St. Augustine; we have heard it reported that the Arians would have drawn the Donatists in Africa to their side. St. Augustine took the book, and considering the decrees of this council, found that St. Athanasius, and Julius Bishop of Rome, were condemned therein; by which it appeared, that it was a council of Arians; and it was, without doubt, that of Philippopolis, which went by the name of the council of Sardica. St. Augustine desired permission to take the book with him, to examine, when he had more leisure, the circumstance of the times; or at least to mark it with his own hand, to prevent any Alteration; but he was refused both. At length they agreed, that neither side ought to reproach the other with the violences committed by ill men; and that they ought to examine the question of the schism. St. Augustine exhorted Fortunius to help him in putting an end to this controversy: Fortunius civilly answered; You are the only person that have desired it, the rest of your party refuse to have it examined. I will procure, replied St. Augustine, at least ten of our brethren, who shall enter upon this examination with as much candour and integrity as you have found in us. Fortunius promised to provide as many on his side; and thus they parted.

n. 13. ST. Augustine wrote the whole account of this matter to Glorius and others, and conjured them to put Fortunius in mind of his promise; and saith; that to avoid the croud, he is of opinion, that they should meet in some small village, where there is no church of either communion; that the holy scripture should be carried thither, and all the treatises which they shall have occasion to produce on either side; to the end, adds he, that meeting with no interruption, and laying aside all other business, we may employ as many days on this affair as is possible; and that each having recourse to God by prayer in his own house, we may, by grace, determine a matter of so great importance. Let me know your opinion, and that of Fortunius, on these particulars. About the same time he wrote Honoratus, another

Donatist, who had invited him to treat of this question by letters. He accepts the proposal, and desires Honoratus to answer him, upon the article concerning the Church: How it can be confined to a part of Africa, contrary to the promise of its being spread throughout the world, so manifestly fulfilled by the preaching of the Gospel. He ac- A. D. 398. Ep. 49, al. 61.

PEACE being restored to Africa, by the death of Gildo, the national synod assembled at Carthage, on the eighth of November of the same year 398, otherwise the sixth of the ides, in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychian. Aurelius presided therein, together with Donatianus, and Tablicus Primate of Numidia. St. Augustine was present, and there were in all two hundred and fourteen Bishops. This council is reckoned the fourth of Carthage, and is the second holden under Aurelius. They made an hundred and four canons, the greatest part concerning ordination, and the duties of Bishops and Clerks. The first sets down the Examination before the ordination of a Bishop; first as to his morals, and next as to his Faith; and it is much like that which begins the ceremony of the consecration of a Bishop at this time. The examination concerning Faith hath regard chiefly to the heresies reigning in those days, and particularly in Africa. Then follows the form of ordination, and first of a Bishop. XXXII. The fourth council of Carthage. To. 2. Conc. p. 1193. hath pontif. Rom.

Two Bishops are to hold on his head, and on his shoulders the book of the Gospels; one pronounceth the blessing, and all the other Bishops present touch his head with their hands. As to the Priest, while the Bishop blesteth him, and holdeth his hand on his head, all the other Priests present lay their hands on his head also. For the consecrating of a Deacon, the Bishop only puts his hand on his head; because he is not consecrated for the Priesthood, but for the ministry. The Bishop doth not lay his hands on the Sub-deacon, but giveth him with his hands the patten, and chalice empty; and from the Arch-deacon he receiveth the bottle, with the water and the napkin. The Acolyth is instructed in his office by the Bishop; but he receiveth from the Arch-deacon the candlestick with the wax-taper; and the empty bottle for serving the wine of the Eucharist of the blood of JESUS CHRIST. The Exorcist receives from the Bishop the book of exorcisms. When the Bishop ordains a Reader, he is to inform the people of his faith, his morals, and his good dispositions: He afterwards gives him the book in the presence of the people. The Arch-deacon is to inform the porter of his duty; and then, at his desire, the Bishop gives him the keys of the church from off the altar. At every one of these four inferior ordinations, the council of Carthage makes the Bishop repeat the same words that are in use at this time. c. 2. c. 3. c. 5. c. 6. 8. 9.

THE Psalmist or Chanter must receive that charge from the Priest only. The virgin ought to be presented to the Bishop, to be consecrated, in the habit of her profession. The widows, appointed to assist at the baptism of women, ought to be qualified to instruct the most ignorant how they are to answer at baptism, and what manner of life they are to lead afterwards. Married men who have received the blessing from the Priest, ought, out of respect, to abstain that night. 10. 11. 12. 13.

A. D. 398. THE council afterwards regulates the conduct of Bishops and Clerks. The Bishop ought to have his little habitation near the church, his furniture ordinary, and his table mean: He ought to maintain the dignity of his character, by his faith and good life. He shall not read any pagan books, nor those of the hereticks, but in case of necessity. He shall not burden himself with the execution of wills; nor with the care of domestick affairs; nor shall he go to law for any thing relating to his temporal affairs. He shall not take upon himself the care of widows, orphans, and strangers: He shall leave these things to the Arch-priest, and shall employ himself intirely in reading, praying, and preaching. He shall not ordain any Clerks without the advice of his Clergy, and the consent of the people. He shall not pass sentence but in the presence of his Clergy; otherwise his judgement shall be void. He shall admonish such as are at variance, to make up their differences, rather than bring them to a trial before him. In trials enquiry shall be made into the morals and faith of the parties. The Bishop shall make use of the wealth of the church as a trustee, and not as a proprietor: And any alienation that he shall make, without the consent and subscription of the Clerks, shall be void. The seat of the Bishop shall be raised higher than the rest in the church: But at home he shall use the Priests as his colleagues, and not suffer them to stand while he sits, in what place soever it is. The Bishops or Priests, that live in another church, shall observe their rank, and shall be invited to preach, and to consecrate the oblation. He that shall leave the place, while the Bishop is preaching, shall be excommunicated. The Bishop ought not to hinder any person, whether pagan, heretick, or Jew, from coming into the church to hear the word of God, till the service of the catechumens, that is, until they are dismissed. The Bishop shall not excuse himself from being present at a council, without a weighty reason; and in such case shall send a deputy. The council shall reconcile the Bishops, if any difference shall arise between them. They shall determine any accusation brought by a Bishop, either against a Clerk, or a layman. If the judge give sentence in the absence of the party, the sentence shall be null, and they shall give an account to the council. An unjust judgment given by a Bishop, shall be reviewed by a council. Translations are prohibited; unless, for the good of the Church, by the authority of a council, in the case of a Bishop, and for a Priest, or other Clerk, by the authority of the Bishop.

XXXIII. PRIESTS, who have the government of parishes, shall demand the chrism of their respective Bishops, before Easter, either in person, or by their Sacristan. The Deacon is the Minister of the Priest, as well as of the Bishop. He shall not sit down, but by the Bishop's order: He shall not speak in the assembly of the Priests, unless he is asked a question. When the Priest is present, he shall not administer to the people the Eucharist of the body of JESUS CHRIST, unless by his order, in case of necessity. He shall wear the *Albe* during the oblation, or the lessons. This is the first time that I find any mention made of a habit appointed for the service of the altar. The Clerks are not to suffer their hair or beards

to

to grow long. This was the custom of the Romans in those times. Their A. D. 398. profession ought to be seen by their outward appearance ; nor are they to^{45.} be curious in their dress, and what they wear on their legs and feet. They^{47.} are not to walk up and down the streets, nor market places, nor go to^{48.} fairs, unless it be to buy, on pain of being deposed. He that is absent^{49.} from vigils, unless by reason of sickness, shall lose his salary. All Clerks^{51, 52, 53.} that are able to work, shall learn trades ; and get their living, that is, sufficient food and raiment, either by trades or tillage, however skilled they may be in the word of God, without prejudice to their functions. They^{54, 55, 56.} condemn such Clerks as are envious, informers, flatterers, slanderers, quar-^{57, 58, 60.}rellers, swearers, jesters, or loose in their conversation and discourse ; such^{61, 62, 63.} as sing at table, or break the fasts, unless in a case of necessity. The Bi-^{59.}shop is to reconcile the differences between Clerks, or to give information to the council. Ordination must not be granted to seditious and re-^{67.}vengeful persons, nor to usurers, nor to any under the sentence of penance, however blameless they may be in other respects. Such Clerks as^{68.} in the midst of temptations continue diligent in their duty, shall be ad-^{42.}vanced to a higher degree in orders ; and they that are negligent, shall be^{50.} deposed. He that communicates or prays with an excommunicated person,^{73.} shall be excommunicated. Priests shall grant penance to such as require it ;^{74.} but such penitents as are more careless and remiss, shall not be so soon^{75.} admitted. If a sick man desire penance, and, before the Priest comes, lo-^{76.}ses his speech or senses, he shall receive penance on the testimony of those who have heard him. If he is thought to be at the point of death, let absolution be given him by laying on of hands, and let the Eucharist be put into his mouth : If he recovers, he shall perform the penance for as long time as the Priest shall think fit. Penitents in general, are not ex-^{77, 78.}cused from their penance by receiving the viaticum, till the imposition of hands. They who having duly observed the laws of penance happen to^{79.} die in a journey, or otherwise without assistance, shall not be excluded from Ecclesiastical burial, nor from partaking of the prayers and oblations. Pe-^{81.}nitents are obliged to genu-flections, even on the days when the penance^{82.} is remitted ; as about the time of Easter. They who are to be baptized,^{85.} shall give in their names, and shall be proved by a long abstinence from wine and flesh, and by imposition of hands. Neophytes shall refrain for^{86.} some time from banquetings, shews, and from the company of their wives. He who on a day of solemnity shall go to publick shews, instead of being^{88.} present at the church-service, shall be excommunicated ; and in like manner, whoever is addicted to auguries, inchantments, and jewish superstitions.

Those who have been possessed shall be employed in sweeping the^{c. 91.} pavement of the church ; they shall constantly attend there, and shall re-^{92.}ceive their daily subsistence from the hands of the exorcists. Care shall be^{43.} taken of such Christians as suffer for the Catholick Faith ; and the Deacons shall provide a subsistence for them. This canon, together with the forty second and the fiftieth, hath plainly regard to the persecution of the Donatists. They who withhold from the church the oblations of the dead,^{95.} or bring them unwillingly, shall be excommunicated, as murderers of the poor.

A. D. 398. The offering of such as are at variance, or of these that oppress the poor, shall not be received. A particular respect shall be paid to the aged poor of the Church. A layman shall not teach in the presence of the Clerks, unless by their order. A woman, how great soever her knowledge and piety may be, shall not instruct men in the congregation; nor by any means baptize. * *But this to be understood with an exception, in case of necessity.* A Bishop shall examine who is to have the government of the religious women; they are not under pretence of their subsistence, to live familiarly with the clerks. The widows who are maintained by the church, ought to spend their whole time in devotion. If they marry, even after they have been forced, though it be the ravisher himself, they shall be excommunicated. These are canons of the fourth council of Carthage, which are highly esteemed by the ancients; of which the greatest part are observed at this day.

XXXIV.
The labour of
the Monks.

ii. Retract.
c. 21.

Mat. vi. 26.

2 Thes. iii.
10.

c. 1. n. 12,
3, &c.

16. 21.

23.

28.

THE employment of labouring with our own hands, recommended to the Clergy in this council, was still more earnestly enjoined the Monks: And we have a treatise of St. Augustine, written not long after; the occasion of which he thus relates. When monasteries began to be settled in Carthage, some people, in obedience to the command of the apostle, maintained themselves by their labour; others chose to live by the offerings of good people, without working, pretending thereby more strictly to observe the precept of the Gospel, where it is said; Behold the birds of the air, &c. The secular laity took part in this dispute, which began to disturb the peace of the Church. Whereupon the venerable Aurelius ordered me to write on this subject, which I accordingly did. He therein thoroughly examines those words of St. Paul; He that will not work, neither let him eat. For the slothful monks expounded them to mean spiritual works; saying, that they instructed, exhorted, and comforted secular people. St. Augustine shews, that the precept of the apostle is to be understood of bodily labour, but of such labour as doth not employ the mind, nor divert it from spiritual things; and that St. Paul hath as positively commanded the servants of God to labour, as he hath their brethren to supply their necessities. He confesseth that the ministers of the altar have a right to be maintained by the people; but the monks, against whom he writes, had no such right. He observes, that the greatest part of these lazy monks had, while they remained in the world, led a poor and laborious life, being slaves, freedmen, husbandmen, and artificers: And adds, that it would be a great sin not to admit these men of mean condition into the profession of a monastick life, since they often become great saints. But he requires likewise, that they who have been rich, should likewise labour according to their strength.

He complains that the reputation of a monastick life was lessened by a great number of hypocrites dispersed in all parts, in the habit of monks; who strolled about the provinces, without being sent to, or staying in, any place. Some, saith he, get money by the relicks of martyrs; which perhaps too are counterfeits. Some boast of their habit; others pretend they are going to their relations, living in this or that country; all of them

* These are not the words of the council, but Mr. Fleury's;

beg; all exact, that they may maintain their gainful poverty, or be rewarded for their pretended sanctity: And when their crimes are discovered, the title of monks which they bear, serves only to disgrace the holy profession. At last he censures their fondness of wearing their hair long, which, considered with the rest of their conduct, gives us reason to think, that these idle monks were a sort of Massilians. The canon of the council of Carthage, which prohibits the Clergy's wearing long hair, may be also supposed to have regard to this particular.

IN this treatise St. Augustine taketh JESUS CHRIST to witness, that for his own convenience, he would chuse to use as much bodily labour, at certain hours, every day, as is enjoined in well regulated monasteries, and be at liberty the rest of his time, to read, pray, and treat of the Holy Scripture, rather than be incumbered with so many temporal affairs, of which he was obliged to take cognizance. He frequently complains of this weight of business, in which his charity had engaged him, in following the precept of the apostle, which forbids Christians to go to law before pagan tribunals; and Possidius in his life speaketh of it in this manner: At the desire of Christians, or men of any sect whatsoever, he would hear causes with patience and attention; sometimes till the usual hour of eating, and sometimes the whole day, without eating at all; observing their dispositions, and how far they advanced or decreased in faith and good works; and when he had opportunity, he instructed them in the law of GOD, and gave them advice, requiring nothing of them, but Christian obedience. He sometimes wrote letters, when desired, on temporal subjects; but looked upon all this as unprofitable drudgery, which took him off from his better employments. We find a law of Honorius, dated at Milan, the twenty seventh of July 398, which confirms the arbitrations of the Bishops, in these words: They who agree to have their cause tried before the Bishop, shall not be hindered; but they shall receive his judgment as that of an arbitrator chosen by consent, only in civil matters; nor shall they suffer, who do not appear upon such a citation.

ANOTHER law published the same day in the East, on the sixth of the calends of August, in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychian, that is, on the twenty seventh of July 398, restraineth the abuses arising from the intercession of Clerks and Monks, to protect persons charged with debts or crimes. The terms of this law are as follows: No Clerk or Monk, even of those called Cœnobites, shall be permitted to reclaim, or forcibly to detain a condemned criminal. And afterwards: Neither shall any one withhold or defend the guilty, when he is conveyed, after his appeal, to the place of execution: And if the Clerks or Monks are so audacious, that it is necessary to use open force, rather than to proceed judicially, let it be notified to us, that we may speedily inflict a severe punishment. Besides, the Bishops shall be called to account, if they know that the Monks have been guilty, within their dioceses, of any irregularities contrary to this law, and have not corrected them. And as the Bishops sometimes ordained those who had been thus protected from imprisonment for crimes or debts, the law adds; That they ought rather to chuse from among the Monks such Clerks as they wanted. It is by the same law ordained,

A. D. 398.

c. 31, &c.

Can. 44.

XXXV.

Arbitrations
of the Bishops.
c. 29.

In pl. 118.

Serm. 24. n. 3.

Poss. c. 10.

L. 7. de epis.
aud.

XXXVI.

Law against
sanctuarium.

D. L. 16, &c.

l. 32. de

episc.

L. 3. Th. de

his qui ad

Eccl. conf.

A. D. 399. ordained, that if a slave, a man in debt, or one charged with any publick commission; in short, any person that is obliged to give an account of any publick or private affair, takes sanctuary in the church, and is ordained clerk, or defended by the clerks in any manner whatsoever, so that they do not, at the first summons, surrender him in his former condition; if he be a *Decurio*, or other person in publick office, he shall be restored to his first estate, even by force, upon the demand of the judges; nor shall they enjoy the privilege of the law, which permitted *Decurio's* to become clerks, and give up their patrimonies. Moreover, those who take care of the affairs of the Church, and are called stewards, shall be obliged, without delay, to make restitution of any debt, publick or private, for which those persons stood bound, whom the clerks refused to produce.

V. Gothfr. It is supposed, that all these decrees belong to the same law, though divided under different heads in the Theodosian Code; and this law is attributed to Eutropius, who governed the Empire, in the name of Arcadius. It is even said that Eutropius made it, to gratify a private pique against Timasius, a famous captain, whom he caused to be condemned, and banished to the desert of Oäsis, where he ended his life. For his wife Pentadia having taken sanctuary in a church, he procured this law, which not only forbids these sanctuaries for the future; but ordains, that they who had already taken refuge, should be forced out. This law seems to have been the occasion of calling the council of Carthage, held on the 27th of April, 399, where two Bishops, Epigonus and Vincent, took upon them a deputation to the Emperor, to obtain from him a law to prohibit the forcing from the church, those who had taken sanctuary there for certain crimes.

XXXVII.
The fall of
Eutropius.

EUTROPIUS himself was obliged to violate this law within six months after. His power was raised to the highest pitch: He had the dignity of a patrician, and had caused himself to be declared consul in the east, in the year 399, with Theodore in the west; though we have no instance, either before or since, of an eunuch's being consul. His riches were immense, and daily increased, by confiscations, and the sale of all sorts of employments. Gainas, a Goth, captain general of the forces, could not bear with him: He, underhand, stirred up Tribigildis, a relation of his, who ravaged Phrygia, and the neighbouring provinces; and the Emperor Arcadius, who was betrayed by Gainas, was obliged, in order to make peace with Tribigildis, to give up Eutropius, as the cause of all the calamities of the Empire.

Zozim. li. 5.
p. 393.
Soz. 8. c. 3.

It is even said, that he had affronted the Empress Euxdokia, so far as to threaten to force her to leave the palace; and that she going to the Emperor in tears, had obliged him to come to a resolution in this matter.

Orat. in
Eutrop.
A. 10. 8. p. 67.
P. 10. 4.
p. 481.

IN this extremity Eutropius fled to the church to save his life; and St. Chrysostome generously opposed those who attempted to force him away. He likewise took occasion, from the great concourse of people whom this sight had drawn together, to discourse to them on this subject. He first, by this example, sets forth the vanity of human affairs, and the uncertainty of an exalted state. Where now, says he, addressing himself to Eutropius, are all your attendants, who made way for you in the streets, who flattered and extolled you? They are fled, they have renounced your friendship, they seek their own safety by your ruin. We do not act in this manner; the

the church, to whom you have offered violence, opens her bosom to receive you; and the theaters, which you have supported at so vast an expence, which have so often drawn your indignation upon us, have betrayed you. I say not this to insult over him that is fallen, but to strengthen those that yet stand. He adds farther, speaking of Eutropius: Yesterday, when they came from the palace to force him hence, he ran to the sacred vessels, looking as pale as a dead person, trembling all over, and speaking with a broken and stammering accent. Then recommending him to their compassion, he adds: You will say, He hath shut the doors of this sanctuary by divers laws; but experience hath taught him what mischief he hath done; he himself is the first that hath broken the law, and his disgrace is a warning to the rest of the world. The altar now appears more terrible, by keeping this lion chained to it; and it is as it were the image of our Prince, who treads under his feet the vanquished and captivated Barbarians. Then he proceeds: Have I softened your hearts? have I pacified your anger? have I extinguished your inhumanity? have I raised your compassion? Yes, I believe I have; your countenances, and these torrents of tears declare it. Come then, let us throw our selves at the feet of the Emperor; or rather, let us beseech the God of mercy, to inspire his heart with pity, that he may grant us perfect remission. He is already much altered; for as soon as he understood that Eutropius had fled for refuge to this holy place, he mentioned it to all his court, who endeavoured to exasperate him against the criminal; and demanded that they might have him to put him to death: The Emperor shed tears, and making mention of the sacred table, to which he had fled for safety, he appeased their rage. After this, what mercy can you deserve, if you retain yours? how can you approach the holy mysteries, and ask pardon for your sins? Let us rather pray to the God of mercy to deliver this miserable wretch from death; and grant him time to expiate his crimes; that is, to receive Baptism; for Eutropius was a Pagan.

THIS discourse had the intended effect; and St. Chrysostome saved the life of Eutropius, but not without some difficulty, and the peoples coming to blows: They came to the church in arms, and drew their swords, and brought the holy Bishop to the palace, where he was accused of the discourse which he had made, as of a crime, and threatned with death. The holy Bishop was not moved with this, neither would he deliver up Eutropius: He shewed, as he saith, the invincible power of the Church, founded upon prayer. The Church, adds he, consisteth not of the place, walls and roofs; but in its morality and laws: These are the security of those that take sanctuary there; not the strength of its gates and buildings, but the reverence which we have for religion, and the sanctity of its ministers. However, Eutropius was apprehended, but through his own fault; he having gone without the enclosure of the Church: He was condemned to live in exile in the island of Cyprus; all his wealth was confiscated, and he was degraded from his honours and titles; insomuch that his name was erased out of the *Fasti*, and Theodore only was reckoned Consul for that year, who was a Christian, a man of worth and learning, and commended by St. Augustine and Claudian the poet. The condemnation of Eutropius is dated the 16th of the calends of February, at Constantinople, in the consulship

De pronif.

Dei. ap.

Prosp. p. 3.

c. 38.

Serm. in

pl. xciv.

A. to. 3.

p. 100.

Marth. xvi.

18.

Aug. 1. de

Ord. c. 11. 1.

Retract. c. 2.

Clau. de

Cons. Theod.

l. 17. C. Th.

de pæn.

Zos. li. 5.

p. 794.

Philostorg. x.

c. 6.

A. D. 399. Fulship of Theodorus; that is, on the seventeenth of January 399. But Gainas, who could not suffer him to live, procured him to be sent from Cyprus to Chalcedon; where they proceeded to a new trial, upon which he was beheaded.

XXXVIII.

St. Chryso-
stome reforms
his Clergy.

Socr. 6. c. 13.

Soz. 8. c. 7.

Pall. vita.

P. 45.

Sup. li. 8.
n. 4.

xi. n. 17.

17 Hier.

ep. 22. §.

A. to. 6.

p. 214.

p. 230.

p. 231. l. 35.

Pall. p. 45.

p. 45.

Hom. 15.

in 1. Tim.

ad v. 18.

THESE were some that censured St. Chrysostome's discourse upon Eutropius; saying, that he had insulted that unfortunate man; but the true cause of that reproach, was the dislike which they had conceived to the holy Bishop. He had not governed the church of Constantinople a full year, when his great zeal had procured him many enemies at court, and among his clergy. He chiefly attacked those ecclesiasticks, who, under pretence of charity, lived with virgins, whom they treated as adopted sisters; who were called *sub-introduktæ*, or *sorores agapetæ*, that is, beloved sisters. The pretence was, to assist forsaken virgins, destitute of friends or relations; to take care of their affairs, if rich; and to maintain them charitably, if poor; and to perform such offices for them, as they could not decently perform themselves; especially in countries, where it is not usual for women to appear in publick. On the other side, the clerks pretended, that they committed to these virgins the care of their household affairs, and such petty employments as are more suitable to women, that they might have more leisure for the functions of their ministry. Moreover, they affirmed, that in this familiarity, they did not use the least criminal liberties, nor transgress their vow of chastity. St. Chrysostome, on the contrary, insisted, that this cohabitation was worse than openly entertaining common women: These infamous persons, says he, are Pagans, who invite those that are willing to be corrupted; the former are Christians, who tempt even the saints to wickedness.

WE have two discourses of his upon this subject, which seem to be made about this time. In the first he inveighs against the men who entertained these pretended sisters; and in the other, against the virgins who were thus entertained. He supposes what they affirmed; that there was not any criminal correspondence between them, with regard to the body; but however, he condemns the cohabiting, chiefly as giving occasion of scandal; which consideration ought not to be neglected, when there are good grounds for it, and when the thing which gives the occasion, is not necessary, nor good in it self. He confutes the pretences of those shameful societies; and shews the inconveniences that attend them; viz. The continual danger of falling into what is criminal; the effeminacy of manners contracted by such conversation; and were there nothing else, the inducing them to be fond of seeing and conversing with each other; which is a more sensible pleasure between persons of different sexes. In the treatise addressed to the virgins, he observes how their modesty is often exposed; and that their misfortunes proceed from their imagining chastity to consist in abstaining from the grosser crime, without renouncing the ornaments of dress, and other worldly allurements. By these discourses, St. Chrysostome drew upon him the ill-will of such of the clergy as had addicted themselves to this abuse. He afterwards falls upon their avarice; then on their manner of life, admonishing them to be content with their salaries; not to run about to rich mens tables, and become flatterers and parasites. He would have the priests plentifully supplied with all things necessary, lest their labour should sink their spirits, and the trifling

trifling cares of the world, should take them off from their spiritual employ-
ments; but he would also have them contented with food and raiment, and
not be sollicitous about worldly riches.

HE afterwards examined the steward's accounts, and retrenched the un-
necessary expences of the Church; and even thought the private expence of
the Bishop extravagant, and applied what was superfluous to the hospital
for the sick. As the necessities of the poor increased, he built several
hospitals, the superintendency whereof he committed to two pious priests;
and placed therein, for the service of the sick, physicians, cooks, and other
officers, living all unmarried. He recommends to the people of Con-
stantinople to have, every one, a domestick hospital; that is, in each house,
a small chamber for the poor. He proceeded further, and proposed to them
to imitate the first Christians of Jerusalem, and to put their wealth into a
common stock. How much money, says he, do you think might be raised,
if all the faithful should sell their possessions? It might amount to a million
of pounds of gold, or rather to two or three; for there are in this
city at least a hundred thousand Christians, the rest are Jews and Pagans;
and I do not think that there are above fifty thousand poor. How easy
would it be to maintain them? and the expence would be still less, were
they obliged to live in common. Even those who are not Christians, will
contribute. And who will continue a Pagan after this? I do not think
there would be one remaining; they would be all brought over. If we
proceed, I hope, by GOD's blessing, that this will be the case; only trust
to me, and let us do things in order. He afterwards sent for certain widows,
examining those that were not discreet in their conduct; and finding some
addicted to sensuality, he admonished them to give themselves to fasting;
to abstain from bathing, and from excess in apparel, or else to marry spee-
dily, that they might not be a reproach to religion. For, says he, being
freed from subjection to a husband, and not fixing their thoughts upon
GOD, they become lazy, tatlers, and inquisitive, and meddle with the af-
fairs of other people.

HE exhorted the people to be constant to the service of the night; that
is, those men who had not leisure in the day-time; for as to women, he
would have them stay at home, and not to come to church but in the day-
time. It is necessary, says he, to remember GOD at all times; but espe-
cially when the mind is at rest, that is, in the night-season; for by day we
are interrupted by other affairs. And in another place: It was not intended,
that we should spend the whole night in sleep and inactivity. This appears
by the practice of artificers, drivers of carriages, and merchants, and by
those of the church, who rise at midnight. Do you rise likewise, and be-
hold the beautiful order of the stars, that profound silence, that universal
repose. The soul is then more pure, more free, and more elevated; dark-
ness and silence excite remorse; and all men being laid in their beds, as in
their graves, represent the end of the world. I speak both to men and wo-
men; bend your knees, sigh and pray; if you have children, wake them
also; and let your house be like a church in the night-season. If they have
not strength to bear watching, let them say a prayer or two, in order to
accustom them to rise, and then lay them to rest again. These exhortations

A. D. 368.

Hom. 21. in
1. Cor.

ad ix. 7.

XXXIX.

St. Chryso-

stome's Care
of the Poor.

Pall. p. 46.

Hom. 45. in
acta. mor.

Pall. p. 47.

Hom. 153.

in. 1.

Tim. ad 5.

14.

XL.

He instructs

his People.

Pall. p. 47.

Hom. 13. in

ep. ad Hebr.

Mor.

Hom. 26.

in acta Mor.

A. D. 399. gave offence to the slothful amongst the clerks, who were wont to spend the whole night in sleep.

Pall. p. 47.
Homil. de
ins. alt. A.
to. 6. 723.

ST. John Chrysostome laboured also to abate the pride of the rich, and to teach them humility and moderation. What reason have you, said he, to set so great a value on your selves, and to think that you do us a favour, when you come to this place, to hear what conduces to your salvation? Is it your wealth? Your robes of silk: Know ye not, that they are spun by worms, and wrought by the hands of Barbarians? that they are worn by prostitutes, robbers, the sacrilegious persons, and by others of most infamous characters? Suppress this haughtiness; reflect upon the vileness of your nature; what are ye but earth, dust, ashes and vapour? You have indeed many men under your command, but your selves are slaves to your own passions. It is as if a man should suffer himself to be beaten by his own servants at home, and boast of his power abroad.

Pall. p. 48.

A. to. 5.

Serm. 29.

In trate in

aug. p. 171.

mom. 24. 42.

Mor. in acta.

Hom. 24. in

acta mor.

Soz. 8. c. 5.

His exhortations had so good an effect, that the whole city of Constantinople daily made a visible progress in piety: Even those who had been so passionately fond of horse-races, and other publick shews, forsook the Circus and the Theatre, and came in crouds to the Church. We likewise find very powerful discourses delivered at Constantinople against these abuses. It was in this city where he expounded, among others, the epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to the Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles. He preached three times a week; and sometimes seven days successively. The croud was so great at his sermons, that, to place himself where he might be heard, he was obliged to quit his usual station, and seat himself in the middle of the church, in the reader's desk. Some came to hear him out of curiosity; but many became converts, as well Pagans as Hereticks.

A certain person of the sect of the Macedonians, being converted by his instructions, would have persuaded his wife also to be reconciled to the Catholick Church. He pressed her a long time without any effect, she being withheld by custom, and the conversation of other women. At last, when he threatened to part with her, she promised to comply, and came to church. When the time came that she was to receive the communion, she took the eucharist, and held down her head, as if to pray; but instead of the eucharist, put a piece of bread into her mouth, which a maid, who was in the secret, conveyed to her. As soon as the bread was in her mouth, she perceived, that it was become a stone between her teeth. Being affrighted at this miracle, she ran to the Bishop; discovered the whole matter, and shewed him the stone, of an extraordinary colour and substance, and the impression of her teeth plainly appeared in it. She asked forgiveness with tears, and lived after that very quietly with her husband. The miraculous stone was laid up in the treasury of the Church of Constantinople, and was to be seen there in the time of Sozomen, who relates this story.

XLI.

He takes Care
of the other
Churches.

Soz. 8. c. 3.

Theod. 5.

P. 98.

ST. John Chrysostome did not confine his care to his own church of Constantinople, but extended it to all the rest. He reformed the churches of the six provinces of Thrace, the eleven provinces of Asia; and the eleven of Pontus; in all twenty eight provinces. In the beginning of his episcopacy, he endeavoured to reconcile the Bishops of the East, with those of Egypt and

and the west, who had been divided on the account of Paulinus. He requested Theophilus of Alexandria to join his assistance for this purpose, and to reconcile the Bishop of Rome and Flavian, whom he always regarded as his master and spiritual father. Theophilus consenting to this, Acacius Bishop of Beroëa, and the Priest Isidore of Alexandria, were appointed to go to Rome. Having finished their Negotiation with success, they came back to Egypt, from whence Acacius returned to Syria, bringing Flavian and his Adherents letters of pacification from the Bishops of Egypt and the West. Thus was communion established between these Churches.

St. Chrysostome applied himself likewise to the conversion of the Scythians. He found some at Constantinople who were Arians; and in order to reclaim them, he appointed them Priests, Deacons, and Readers, to officiate in their own tongue. He assigned them a particular church, to which he sometimes went, and discoursed to them by an Interpreter, and converted several. Hearing that some of those Scythians called *Nomades*, that is, herdsmen, who wandered from place to place, and encamped near the Danube, desired to be instructed in religion, he sought out some apostolical men, whom he sent to them, and they laboured with good success. Knowing that there were certain Marcionites within the territory of Cyr, he wrote to the Bishop, exhorting him to rid the country of them; and offering him the assistance of the imperial laws. He supported with his interest the Deacon Mark, sent by Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza, to obtain the Emperor's protection against the Pagans; and procured the Temples in Phœnicia to be demolished; for which work he deputed certain zealous Monks, whom he had chosen, being empowered by rescripts from the emperor; from whom however they did not demand any thing to defray the expences of this mission; but were abundantly supplied by the piety of certain wealthy ladies.

WE have indeed a law of Arcadius, of the third of the Ides of July, in the consulship of Theodorus, that is to say, of the 13th of July 399, which ordains, that the temples in the country shall be pulled down, but without noise and tumult. And as this is directed to Eutychian, *Præfectus Prætorii* of the East, it is with reason supposed, that it related to Phœnicia. Another law of the same year, dated the second of October, forbids the custom of those indecent fights and sports, called *Majuma*, which were chiefly in use in the same country. Honorius, on his part, or rather Stilico in his name, likewise made laws against the Pagans. There are three dated in this year; one of the 29th of January, directed to the governours of Spain, and the five provinces of Gaul; which, as it prohibits sacrifices, forbids the removing the ornaments of publick works; that is, the statues in the Baths, streets, and other publick places. The second law of Honorius is of the twentieth of August, which confirms the prohibition of sacrifices, and other pagan superstitions; but permits assemblies, shews, and solemn festivals. It is addressed to the proconsul of Africa; as also the third, dated much about the same time, which forbids the demolishing of temples; but enforces the prohibition of sacrifices, and ordains the taking away of idols. Probably it was published on account of what happened at Carthage in the same year, on the nineteenth of March. For the counts Gaudentius and Jovius destroyed the temples of the false gods, and broke down the idols, which proved the falsehood of a pretended heathen oracle, foretelling that the Christian Religion should not last above 365 years. For

reckoning;

A. D. 399.

Theod. 5.

c. 30.

c. 31.

Vita S. Porph.

ap. Sur. 26.

Febr. Theod.

s. c. 29.

XLII.

Laws against

Idolatry.

L. 16. C. Th.

de pag. & ib.

Gothofr.

L. 15. C. Th.

de Pag.

L. 18. cod.

Aug. 18. civit.

c. ult.

A. D. 399. reckoning only from the preaching of the gospel, the 365 years were ended in 398, according to St. Augustine's computation, who observes, that many were converted, when they perceived the falsehood of their oracle.

Ap. Prosp. iii. THE most famous temple at Carthage, was that of the goddess Cælestis, supposed de promiss. to be the same with Cybele. It was not destroyed at that time; but having been shut up for many years, was overgrown with grass and brambles; and the Pagans reported, c. 38. that it was guarded by dragons and serpents. The Christians desired that it might be turned into a Church, to which Aurelius the Bishop consented, and here placed his episcopal chair. This was done at the feast of Easter. The temple was opened and cleansed without any accident; and they observed these words engraved on the Frontispiece, *This was dedicated by Aurelius the Pontiff*: This was some Pagan Pontiff, but the agreement in the name, seemed to the people to be a presage of the truth. The Pagans gave out that they had an oracle of the goddess Cælestis, which promised the restoration of her worship in that temple; but on the contrary it was ruined twenty years after, and made a burying place. About the same time threescore Christians suffered martyrdom, who having pulled down and broken in pieces the idol of Hercules, were massacred by the Pagans of the colony of Suffecta. This we learn from a letter which Aug. ep. 50. al. 267. St. Augustine wrote to the elders of that colony, reproaching them with their cruelty, and contempt of the laws. The Church commemorates these martyrs on the 30th of August.

XLIII. WE have a council of Africa, the date whereof, most to be depended on, is, according to the Spanish Era, in 438, on the 6th of the calends of May, that is, on the 27th of May, in the year 400. Aurelius presided therein, and sixty two Bishops subscribed the canons with him: They were fifteen in number; by the last whereof it is ordained, that the Emperor should be addressed, to abolish the remains of idolatry, even the woods and trees. The citing of clerks to give evidence in courts of justice, is therein prohibited. It was said, that a clerk, of what rank soever, condemned by the sentence of the Bishops, ought not to be defended; neither by the Church, which he hath governed, nor by any person, i. e. as it is elsewhere explained; that the Emperours should be applied to for a law to this purpose; and accordingly we find one made by L. 35. C. Th. Honorius, dated the 4th of February, in the same year 400; which confirms the deposition of Bishops by councils, enjoining the deposed Bishop not to abide within a hundred miles of the city, which he had governed; and forbidding any person whatsoever, to solicit the Emperor for his restoration.

c. 4. THE council prohibits Bishops from alienating the estates of the Church, unless by authority of the primate of the province, and the council, or to reside in any part of the diocese, but in the cathedral church. The *Intercessor*, that is, he who takes care of a church during the vacancy; otherwise called the visitor; ought to procure a Bishop within the year; otherwise, after the expiration of the year, another *Intercessor* shall be put in his place. The Bishops are obliged to assist at the council, or if they have a just excuse, to send it in writing; and the primate of each province, ought to divide their Bishops into two or three bands, that they may attend the council by turns; for there were a great number of Bishops in each province. None ought to lay hands on priests or deacons who had been guilty of any crime, to put them under penance, like the laity. This was an abuse practised by the Donatists. An excommunicated clerk shall not be heard in his justification, after the year is expired. The Bishop who shall have ordained a Monk, belonging to another Bishop, clerk or superiour of his monastery, shall be reduced to the communion of his own church; and such Monk shall be neither clerk nor superiour. St. Augustine mentions this canon in two of his letters, where he says, that the deserters of monasteries ought not to be ordained clerks, but the most fit persons amongst the Monks.

Ep. 60. al. 76. ad Aurel. It is decreed to baptise, without scruple, those children, of whose having received baptism there is no certain proofs; to take away the altars, dedicated to the memory of martyrs, without good grounds, or upon pretended revelations. Easter-day is to be declared by letters in form. The law relating to continence is confirmed in respect to Bishops, priests, and deacons. These are the regulations of this council, which is reckoned the fifth of Carthage, and the third under Aurelius.

The End of the Second Volume.

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